Patrizia Meringolo *Editor*

Preventing Violent Radicalisation in Europe

Multidisciplinary Perspectives

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Acknowledgement and Funding Information

Defining a Multidisciplinary Approach for Complex Issues: An Introduction

Violent Radicalisation: The Reason for Our Interest

The violent youth radicalisation is a significant issue within the European context, which requires attention. As researchers involved in exploring community solutions to social conflicts and hatred, we have to engage ourselves in an attempt to investigate the roots and the possible outcomes of violent attitudes, searching for pathways to prevent explosions of social hostilities.

Different social actors, like professionals of the Juvenile Justice System and stakeholders committed to inclusion policies, may play an active role to resolve these problems, starting from preventive actions among young people. Such a task should take into account different contributions: from educators, volunteers, policymakers committed to inclusion policies, religious Ministers, and prisoners' Ombudsmen, but also the same minors under criminal proceedings and university students who can be involved as peer educators to experience new models of positive relationships.

The Origins. Collective Research does not Come from Nowhere

The authors of this book are part of a well-established team, an international network which has already worked on several projects, sharing not only the scientific interest but also a social commitment on the issues related to inequalities, marginalisation, and on active citizenship and inclusion to prevent such problems.

Another subject of interest was the environment, the urban space, which has been taken into account as a stepping stone towards social integration, rather than a background variable useful to achieve academic accuracy.

The entities involved have been universities with previous shared studies, an association focused on psychological interventions, a foundation centred on urban

planning, a social enterprise born as an academic spin-off[1] for research and action on psychosocial well-being, and—finally—a theatrical group who stages performances in German prisons, aimed at developing social skills and positive intergroup relationships in people who are in detention, in order to prevent violent radicalisation.

Different competences joined for a new purpose.

When there was the possibility to plan a joint project in response to a European call, a collective research emerged.

We chose the opportunity provided by *Erasmus Plus*. It is a European programme aimed at supporting youth education and training, contributing to the European strategies for youth "growth, jobs, social equity and inclusion" (European Commission 2020). The programme includes three *key actions*: the first one supports the mobility opportunities for students, trainees, and young people, as well as for professors and staff of education institutions and civil society organisations, in order to undertake a learning or professional experience in another country; the second action is related to cooperation for the innovation and the exchange of good practices; the third one is focused on supporting policy reform, which means increasing knowledge in the fields of education, training, and youth, stimulating innovative policies development among stakeholders and enabling public authorities to assess their "effectiveness through field trials based on sound evaluation methodologies" (European Commission 2016, p. 13).

Consistent with the European required aims for the call, named *Social inclusion through education, training, and youth*, and part of *Erasmus Plus Key Action 3*, our focus was on systematising best practices, previously explored and carried out. In our case, the antecedents were research and interventions implemented in the Juvenile Justice System, also through specific training for professionals working with young offenders, minors under criminal proceedings, or youth at risk in suburban neighbourhoods.

Defining the Problem and Finding Theoretical and Operational Models

Once the topic was chosen and the partnership formed, the debate on the reference framework started from the perceived limitation in the *security-oriented* scientific literature, where the psychological contributions were prevailingly understood as a support for the exit strategies from radicalisation, or as a search for indicators to assess if and when a—marginalised—youth is likely to undertake violent behaviours. Using psychological competences as a *detector* leads to the risk of more and more people, especially those who are members of ethnic and religious minorities, becoming immediate *suspects*, according to the term used by Ragazzi (2017).

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[1]An *academic spin-off* is an enterprise to which university provided support in its initial development and growth. Only those based on highly innovative ideas and strong links to academic research are selected for becoming an academic spin-off.

Thereby two assumptions became essential conditions for the upcoming project *PROVA*, an acronym that means *PRevention Of Violent Radicalisation and violent Actions in intergroup relations* (PROVA 2016–2018)[2]: avoiding attitudes that *stigmatise* each deviant youth or migrant, particularly Islamic ones, as a possible terrorist, and abstaining from the use of psychology as a determinist indication of dangerous individual features. Consequently fostering proactive approaches instead of reactive ones.

Our theoretical framework was based on the psychosocial models of group processes and social identity, studies on conflict (and particularly on the conflicts in the urban environment), research and interventions with deviant minors.

From the Project Experience to the Book

The activities carried out during the PROVA experience have produced a large body of findings, going beyond the Reports[3] provided as outcomes. We assumed that the *multidisciplinary approach*, which has characterised the whole pathway, was worthy to be reconsidered and discussed in-depth, underlining the main aspects emerged during our work.

Critical issues have been re-examined, to better understand theoretical implications and methodological innovations, with the aim of creating a text corresponding to the multifaceted approaches that the complexity of the problem requires, intending to place itself at a higher meta-level than the merely technical project's materials, for being a reading—we hope attractive and plain—for a wider audience.

Each topic has been analysed in its theoretical aspects, social implications, and—where appropriate—methodological specifications, searching recent and effective operational models to explore it.

Readers who would like to learn more about the outputs arising from the PROVA Project may retrieve them on the quoted website: there are detailed explanations of the outcomes of all the actions.

Surely, there was a positive short-term impact, with a new awareness in the professionals and in the representatives of the Juvenile Justice System and of local communities, and with new proposals for interventions in this field.

The mid-term and long-term impacts only can be verified in future evaluations, which the authors intend to undertake.

The book consists of three parts:

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[2]The project was carried out in Italy, Romania, Spain, and Germany, and included: a training course for professionals, workshops with local stakeholders, workshops with minors and young adults under criminal proceedings and university students. See: www.provaproject.org.

[3]In the website quoted above, all the reports can be retrieved.

– In the first part, the authors deal with

the *theoretical background* related to research and interventions on psychosocial processes of violent radicalisation, and on the relation between deprivation, negative emotions, social exclusion, and injustice (Chap. 1);

a thorough examination of the concept of *stigma*, starting from classical studies on deviance, with particular reference to youth undertaking deviant careers and their possible label assigned by social agencies (Chap. 2);

a critical discussion about the importance of *building a shared definition of violent radicalisation through the needs analysis* with the social actors involved, in PROVA Project and in other European experiences (Chap. 3).

– In the second part, readers can find

a broad range of specific aspects concerning the prevention of violent youth radicalisation such as *innovative interventions with narrative and visual methods*, like the "Tree of Life" (which is a collective narrative practice and an opportunity to develop alternative identity stories about life, particularly in situations of hardship, illness, violence or trauma, countering the initial problematic stories, as in White and Epston 1990), the "Evocative Cards", and the "Autobiography trough the Human Figure" (Chap. 4);

a particular analysis of the *Theatre in prison*, explaining not only the meaning but also the process by which prisoners may rethink their (positive and negative) emotions and translate them in public performances, inspired by classical texts (Chap. 5);

the detailed description of a *training course for professionals of Juvenile Justice system* founded on narrative methods (Chap. 6);

the development of *involving local stakeholders with participatory meetings and consensus conferences* (Chap. 7). We have to observe that, generally, scientific approaches do not adequately deal with the role of stakeholders, who—instead—are crucial for planning effective and sustainable prevention. In this book, we look at this subject previously, in the first part, in Chap. 3, about the choice of the stakeholders for reaching a shared definition of radicalisation, and then in Chap. 7, in discussing methods and tools for involving them. Afterwards, the *rethinking of the spaces* for an inclusive city—since transforming urban spaces in suitable places to socialise was one of the core assumptions of our collective research—and the description of the workshop based on *space re-imagination and transformation*, carried out in a juvenile prison with minors and university students (Chap. 8);

and finally one chapter which deals with *participatory evaluation*: it is a crucial aspect for each project, and suitable methods and tools are discussed here (Chap. 9).

– The third part includes a further and topical research development, concerning the *online radicalisation* (Chap. 10).

At the end of the book, we give some suggestions for further reading with an *annotated bibliography*, which briefly describes the main contributions related to

the violent radicalisation (Annex I), assumed to be useful for readers who wish to thoroughly investigate the phenomenon.

In summary: the prevention of violent youth radicalisation will be discussed in a critical way, where the main innovation—we believe—lies on the *psychosocial approach, focused on inclusion* and grounded on positive perspectives, and on the *participatory methods*, coming from community psychology theories and practices. This book, therefore, is aimed at an interested, even if not specialised, target audience, including graduates, researchers, professionals, citizens, and policy-makers committed to proactive policies.

We hope that it may contribute to looking at complex issues from new and critical points of view.

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Part I
Reference Framework

Chapter 1
Theoretical Background of Violent Radicalisation. Research and Interventions from Different Perspectives

Patrizia Meringolo

Abstract This chapter will show a systematic review of the literature about radicalisation. The most of scientific literature and of experimented practices are *security-oriented*, where psychological contribution only appears as a support in the deradicalisation processes or as a search for indicators able to detect signs for future deviance and radicalisation. The innovation of the present contribution, which tries to fill this gap, is its psychosocial perspective, focusing on social inclusion and on a proactive approach, and exploring topics concerning group processes and dynamics, social identities, and theories on relative deprivation. Authors coming from both European and other international contexts are analysed and discussed, paying particular attention to the suggestions of the theoretical perspectives for implementing good practices. The contribution of the Council of Europe in promoting competences for democratic culture has been underlined. The most promising indications have been the reference framework of the PROVA project.

Keywords Radicalisation process · Relative deprivation · Securitarian approaches · Social identity · Preventive approach · PROVA project

1.1 Meanings of Radicalisation in Social Psychology

Radicalisation is nowadays a term which refers to extreme attitudes and violent behaviours, but this phenomenon has a wider meaning, well-known in social psychology studies, without a particular label of socially undesirable attitudes. In social groups, aspects related to radicalisation concern effects such as polarisation, which leads members to choose different—and often diverging—positions in group discussions.

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In a review, Isenberg (1986) explored mechanisms thought to underlie group polarisation, which are social comparison and persuasive argumentation processes. Generally, these two are combined to produce polarisation, although the persuasive argumentation effects tend to be wider. Twenty years later, Hogg and Reid (2006) addressed this problem from the point of view of the construction of social identity, and, particularly, how this attempt is related to the distinction between in-group (*our* groups) and out-group (the *others*), a difference assumed as necessary for building a sound social identity and setting the suitable norms for achieve it. From this perspective:

> Out-group norms can have a significant impact on how we construct in-group norms, particularly in the absence of clear in-group normative information. Specifically, we construct an in-group norm that is *polarized away* from the out-group and then conform to our in-group norm via self-categorization–based depersonalization, thus producing group polarization [...] or an apparent *counterconformity* to wider societal out-group norms. (Hogg and Reid 2006, p. 13)

A large body of findings demonstrated that group discussion produces a final group position that is more extreme than the average of the initial members' positions in the more different direction than the out-group. The polarisation appears even more extreme when members identify more strongly with their group (Abrams and Hogg 1990; Turner and Oakes 1989). Hogg and Reid (2006, pp. 14–17) moreover stated that there is a significant link between polarisation and communication, not yet sufficiently explored, particularly analysing how communication within groups produces a polarised norm or, more generally, how communication actually integrates diverse views within a decision-making group into a group norm. These aspects may become crucial also for understanding how and when language and communication may direct and sustain group schisms and subsequent radicalisation in their beliefs and norms.

Such specification is important—at the beginning of our work—because the "radicalisation" discourse (see Neumann 2008) over the last ten years has changed the meaning of the term, which has turned from indicating a polarised and even extreme position to labelling a deviant and dangerous attitude, with the risk of creating an undifferentiated outgroup, including a too large set of individuals and groups, ranging from people who disagree to violent radicalised people and terrorists. For this reason, we have chosen to use the term "violent radicalisation" both for a theoretical purpose (avoiding inaccurate constructs) and for the need for planning *inclusive* interventions (avoiding the labelling of specific target groups prior to prevention of unsuitable and antisocial behaviours).

In this regard, Peter Neumann, one of the founders of the "new radicalisation discourse", in 2008 observed:

> Following the attacks against the United States on 11 September 2001, it suddenly became very difficult to talk about the 'roots of terrorism' [...] and so experts and officials started referring to the idea of 'radicalisation' whenever they wanted to talk about 'what goes on before the bomb goes off.' (Neumann 2008; in Kundnani 2012, pp. 4–6)

After an analysis of peer-reviewed journals from 1990 to 2011, using full-text searches on journal publisher websites and on the EBSCO website, Kundnani (2012,

p. 7) showed that there is a huge increase in articles mentioning radicalisation from 2004, underlining the upsurge of academic interest in radicalisation, even if such issue is far from being adequately explored.

As Mark Sedgwick (2010) argued, the concept of radicalisation emphasises the individual, the ideology and the group, and de-emphasises the wider circumstances, the root causes.

Kundnani also observed that

> whereas, before 2001, the term 'radicalisation' had been used informally in academic literature to refer to a shift towards more radical politics (usually not referring to Muslims), by 2004 the term had acquired its new meaning of a psychological or theological process by which Muslims move towards extremist views (Kundnani 2012, p. 7).

Nevertheless, the debate about the different perceptions of the threat posed by citizens belonging to ethnic minorities, and particularly by Muslims, is still heated. A US organisation focused on law and policies, the Brennan Center for Justice (2019), has underlined the concern for overbroad surveillance and *securitarian* policies, observing that counter-terrorism risks to be based on prejudices rather than on real threats. And, in particular, they pointed out that the policies held should not violate constitutional values of fairness, equality and freedom of religion.

1.2 The Theoretical Origin of the *Securitarian* Approach to Radicalisation

Radicalisation theorists have comprised a large range of approaches, from studies focused on religious ideology to more complex models of radicalisation that see an interactive process between ideologies and socio-psychological aspects. Rather than religious beliefs by themselves driving individuals to violence, the picture is one in which ideology becomes more extreme in response to a 'cognitive opening', an 'identity crisis' or a 'group bonding' process. This implies a more sophisticated counter-radicalisation practice that addresses the interdependence of theology with emotions, identity and group dynamics (Kundnani 2012, p. 14).

Sageman (2004, 2008) attempted to develop a comprehensive theory of radicalisation. He was a psychiatrist, and an adviser to the New York Police Department (NYPD). Sageman rejected accounts that considered economic or political conditions as significant, on the grounds that these factors affect millions of people, whereas only a small number of them become terrorists, avoiding the consideration of religious ideology as the sole cause: "These perspectives imply an overly passive view of terrorists, who are the recipients of social forces or slaves to appealing ideas" (Sageman 2008, p. 23). Instead, he stated that we need to ask how terrorists interpret their structural conditions of life and how they attempt to respond with a common struggle. In his studies, he analysed a database of around five hundred people who were supposed to be 'linked' to the 9/11 attackers (e.g. friends), concluding that there are two major pathways into terrorism: the 'bunch of guys' who collectively decide to join a terrorist

organisation, and those willing to join a childhood friend who is already a terrorist. Social bonds, therefore, "come before any ideological commitment" (Sageman 2008, p. 70). He identified four aspects favouring this process:

> [...] first, a sense of moral outrage about a perceived injustice in the world; second, 'an enabling interpretation', such as that there is a war on Islam, which places this outrage in the wider context of a moral conflict; third, personal experiences, such as of discrimination, which become 'another manifestation of the war on Islam'; and, fourth, mobilising networks. (Sageman, 2008, p. 75)

Sageman thought that only people sharing their beliefs and experiences, but who are further along the path to violence or who are willing to explore it with them, can help them in crossing the line from anger to terrorism. Thus, it is the embedding of theological radicalism within a group dynamic that appears to be the root cause of radicalisation. Sageman's work had, therefore, some influence on how law enforcement agencies understood radicalisation.

Wiktorowicz (2005) proposed a quite similar combined theological and socio-psychological model of radicalisation. He attempted to explain how it was possible for people (as two British citizens who, in 2003, carried out a suicide attack at the Mike's Place bar in Tel Aviv) to be willing to carry out such an act of violence. Anyway the people he studied, through interviews and participant observation, were radical activists, not terrorists, a distinction that made a great impact on his attempt to construct a model of 'radicalisation'. Like other radicalisation scholars, Wiktorowicz argued that, by themselves, political and economic circumstances are insufficient to account for radical activism.

New York Police Department published a study entitled *Radicalization in the West: the homegrown threat* (Silber et al. 2007), which outlined a political version of this model of radicalisation. The report identified 'jihadist' ideology as the key driver of radicalisation, suggesting four phases by which an individual becomes a person who is 'quite likely to be involved in the planning or implementation of a terrorist act', a 'funnel' through which ordinary persons become terrorists, as their religious beliefs become progressively more radical:

> *pre-radicalisation* (before exposure to jihadi-Salafi ideology);
> *self-identification* (beginning to explore jihadi-Salafi ideology as a result of a cognitive opening that leads to the breakdown of an existing identity and association with like-minded others);
> *indoctrination* (progressive intensification of beliefs, leading to complete adoption of the ideology, as a result of group socialisation); and
> *jihadisation* (acceptance of an individual duty to participate in jihad) (Silber et al. 2007, p. 19)

The NYPD study argued that each of these four stages of radicalisation has its distinct set of indicators that allow predictions to be made about future terrorist risk (even if religious indicators—they said—cannot be used for purposes of surveillance). For example, stage two of the radicalisation process has "typical signatures" that include: "joining or forming a group of like-minded individuals, giving up

cigarettes, drinking, gambling and urban hip-hop gangster clothes, wearing traditional Islamic clothing, growing a beard" and, finally, "becoming involved in social activism and community issues" (Silber et al. 2007, p. 31).

Such model of radicalisation became one of the antecedents of the *securitarian approach* in the USA with a massive surveillance of suspected groups of people, first of all Muslims. The FBI gave more weight to local community partnerships in countering the radicalisation process, believing that this approach could prevent extremism (Kundnani 2011).

Anyway the scientific literature, especially coming from USA, doesn't provide a causal relationship between religious beliefs and violence, and the concept of radicalisation as propensity to violence risks to be confused with radical ideas. This perspective had implied—as said before—an approach to counter-radicalisation solely based on the containment and the eradication of the phenomenon, without analysing the social root of anger and violence. Different approaches—as we can see below—could also include political engagement of Muslim communities by means of democratic actions, or promotion of empowerment (starting from young people and from educational activities) or counter-narratives, as different visions of their situation.

1.3 Towards a Comprehensive Model of Radicalisation and De-radicalisation

Kruglanski et al. (2014) designed a model of radicalisation and de-radicalisation based on the idea that personal significance may constitute the main motivation pushing individuals towards violent extremism. Radicalisation is defined as "the process of supporting or engaging in activities deemed (by others) as in violation of important social norms (e.g. the killing of civilians)" (Kruglansky et al. 2014, p. 69). Radicalisation is therefore a matter of *degree* (in which mere attitudinal support for violence reflects a lower degree of radicalisation than actual engagement in violence) and represents "a subjective judgment proffered by those for whom the violated norms seem important but not by those who have devalued or suppressed the norms in question" (Kruglansky et al. 2014, p. 69).

Their model included three components: the *motivation*, which is the quest for personal significance; the *ideology*, which justifies the use of violence for the intended goals; the *social process of networking and group dynamics* by which individuals share with the reference group the justification for violence and implement it for achieving significance.

Such model (Krugkansly et al. 2014, p. 72), defined as the *counterfinality model* of radicalism (CFMR), explains—from the authors' perspective—the process of radicalism and the radicalisation *degrees*. In particular: a given means, "means A" serves the "focal goal" (i.e. the main purpose) named "F", and it is *counterfinal* in that it undermines other goals (e.g. goals C and D). We may, therefore, not only compare the relation between a goal and the means to achieve it, but also explain *different*

radicalisation degrees. Specifically, for a *less* radicalised individual, the other goals— C and D, which are *not focal*—remain important and are unlikely to be devalued. Instead, for a *highly* radicalised individual the focal goal is more dominant, and the alternative goals are devalued, suggesting a higher degree of imbalance between the focal and the alternative goals, and therefore a greater risk of involvement in radicalised actions. In such a way Kruglansky distinguished among the different *degrees* of radicalisation, referring to the *extent of imbalance* between the focal goal (and the related extreme behaviours) and the other goals.

The *counterfinality* model may solve the difficulty in agreeing on whether a given behaviour is or is not radical (see also Schmid et al. 1988): the difference between a radicalised person and a non-radicalised person is the priority given by the radicalised one to some essential purposes, which may include the adoption of extreme means (e.g. violence against human beings) that the non-radicalised people consider irrational and unacceptable.

In this perspective, the so-called road to radicalisation begins with the attention paid to the significance of a goal, or an issue, and the possible means to achieve the requested outcome. If the individuals' vision identifies violence as a "justifiable" means to significance, aggressive behaviours may be undertaken. Individuals may follow different pathways, and a violent ideology may firstly appear salient for a personal significance; in other cases, instead, their first experience may be the contact with a radicalised social network (Moghaddam and Eubank 2006; Weinberg and Eubank 2006), and then their beliefs—including the violent ones—may come from the members of the new reference group.

Kruglanski and colleagues (2014, p. 82) underlined that:

Self-identification as a member of a social group larger than oneself can have a buffering effect against life's failures and increase one's sense of personal power and significance. Consistent with this notion is the considerable evidence that activating or making salient one's collective identity reduces one's *fear of death* […].

Following this approach, the de-radicalisation included a restoration of commitment to alternative goals and values, and a reduction of the commitment to the focal and ideological goal or to the means for achieving it (Kruglanski et al. 2014, p. 84). Their conclusion was that radicalisation is not a mysterious or incomprehensible matter, but rather an interactive process where personality, culture or situational aspects impact as *contributing factors* (Kruglanski and Fishman 2006) that make violence and terrorism more likely. It may represent the convergence of three elements: the *goal*, the ideology supporting the violent *means* as the path to significance, and the social process of networking and group dynamics through which adoption of the goal and the means is carried out (Kruglanski et al. 2014, p. 89).

Ten years later, Kruglanski et al. (2019) reaffirmed the *three pillars* of radicalisation in *Needs*, *Narratives* (which guides members in their *quest for significance*) and *Networks*, and examined the issues in de-radicalisation and recidivism, analysing also the policies upheld by different countries, their attitudes towards the problem and their way to counteract the threat of violence.

1.4 Radicalisation and Social Identity: The Staircase by Moghaddam

The most famous model that included radicalisation in the complex issue related to achieving social identity was the "staircase" by Moghaddam (2005).

He drew the pathway towards violent actions using the metaphor of a staircase, leading to increasingly higher floors, and—what is important for possible prevention—stated that an individual can stop climbing and it "depends on the doors and spaces" (p. 161).

In his analysis, the *Ground Floor* (p. 162) referred to the *Psychological Interpretation of Material Conditions*, where there is the majority of people, who perceives injustice and inequalities, together with feelings of frustration and shame for their marginalised condition. Such psychological perceptions may be decisive because only poverty and low educational level are not sufficient to explain the starting of extreme actions.

The *First Floor* was related to *Perceived Options to Fight Unfair Treatment*: individuals who suffer for an unjust situation try "different doors" (p. 163) searching for solutions. Moghaddam indicated two psychological factors impacting on such choice, as a possibility for social mobility and perceptions of procedural justice (Tyler 1994), which become "doors that could be opened" (Moghaddam 2005, p. 163) if individuals are motivated to change and have the possibility to participate in decision-making. About perceived injustice, Moghaddam stated, according to Tyler and Huo (2002), that:

> […] independent of *distributive justice*—the outcomes of justice processes—and *interactional justice*—the explanations that authorities provide for their decisions and the considerations they show to the recipients of decisions—the key factor in perceived legitimacy and willingness to abide by government regulations is *procedural justice*—how fair people see the decision-making process to be. (Moghaddam 2005, p. 164)

The *Second Floor* has been indicated as the scene where the *Displacement of Aggression* occurs. A well-known mechanism in psychology, such displacement appears depending on several and different reasons, like authoritarian educational systems—furthering ingroup against outgroup thinking—and fundamentalist movements, fostering strong social minority identities, often opposed to the majority supposed as the cause of the injustices. Individuals may become willing to climb other steps in the staircase, undertaking violent behaviours against the perceived enemy.

The *Third Floor* described the *Moral Engagement*, a sort of parallel morality that justifies any possible means for achieving the goals of the reference group. Terrorists, indicated as morally disengaged, "from the perspective of the morality that exists within terrorist organizations, are morally engaged in the way morality is constructed by the terrorist organization" (Moghaddam 2005, p. 165). Although the debate about the "correct" interpretation of Islam, including the ideology of martyrdom, is now open within Muslim and the whole social context.

In the *Fourth Floor*, *Solidification of Categorical Thinking and the Perceived Legitimacy of the Terrorist Organization*, the model has placed the ultimate entry of an individual in the terrorist organisation, generally becoming part of small cells, where he/she gets attention and is trained in psychological and operational ways. Social categorisation is strengthened and ingroup favouritism/outgroup discrimination and even aggression are legitimated. It is just this "categorical us-versus-them view of the world" (Moghaddam 2005, p. 165) that represents the features of terrorist organisations, and is attractive for the new-recruited, searching for a more powerful social identity than his/her previous marginalised experiences.

Finally, the *Fifth Floor*: *The Terrorist Act and Sidestepping Inhibitory Mechanisms*. In this step, the question posed by Moghaddam concerned the way to manage inhibitory mechanism towards violence, especially when actions involve civilians. As in similar soldiers' training, not only in terrorist groups, but also in "regular" armies, a possible answer lies in psychological processes related to intergroup dynamics, like the social categorisation of civilians/citizens as part of the outgroup (and so enemies), and the creation of psychological distance from them, enhancing the differences between ingroup and outgroup up to the dehumanisation of the other part of society. Such factors can prevent inhibitory mechanisms due to the (often) very close proximity to their targets, who—moreover—are generally unaware of the danger, and so are unable, psychologically and materially, to induce inhibition of violence.

The interest aroused by this contribution has been founded firstly on its social psychology grounds, which turn the origin of violent radicalisation not merely into an ideological adhesion but rather into a complex and interlaced situation of marginality and poor social identity, and, above all, into the implication for policies, best practices and prevention of the phenomenon.

The first indicated "long-term solution" to terrorism (Moghaddam 2015, pp. 167–168) was its prevention, integrating educational and healthcare systems; the second recommendation referred to paying attention to the construction of procedural justice, able to give voice to and influence the perception of minorities and genders, including them in the decision-making processes. Then, surely, the role of education, especially against categorical "us-versus-them thinking", which is a dangerous temptation in any society, also in the Western ones, for ensuring conformity to the attitudes and conventional behaviours, so as to protect the social (and political) majority from deviance.

Finally, the promotion of "interobjectivity and justice": Moghaddam hypothesised—even in front of tragic events—a care not only for the victims but also for those who are still in the first steps or willing to exit from the staircase (as individuals and as groups), because "greater international dialogue and improved intercultural understanding must come about as part of a long-term solution (p. 168). Psychologists may have a crucial role in influencing interobjectivity, which is an understanding shared within and between cultures.

The staircase of terrorism—and the subsequent work by Moghaddam, related to the mutual radicalisation—largely influenced European theorists and European policies, for his proactive vision and prevention-oriented indications.

1.4.1 A More Recent Contribution by Moghaddam, the Mutual *Radicalisation*

The *mutual* radicalisation, as described by Moghaddam (2018, p. 4) occurs:

> when two groups take increasingly extreme positions opposing one another, reacting against real or imagined threats, moving further and further apart in points of view, mobilising their resources to launch attacks and finally attempting to weaken and destroy each other. A key feature of mutual radicalisation is that it is a process that can only emerge through interactions *between* groups and nations.

Its properties can be understood only examining the relations between the groups, rather than the features of each of them.

Moghaddam (2018, p. 5) stated that there is a "normal" level of tensions or even conflicts between groups, which indicate a baseline—a sort of point of departure—for the process of mutual radicalisation. The latter was designed by the author as a *dynamic model* of mutual radicalisation, composed of three main stages: group mobilisation, extreme ingroup cohesion, and antagonistic identity transformation, which have been applied in exploring different actual conflicts (Islamic radicalisation and the Western countries, nation-states on the road to possible mutual radicalisation, and "domestic" mutual radicalisation processes within political contrasts).

Generally, the groups are involved in a *symmetric* mutual radicalisation, where they both radicalise and a radical move by one group is followed by a radical response from the second group, and so on—in an escalation—up to a stalemate condition. Groups may be engaged also in an *asymmetric* mutual radicalisation, where group 1 takes radical positions, pulling group 2 towards itself, which encourages the first group to radicalise even further, and so on. The two groups influence each other, but they are moving in the same direction, with the first group taking up more and more extreme positions (as happens in political conflicts within a country).

Talking about symmetric and asymmetric, mutual radicalisation may contribute to explain also terms like radicalisation and extremism, because each group may define the other's position as extreme.

In the model proposed by Moghaddam, reference groups—because of their social power and access to resources—have a great chance to influence the way of thinking this issue, nevertheless "ordinary people" (p. 8) and common citizens also play central roles and are responsible for emerging biases perceptions and discriminating actions.

Mutual radicalisation is a combination of psychological and material factors, which are strictly interlaced. Moghaddam (2018, p. 9) gave the example of the town of Jerusalem:

> Jerusalem has high material value, in that land Jerusalem has a very high price on the open market. However, beyond the material value, Jerusalem is of great symbolic value, particularly for practicing Christians, Jews and Muslims. Disentangling the material value from the symbolic value of Jerusalem becomes difficult and impractical.

Such described process is dynamic and mutual, because an increase in radicalisation in one group affects other groups, with an escalation to further radicalised

attitudes and behaviours. The collective changes have an influence also on each group member, who—even reluctantly—can adopt extreme positions along with the whole group.

The term *causal plasticity* has been used in the case studies explored by Moghaddam to indicate the causes of the conflicts as interpreted by the two sides, which means what each of them says for "the conflict is about". Perceived and described causes can change over time, and often really change. Recognising that is important in order to understand the conflicts and attempt to find possible solutions. Causes have generally been seen in a simplified and static way, without considering the "*constructions* of conflict, as reflected in the narratives of those involved" (Moghaddam 2018, p. 13). In this psychological process, *cultural carriers* are built and become the means for spreading the culture of a group over time (Moghaddam 2002), as collective identity and memory.

1.5   Radicalisation in a Social Context. European Contributions

Van den Bos has given a great contribution in the topic of radicalisation. In his article about unfairness and radicalisation (2019), he presented a review about people's perceptions of unfairness and their tendencies to commit to radicalised behaviours. In such way, he based his psychological research on the key aspects of perceived unfairness. This approach referred to psychological studies centred on the experience of group deprivation and relative deprivation, which is a phenomenon well analysed in social psychology (Brown and Pehrson 2019, pp. 228–230). Deprivation was defined by Berkowitz (1972) as the subjective perception to be deprived, in those conditions that hinder individuals' expectations. Gurr (1970) systematised the Relative Deprivation Theory, explaining social violence and anger as depending on a discrepancy between what one individual wants to have in relation to how little one has.

Smith and Pettigrew (2015, p. 2), in a review, have defined Relative Deprivation (RD) as

> a judgment that one or one's ingroup is disadvantaged compared to a relevant referent, and that this judgment invokes feelings of anger, resentment and entitlement. In addition to the fundamental feature that the concept refers to *individuals and their reference groups,* note that there are four basic components of this definition.

Smith et al. (2012) indicated the four requirements for RD: individuals firstly make cognitive comparisons, then cognitive appraisals that they or their ingroup are disadvantaged, perceive these disadvantages as unfair and finally resent these unfair and undeserved disadvantages. We may add—in this regard—that nowadays the rise of social inequalities negatively impact on the whole system of social protection, which was based on the assumption of a moderate but steady growth in wealth for the whole population, therefore, it is often difficult to deal with the scaling of

available resources and the spread of marginal situations, so relative deprivation can only increase (Meringolo and Volpi 2016, p. 111).

Back to the review by Van den Bos, core theories of the radicalisation process have been examined, starting from those that situate such topic in a broader context: the *Staircase approach* (Moghaddam 2005); the *Trigger approach* (Feddes et al. 2015); the *Goal-Achievement Approach* (Kruglanski et al. 2014); the *Individual, Group, and Mass approaches* (McCauley and Moskalenko 2008); and the *Individual and Socialization approaches* (Kepel and Rougier 2016).

We have already talked about some of these theorists. It is anyway important to underline the Feddes's approach, because he considered the radicalisation a nonlinear process, which—as Van den Bos observed—may have more or less time length, and not necessarily each involved individual will radicalise.

Feddes (Feddes et al. 2015; see also Doosje et al. 2016a) identified four stages in the process: (a) become sensitive to radicalisation, (b) orient themselves in a particular type of radicalisation, (c) become members of a radicalised group, (d) undertake extremist actions. In the third of them, the vision of violence may increase as possible and permissible. In each stage, there are specific *trigger factors*, which may have a direct effect or a moderation effect, and may be *root factors* (long-term conditions, like perception of unfairness and injustice) or personal factors (like people's identity, perceived relative deprivation, or experiences with discrimination).

The importance of Feddes's approach lies in his multifaceted and multifactorial model, where radicalisation is not based on a chain cause–effect and is not seen as a direct and inevitable consequence of being exposed to violent networks, but rather as a complex interaction among individuals' perceptions, reference groups and—not least—the context problems, which may give rise to deprivation (and relative deprivation) , unfairness and even human rights violation.

McCauley and Moskalenko (2008) particularly explored the different levels at which processes of radicalisation take place: at individual level, people may feel themselves as personal victims; at group level intergroup (and also within-group) competitions may be observed, especially in discussing political opinions and adequate means for reaching collective goals; at mass level attitudes and behaviours may become more and more extreme, particularly when the conflict with the "enemy" involves prolonged violence, so as to dehumanise outgroup members.

Kepel and Rougier (2016) focused their studies on socialisation dynamics of jihadist terrorism, remarking that committed individuals are often resourceful and well integrated in their communities, even though they can be frustrated about important events in their lives or disillusioned for insufficient or negative outcomes of their emancipation. When such situation is coupled with a history of delinquency or other personal difficulties, the engagement in paths of radicalisation and ultimately in militancy and terrorism becomes more likely. Symbols of injustice, the legitimisation of revolutionary thought and the experience of unfair treatment can also increase radicalisation.
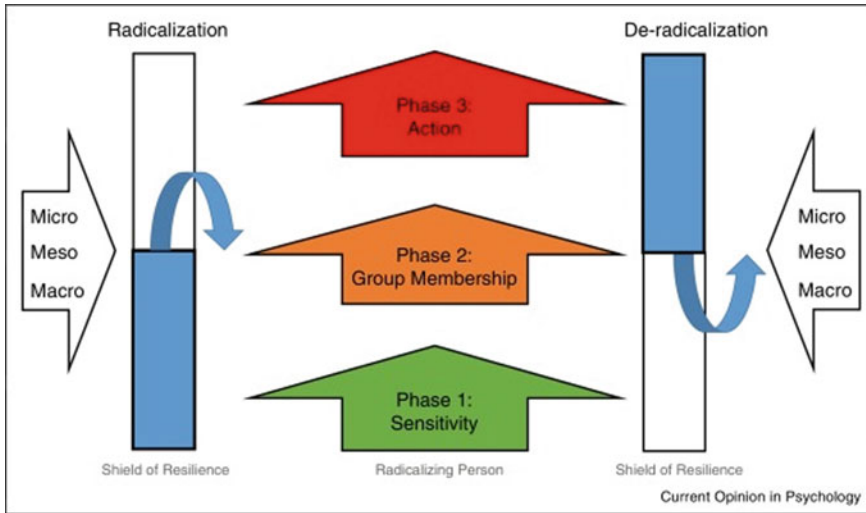
Fig. 1.1 Model of radicalisation (and de-radicalisation). (*Source* Reprinted from Doosje et al. 2016a, p. 80, Copyright (2016), with permission from Elsevier)

Van den Bos also examined core moderators, which are uncertainty and insufficient self-correction, and mediators, like externally oriented emotions, in the relationship between perceived unfairness and components of radicalisation (e.g. rigidity of thoughts, defence of cultural worldviews and violent denial of democratic principles).

What about the exit from radicalisation? Doosje and colleagues (Doosje et al. 2016a; see also, for the model, Doosje et al. 2016) suggested that radicalised individuals and groups have a sort of "shield" of *resilience*, so as to be less permeable to anti-radical messages. Similarly, there is the possibility to de-radicalise, rejecting the previous ideology up to a further disengagement, as shown in Fig. 1.1.

The process indicated by Doosje comprises *three phases*: the *sensitivity* towards the issue, the *group membership* (where the world view is shared with significant others), and finally the *action*, with the undertaking of violent behaviours. Such a process may take place at micro-, meso- and macro-levels (according to the definition by Bronfenbrenner 1979), and exit strategies may occur for individual relational events, or for intellectual doubts or for intra-group conflicts. The groups themselves, moreover, can disintegrate, or change political strategies.

Research has shown, besides, that interventions based on the construct of resilience, which means the capability to hope with successful adaptation despite risk and adversity (Masten 1994; see also Meringolo et al. 2016), may successfully increase both self-confidence and empathy, so as to work towards the de-radicalisation (Feddes et al. 2013).

1.6   The European Proactive Approach

A sensible difference emerges between North Americans and European studies. Similar dissimilarities may be observed in the socio-political attitudes to face such an issue. European policies have been more centred on a proactive approach, rather than a reactive one, to deal with this serious problem.

In the European Union, the work carried out by the RAN—Radicalisation Awareness Network (2014; 2016) is remarkable. It is a "*network of networks*", set up in order to facilitate the exchange of experiences and knowledge among the key social actors involved in the fight against radicalisation throughout the European Union, such as social workers, religious ministers, NGOs, law enforcement agencies, policy-makers.

The RAN is an EU-wide umbrella network with a section focused on educational interventions for young people. The proposed activities are:

– *Training* for professionals involved with vulnerable individuals or groups at risk of radicalisation.
– *Exit strategies*, as de-radicalisation and disengagement programmes (during and after detention).
– *Community engagement and empowerment*, for building trustful relationships with authorities and public bodies.
– *Educational intervention*, addressed to young people, about citizenship, tolerance, non-prejudicial thinking and democratic values.
– *Family support*, both for vulnerable and radicalised individuals.
– *Proposal of alternative narratives*, providing a different point of view online and offline.
– *Countering Violent Extremism (CVE)*, institutional measures to ensure support to individuals at risk at an early stage (RAN 2016).

A crucial aspect, included in one of the RAN activities, is related to the prevention of violent radicalisation in prisons, specifically in juvenile jails.

RAN talks also about "counter-narratives", or "counter-arguments" or "alternative narratives" as powerful instruments for providing youth—and particularly Muslim adolescents—with a different point of view on conflicts, minorities issues and stereotypes.

Counter-narratives are important to build a new image of personal and collective history, oriented attitudes and social behaviours. We may have a good example of alternative narratives, based on visual methods, in a US media production, *Average Mohammed* (Mohammed Amin Ahmed, 2017). Ahmed, Muslim, immigrant from Africa and—in his words—"proud citizen of the USA and living in Minnesota over twenty years", had the idea to use popular, cultural and media tools for producing videos exposing the core mission of the organisation, for online campaigns, focused on counter-narratives, countering the violent extremism. His videos include topics as "*We have stories to tell*" about different identities in Islam, or "*A Muslim in the west*"

especially addressed to the different generations of migrants, or "*Be like Aisha*" on the female condition, or—specifically addressed against violence and the recruitment of fighters—"*The bullet and the ballot*", "because we are Muslims and we have a choice".

1.7 The PROVA Project (2016-2018): Assumptions and Core Ideas

When the PROVA (2016-2018) Project was proposed, answering to a European call, our perspectives and directions had been clearly stated:

– the founding values, that are inclusion, civic engagement and mutual respect among all the individuals and the social groups;
– the interventions addressed to different people: professionals and educators, minors in jail or under judicial proceedings, university students, policy-makers, citizens committed in inclusion;
– in particular, the interventions planned and implemented with youth (young offenders and involved university students) were based on two pillars: *peer-to-peer relationships* for "learning by doing", cultural competences and positive behaviours in groups experiences; *space re-imagination* for learning the sense of belonging to local communities. In our opinion, such goals can be reached by caring for the environment and through proposals for turning urban spaces—even if marginalised—into spaces for socialisation.

The stated assumptions were, therefore, the importance of avoiding positions, theories or methods that *stigmatise*[1] any migrant—especially the Islamic ones—as possible terrorists, or redefine migrant communities as *suspect* communities; and of avoiding the use of psychological sciences as a means to *detect* potentially dangerous individual tendencies.

Stigma is, in fact, a powerful instrument of exclusion, able to thwart any project, although well-structured, limiting the activities to a merely buffering action.

This community-based approach has definitely situated PROVA far from the *securitarian* perspective, and—instead—in line with the proactive and educational approach fostered by the European RAN.

Methods of interventions, monitoring and evaluation, consequently, have been *participatory*, making room for creative experiences, like theatre, narrative and visual methodologies.

The European Union is engaged in preventing violent extremism and radicalisation mainly by means of a widespread education in democracy (Barrett et al. 2016). The Council of Europe, for this purpose, has built the *Reference Framework*

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[1]A wide and deep historical discussion of the topic "stigma" will be found in the Chap. 2 of this book, which explores the complexity of such an issue and the links between stigma and deviant careers.

of Competences for Democratic Culture—CDC (Council of Europe 2018), which specifies "the tools and critical understanding that learners at all levels of education should acquire in order to feel a sense of belonging and make their own positive contributions to the democratic societies in which we live" (Council of Europe 2018, vol. I, p. 5). The conceptual model comprises twenty competences, divided in Values, Attitudes, Skills and Knowledge and critical understanding.

PROVA Project was strictly involved in such educational vision; thus, we have tried to compare our work to the model proposed by the reference framework. In Fig. 1.2, we can see some examples, coming from our activities, and referred to values (where we have included *trust* as social orientation, *accountability* of local representatives and *inclusion*), attitudes (in particular *identification* in the social groups and in the community), skills (like *democratic models in organisations*, *commitment*, specific *skills for professionals* of the Juvenile Justice system) and critical knowledge (that is a critical reflection on *ethical issues*, going beyond the individual ethics towards *ethics in interventions*).

Building a democratic society, leading educational work and promoting civic engagement turned out to be a credible and sustainable way to prevent violent radicalisation and aggressive behaviours.
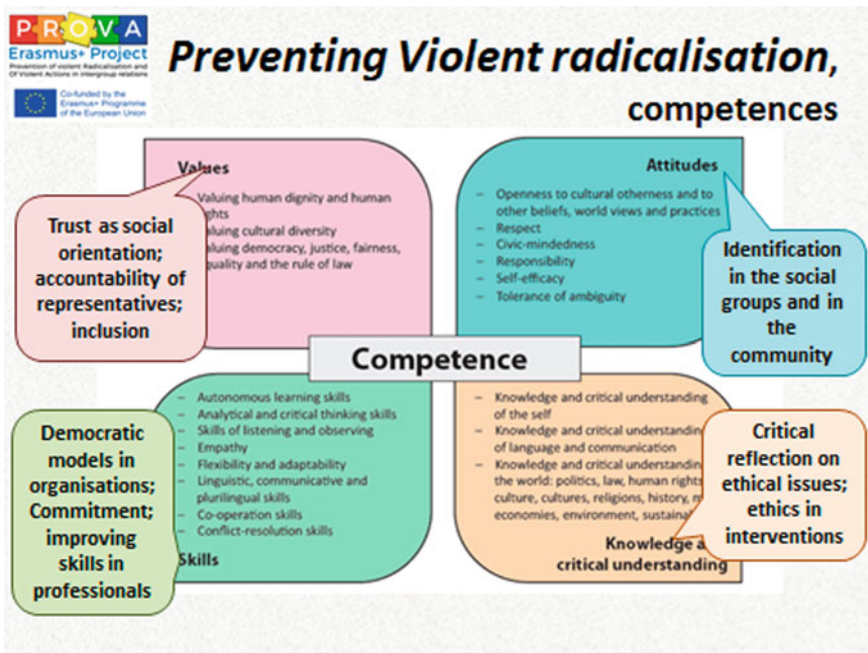

Fig. 1.2 PROVA Project in the Model of CDC. (*Source* Meringolo 2019, inspired by *Reference Framework of CDC*, vol. I, p. 38 and adapted by Patrizia Meringolo)

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Chapter 2
Stigmatisation Processes. The Power of Classifications

Marta Venceslao, Ruben David Fernandez, and Moisés Carmona

> […] It is notorious that a classification of the universe that is not arbitrary and full of conjectures does not exist. The reason is very simple: we don't know what the universe is. […] It is possible to go further; it is possible to suspect that there is no universe in the unifying organic sense, a sense which that ambitious word has.
> Jorge Luis Borges (2012 [1925;1952]). *The analytical language of John Wilkins.*

Abstract This chapter will show a systematic review of the literature about radicalisation. The most of scientific literature and of experimented practices are *securarity-oriented*, where psychological contribution only appears as a support in the de-radicalisation processes or as a search for indicators able to detect signs for future deviance and radicalisation. The innovation of the present contribution, which tries to fill this gap, is its psychosocial perspective, focusing on social inclusion and on a proactive approach, and exploring topics concerning group processes and dynamics, social identities and theories on relative deprivation. Authors coming both from European and other international contexts are analysed and discussed, paying particular attention the suggestions of the theoretical perspectives for implementing good practices. The contribution of the Council of Europe in promoting competences for democratic culture has been underlined. The most promising indications have been the reference framework of the PROVA project.

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2.1 Introduction

Prostitutes, *drug addicts*, *homeless*, *young criminals*, *misfits* or *violent…* This is presumably the core of the so-called social deviance camp or, if preferred, of the *abnormal* (Foucault 2000a [1999]). People who are considered trapped in a certain type of rejection of the collective social order; those perceived as unable to use the opportunities for progress in the various paths approved by society (Goffman 2003 [1963], p. 166). Beings that we cease to see as normal and ordinary people, as complete persons, and go on to swell the ranks of those *unhappy*, *internalised*, *differentiated* and *despicable* beings. The otherness—embodied, among others, in the figures of the deviant, the madman, the offender or the excluded—refers us to a system of representations that assigns the other inferiorising attributes that will make him bearer of a stigma. Degrading features, notes Gallén (2006, p. 12), which can be completely fanciful but very operational as long as they find precisely in their imaginary nature the key to their irrevocability. The others, the different ones, the maximum exponents of moral and social degradation, will be placed in social categories towards whose members all kinds of negative responses are generated. Physical and symbolic violence legitimised in the different nature of the stigmatised, whose *impaired identity* authorises the reduction of humanity with consequences that can range from social invalidation in its multiple modalities (confinement, banishment, repudiation, commiseration, etc.), to extermination, death.

It has been pointed out that anthropology privileges and is defined around the study of the fundamental category of otherness (Krotz 2007, p. 160). From this discipline, important contributions have been made—empirical and conceptual—to the analysis of the processes of identity production and of the social, cultural and political devices that make it possible. Anthropological science has shown its relevance in the study of the negativity of the beings that represent those areas of shadow, darkness and disorder present in every society. At the same time, he has shown that the others, the *strangers*, far from being a natural phenomenon, are a product of social dynamics and ideologies. It is always the result of a specific and concrete socio-historical and situational relationship. As Enrique Santamaría says (2002, p. 7), it is the effect of the social relationship between two heterogeneities: *relative* (the others are always the others of a heterogeneous us) and *relational* (the others of a us are a us that sees us as others).

It is within these considerations that we underline the role of anthropology and sociology as reference disciplines in the development of the PROVA project (PROVA 2016–2018) in general, and of this chapter, in particular. In the pages that follow, we will try to approach the *modus operandi* of the classification logic and its corollary of stigmatising effects as core elements that allow elucidating the construction of the figure of the *young criminal*. Likewise, we will address the different theories that have approached the phenomenon of social deviance in its criminal dimension.

We believe that this theoretical framework allows a better approach to the radicalisation processes in the context of juvenile justice. The concept of "radicalisation" can be defined as a "process of change, a transformation of a personal nature, by which

the individual passes from one condition to another" (Christmann 2012, p. 10). It is necessary to distinguish between "cognitive radicalisation" and "violent radicalisation" (Vidino and Brandon 2012, p. 9) and underline that the existence of radicalisation processes does not necessarily imply the existence of harmful or violent behaviours. Preventive actions within a field as sensitive as this require precise uses of our analysis categories so as not to incur in what Bigo et al. (2014, p. 6) warn: "radicalisation seems to be a useless concept to understand the forms of political violence; simplistic causal links have obscured the fact that radicalisation processes are complex and difficult to anticipate". We want this chapter to be an enlightening contribution in this sense of the phenomenon.

2.2 The (Paradoxically) Central Role of the Excluded

Dios habría podido hacer ricos a todos los hombres, pero quiso que hubiera pobres en este mundo para que los ricos tuvieran ocasión de redimir sus pecados.

Life of San Eloy (in Gomez 1993, p. 11).

Durkheim (1895[1895]) was one of the first theorists to address the social functions of deviance. His main thesis postulates that deviance contributes to consolidate cultural values and norms, thus becoming an indispensable part in the process of creating and maintaining consensus on them. The deviance would be functional in two ways: first, because it provokes and stimulates the social reaction, stabilising and keeping alive the collective feeling on which it is based—compliance with the norm—and secondly, because the fact that the public authority downloads Its regulatory function on the phenomenon of deviance provides social guidelines to integrate dysfunctional elements or social change, contributing to the promotion of social unity. The unitary response to deviance actions would strengthen the social bond and contribute to defining moral limits. The French sociologist criticised the representation of deviance as a pathological phenomenon arguing that it occurs in every society, linked to the conditions and physiology of all collective life and being an integral part of a *healthy* society. Ultimately, it would not be possible to understand the deviant subject as a radically antisocial being, as a foreign body introduced into society, but to understand it as a regulatory agent of the collective life that allows the social structure to be endowed, through an adequate regulatory reaction, of functional elements for the integration and cohesion of the system.

These considerations allow us to place the centre of the—borgian—maze from which to configure the theoretical framework of this research, and which could be formulated with the statement of Tizio (1997, p. 93), "every order is constituted based on an exclusion". The social imaginary places the threatening existence of the different ones in the margins, outside the group, against the order of the community. Young (1999, p. 165) noted that the desire to demonise the other is based precisely on the ontological uncertainties of those inside. The construction of the social anomaly would, therefore, be the reflection of the fears that society experiences, a series of

constructions that would attend, as Mallart (1984, p. 54) elucidates in relation to the disease, to a conceptual device which allows to explain the different forms of disorder that can destabilise the community. Or put another way, a mechanism that allows us to think, organise and (re)structure society. The deviant guarantees the separation between the normal and abnormal, the pure and the impure, the adapted and the maladaptive, by marking the necessary distance between the two domains: of a winged one, a structured and harmonic *order*, from another, an amorphous and anarchic *disorder*. Remember that this construction of the other, as Claude Lévi-Strauss showed (1982 [1962]), responds to logical operations that are always articulated from oppositions and incompatibilities.

Following the analytical sensitivity of the same author, it could be added that the figure of the abnormal—in any of his incarnations (young offender, prostitute, socially excluded, etc.)—acts as *symbolic operator* (Lévi-Strauss 1992 [1958]), that is, as a conceptual artefact to whom to think antagonistic and opposite or, taking the allegory of Dolores Juliano (2002) in the case of prostitution, a *dark mirror* that returns the image that would certify one's normality. It is in this sense that the deviant—in whom the category of the *socially excluded* would be none other than one of its contemporary representations (Venceslao 2011)—allows to think of an ideal state of the social which is at the same time disabled by the disorders that its threatening presence implies. The discursive categories derived from antagonistic divisions, such as included/excluded, are the instruments per excellence of the construction of a symbolic order that places the individuals imprisoned in them as atoning figures of the community, characters that would come to dispel our fears when thinking they belong on the other side of law and order. It is the existence of the excluded, being anomalous, that confirms the inclusion situation of the included, which can breathe easily knowing they are within the parameters of normality.

In his approach to the processes of exclusion in the Middle Ages—which in our opinion are surprisingly analogous to those that occur in our contemporaneity—Goff (2008 [2005], p. 179) summarises the ideological bases of exclusion and introduces with them the paradoxically central role of those who embody the figure of the excluded. It deserves to be quoted extensively:

> In a [medieval] society beset by the fear of ideological contamination, but hesitant about excluding those who may contribute, contradictorily, to the salvation of the pure, what prevails over the marginalized is an ambiguous attitude. Medieval Christianity seems to banish them and admire them at the same time; It is afraid of them in a mixture of attraction and horror. It keeps them at a distance but sets that distance so that the marginalized are within reach. Medieval society is in need of these outcasts because, although they are dangerous, they are visible, because by virtue of the care they provide, peace of conscience is ensured and, even more, because they magically project and fix all the evils that drive them away of itself.

They are a source of disturbances and decompositions, at the same time as a generating substance that makes and remakes social life. We insist again on the idea that those labelled as abnormal allow the social order to think of itself—with its inconsistencies and disorders—as the contingent result of a monstrous presence that needs to be monitored and controlled (Gallén 2006). This is the relationship

established by Turner (2007 [1967]) between those monstrous incarnations and some liminoid characters that exercise as *semantic molecules* (p. 115), that is, as elements that allow the social order to think of itself in terms of unity, order and perfection in opposition to the spawn and the stridency of the anomalous existence of that figure.

Summarising, it is necessary the existence of evil and monstrous beings so that the evil can be located and surrounded, thus preventing a metastasis to the rest of the social body. It is in this type of operations—inscribed in dynamics of a political nature—that, as Reguillo (2005, p. 408) has emphasised, we can lighten our faults and mitigate our fears. All the precautions, the cares, the risks involved in being at the border warn not of the risk that exists at the borders, but of the enormous fear that leads us to imagine that there were none (Giobellina 1990, p. 139).

The normal/abnormal dichotomy guarantees the strict separation of contaminants in a segregated sphere but within reach; separation that clearly defines the sphere of those included and excluded. In this sense, a certain parallel could be drawn between the figure of the foreigner elucidated by Georg Simmel (1977 [1927]) and that of the so-called *socially excluded*. Both figures embody the same contradiction, namely they allude to beings that are inside, but that do not belong to the inside; they are at the same time near, physically, and far, morally. Note that the so-called socially excluded are always part of the society from which they are said to be expelled. They are, not outside of society, but outside certain circuits, of certain socio-economic practices (Venceslao, 2008). Castel (2004, [2003], p. 63) has rightly pointed out that de-collectivisation is itself a collective situation. What I want to underline with these last assessments is the need to contemplate the material function of the deviance, without which it would not be possible to complete our analysis chart. The socially excluded, in any of its manifestations, is not only a symbolic operator that certifies the situation of inclusion of the considered normal, it is at the same time an essential gear of an economic system—capitalist—based on exploitation. Some considerations are imposed in relation to this double function.

In the Durkheimian integration model (Durkheim 2002 [1893]), society is defined by a set of individuals and groups linked by dependence and interdependence relationships based on their social utility, in which the excluded (Durkheim speaks of exploited) has its place and its social function. In order for certain fringes of society to be excluded from the economy, it is necessary, as Karsz (2004, p. 160–161) observed, to occupy certain places in that economic structure: job seekers, industrial reserve army, the discarded because of progress, social misfits, unworkable, etc. It is precisely in the economy, continues the author, in which these populations fulfil precise functions—brake element of wage claims, support of the idea according to which those who have wage employment are privileged, confirmation of the work is health dogma, resignation to more painful labour conditions, stimulation of the distribution of employment without touching the structures of capital redistribution. Remember that Pierre Bourdieu showed in different works (1988 [1979], 1995 [1992] and 2000 [1998]) how symbolic systems, in addition to knowledge instruments, are at the same time instruments of domination in the sense indicated by Max Weber for theodicy or Karl Marx for the ideology. This double material and symbolic effect of deviance is especially significant in the case of the criminalisation of contemporary

poverty. The so-called socially excluded are of fundamental importance in maintaining the social order—especially at a time marked by the unrestricted expansion of neoliberalism. As Bauman (1998 [1998]) has pointed out, it is necessary to project the danger in these population segments and redefine their living conditions in terms of criminality.

As in other periods of history, today we come across a speech that places the emergence of what Chevalier (1969) called the *dangerous classes*. In moments crossed by strong economic discomforts, the power groups seem to activate strategies of displacement of the structural conditions of a system generating inequalities, towards the menacing figures of the social order. The design of these alarms underpins the imaginary of fear that makes consensus possible before the punitive treatment of marginality, to the detriment of other types of responses: social justice, without going any further. The rugged imagery of the fearsome gang member or the violent young—Reguillo warns (2007, p. 313)—legitimises repressive logic without touching the socio-economic model that operates as a breeding ground that accelerates youth violence. In this sense, it is necessary to bring up the double utility of *hyperencarceling* of the urban subproletariat pointed out by Wacquant (1999 [1999], p. 93). In material terms, this phenomenon serves to neutralise and separate elements that are superfluous in the new economic order. In symbolic terms, it operates as a dissipator of the physical and moral threat posed by groups considered dangerous.

We believe that it is possible to register this relationship of mutual dependence between both functions, in the educational *praxis* of a corrective nature developed in juvenile justice centres. In order for certain subjects to function as functional gears of a given order—confinement object, social assistance or police surveillance—it is necessary to previously deploy a whole set of symbolic operations of inferiorisation that legitimise their control, surveillance and/or exploitation. Only in this way can those that appear as normative failures for certain social logics be operated on.

2.3   Taxonomies of the Deviance

The analysis of the *corpus* built so far leads to consider one of the touchstones of the phenomenon of abnormality, namely the classification mechanisms and their correlation of logical–social nomenclatures. For deviance to exist it must be named; it is not said in the first person, it is a third party, a social Other, who makes the judgement (Tizio 1997, pp. 98–99). The production of otherness requires the existence of nominating artefacts that distribute and award categories from a previously defined classification system, in which the institutions responsible for their management—and production—become fundamental pieces of the gear. Thus, to give a place of existence to that other segregated, it is necessary to classify it previously, that is, generate taxonomies that define and locate a *dark side* from which to stay away, and that, in that distance, society can be structured and think of itself as compact and cohesive. Let us stop in this rough classifying framework. The first mandatory reference is the article of Durkheim and Mauss (1996 [1901]) on totemic systems.

Their contributions allow us to shed light on the importance that the classification function has in the construction and maintenance of any social order, since these are essential operations to provide meaning and legibility to the world, making social life possible. These authors wonder about what it is that leads human beings to arrange their ideas in classification systems, and on what substrate we find "the plan of such a deep disposition" (p. 31). They point out that the classification function is to group beings, events and world facts and order them in different groups, separated by clearly defined limits. Classifying things or beings does not only mean building categories, it also means arranging them based on relationships of inclusion and exclusion. And every classification involves a hierarchical order that, far from being a spontaneous or natural product, refracts the social order of a certain group with its consequent asymmetries and subordinations. In the words of the authors: "The classification of things reproduces the classification of human beings" (p. 33). There is a correspondence between social and cognitive structures; a kind of homogeneity between society and universe, in which this would be a reverberation of the social structure. In other words, cognitive systems derive from social systems. Thus, the categories of understanding that underlie collective representations are organised in relation to the social structure of the group.

Bourdieu (1995 [1992], 2000 [1998]) seems to follow Durkheim in his correlation between social and cognitive structures. However, unlike him, Bourdieu adopts a certain distance in relation to the arbitrary nature of the social determination of the classifications. He proposes that social divisions and mental schemes are structurally homologous, and that the latter result from the incorporation of the former. That is why an adequate science of society must encompass both objective regularities and the process of internalisation of objectivity according to which the trans-individual and unconscious principles of vision and division are constituted, which agents incorporate into their practices. Bourdieu (1995 [1992]) has shown how, in the form of classification systems made of mental and bodily schemes—which serve as a symbolic matrix of practical activities, behaviours, thoughts, feelings and judgements–, human beings define the meaning of the world that produces it. What we find is a correspondence between social structures and mental structures, between the objective divisions of the social world and the principles of vision and division that the subjects themselves apply to them.

Returning to the proposal of Durkheim and Mauss (1996 [1901])—to approach the rationality that operates in the classification, distribution, distinction, separation and ranking by categorical groups of human and material objects of what we call the social world—we can consider that the action of classifying is not spontaneous nor responds to a natural need of the human being. On the one hand, he could not find the essential elements of the classification, and on the other, "things do not present themselves thus grouped together in observation" (1996 [1901], p. 30). In relation to such a disquisition, Delgado (2007, p. 200) stresses that it is not the visibility of physical, social or cultural differences that generate diversity, but that the diversification mechanisms that motivate the search for markings that fill with content the will to distinguish oneself and distinguish others, not rarely for stigmatising and excluding purposes. It is the differentiation that creates and reifies the difference.

Following the appreciation of Pouillon (1993, p. 122), we will say that we do not use classification because there are things to classify; it is because we classify that we can discover them. Or even, as Durkheim says (2002 [1893], p. 91) in the case of crime, "we do not reprove it because it is a crime, it is a crime because we reprove it".

Classification mechanisms are cognitive instruments, and at the same time, power and control devices that order and separate social groups, delineating differences and borders that are sometimes impregnable. The classification logic, inscribed in the will to distinguish, operates as a legitimising mechanism of unequal social systems. The taxonomic order inserted in a certain symbolic system is not a mere instrument of knowledge, it is first and foremost a powerful artefact of domination that enables moral consensus, while greasing the gears of the reproduction of the social order. As Dario Melossi emphasises (cited in Larrauri 2000), classification processes, in addition to nominalist processes, are fundamentally ways of governing acts and controlling reality.

In summary, the deviant, in our case the *young offender*, does not occupy a normalised place in the social scene and is usually perceived as an anomalous, dirty and/or immoral being. The awkwardness of his legitimate presence is that those mechanisms that immunise and protect the community from the contradictions arising from their relationship with him loom over this threatening figure. In the deviant category—and in all the variants that emerge from the normal/abnormal division—vigorous symbolic structures operate that are the reflection of the social structure in which they register. There is a tenacious symbolic demarcation that distinguishes the dirty (the excluded, the deviant and contaminated) from the clean (the included, the normal and pure). The former will be stigmatised by their impurity and their deteriorated identity; the latter, who have the power to elaborate and impose the logical systems of significance, are usually free of any macula. Fortunately, as Douglas (2007 [2003]) also taught us, although life in society implies a system of classification of objects, people and relationships, every taxonomic system is incomplete and presents areas of ambiguity and uncertainty on which gravitate questions, fears, dark areas. The attempt to classify the anomalies, associated with the pollutant and the impure, always presents difficulties and generate turbulence. This results in the idea that what is located in a confusing place ends up ensuring the delineation of the symbolic boundaries that distinguish the different social categories.

2.4 Theories of Social Deviance Related to Crime

Once the logic that makes possible the production of the deviant figure is introduced, this section will try to offer a summary table of the theories and authors that have addressed the phenomenon of deviance and, particularly, in its relation to the phenomenon of delinquency (a phenomenon that occupies a central place in the designation of young people who inhabit Juvenile Justice centres). With this recapitulation, we do not intend to make an exhaustive examination of them, only to outline

what would be a succinct genealogy of the currents and the authors who have configured the theoretical field of crime. The tour is organised around three concatenated theoretical guidelines that I consider unavoidable within the framework of any investigation that seeks to address the phenomenon of crime. Thus, we will refer first to functionalist theories; second, to theories of criminal subcultures, as predecessors of specific studies on juvenile delinquency; third and last, we will consider the theory of labelling or *labelling approach*, whose microsociological approach constitutes one of the fundamental theoretical scaffolds of this chapter and, therefore, deserves to be treated with a certain degree of specification. We will stop particularly in his observations about the processes and effects of the stigma to subsequently juxtapose them with some considerations that critical criminology has made regarding the relevance of the criminal system as a producer and administrator of the phenomenon of crime.

2.4.1 Functionalist Theories

Our starting point is Durkheim's work (1997 [1895]). *The rules of the sociological method* constitutes the first classical alternative to the conception of the biopsychological differential characteristics of the offender and the positivist criminology postulates that had dominated the theoretical field so far. The functionalist structural theory of anomie and criminality introduced by this author, and later developed by Merton (2002 [1949]), represents, according to Baratta (2004, p. 56), the change of sociological orientation most relevant carried out by criminology in recent decades.

Durkheim elucidated deviance as a normal phenomenon of any social structure in which crime would not only be "an inevitable phenomenon, although repugnant, due to the irreducible human evil", but also "an integral part of every healthy society" (Durkheim 1997 [1895]), p. 66). This apparent paradox can be explained if, as seen in the preceding section, we consider what constitutes the normality and functionality of the crime in the social body. In the first place, crime—provoking and stimulating social reaction—stabilises and keeps compliance with the norms alive. The crime, however, is also a phenomenon of a particular entity, sanctioned by criminal law. The fact that the public authority, sustained by collective sentiment, discharges its own regulatory reaction on deviance phenomena that reach the level of crime, allows greater elasticity compared to other normative sectors and makes possible through individual deviance, the transformation and social renewal. It can also have a direct role in the moral development of a society. Contrary to the postulates of the until then dominant Italian criminological school, Durkheim does not see the offender as a radically antisocial being, but rather as "a regulating agent of social life" (p. 58).

Merton (2002 [1949]) takes up in the 1940s the theory of social factors of anomie that accompanied the functionalist vision of crime proposed by Durkheim. This author, who like Durkheim is opposed to the pathological conception of deviance, points out that society creates pressures that encourage the individual to commit deviant/illegal acts. The functionalist sociological theory that Merton applies to the study of anomie allows interpreting deviance as a product of social structure, as

normal as behaviour according to the prevailing rules and values. Social structure not only has a repressive effect, but also and above all, a stimulating effect on individual behaviour. For the American sociologist, the origin of the deviant behaviour lies in the inconsistency between the purposes culturally recognised as valid and the legitimate means available to the individual to achieve them. This explanatory model can be synthesised as follows: the culture proposes to the individual certain goals that constitute fundamental motivations of their behaviour. At the same time, it provides institutionalised behaviour models, which concern the modalities and legitimate means to achieve those goals. On the other hand, however, the socio-economic structure offers individuals (depending on their social position) the possibility of accessing legitimate means. In conclusion, the social structure does not allow a behaviour according to the values and norms to the same extent to all members of a society. This possibility varies according to the position that individuals occupy in society, with the lower social strata being the ones under greater pressure.

2.4.2 Theories of the Criminal Subcultures

During 1920 and 1930, the School of Chicago founds a first corpus of specialised investigations on urban sociology, characterised by the ethnographic field work. Many of the academics who integrated this school were interested in the study of youth aggregations in the proletarian neighbourhoods of Chicago at the time and the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency. From the concept of *subculture*, an autonomous archipelago of theories emerges that directs its attention mainly to the ways in which *criminal subculture* is communicated to young offenders. This theory, elaborated by Shaw (1930), is based on the following idea: deviant behaviour, like the rest of behaviours, is learned in the environment in which one lives. Deviant acts would therefore be a consequence of socialisation in environments with values and norms different from those that society considers normal. I will point out some of the most relevant authors, succinctly pointing out the theoretical core of their approaches.

The first mandatory reference is the work of Frederic Thrasher, *The Gang: a study of 1313 gangs in Chicago*, published in 1927. It is not only a classic work of the Chicago School, but also one of the foundational researches done on the phenomenon of youth groupings that, despite the criticisms and revisions to which it has been submitted, it continues to be an inexcusable citation in the approach of street gangs. In a detailed ethnography, Thrasher analysed the activity and behaviour of bands located in the suburban areas of the city and went on to define these groups as interstitial elements of the social structure created spontaneously as a response/symptom to the "New World disorders" (Thrasher 1927, p. 20). He evidenced its contextual and relational complexity, while emphasising the agency and intentionality of young people—many of them were children of immigrants—in the construction of their identities and social relations. The gang is a space in which its members create important values, beliefs and goals, thus providing them with a sense of belonging and a reference. He insisted that they can only be understood in relation to other

social institutions such as the family, school, police, the media, and stressed that they emerge precisely when these institutions disappear or fail in their function (ibidem). Crime is one of its associated problems: the social environment can lead its members towards criminal behaviour.

The work of William F. Whyte *The society of the corners*, published in 1943, is another of our inexcusable references. This is an investigation carried out in a suburb of the city of Boston, mostly inhabited by Italian immigrants. Influenced by the work of Thrasher, it marked a turning point in the study of youth groupings by inaugurating a line of work that, through participant observation proper of anthropology, focused attention on the composition and in-depth analysis of the roles and internal dynamics of the gangs. Whyte (1971 [1943]) studied how these groups produce their own values and generate leaderships stable enough for members to respect their rules. Youth subcultures such as those of the *corner boys* are born as defence mechanisms against discrimination inflicted on their members by the external environment, while tending to strengthen the collective identity and internal cohesion of the group.

It is also worth noting Edwin Sutherland, who contributed to the theory of criminal subcultures with the analysis of the ways of learning criminal behaviour. His theory, known as the *differential contacts theory* (Sutherland 1940), postulates that criminal behaviour is learned by young people during the socialisation process in contact with individuals or criminal groups. Those socialised in criminogenic groups (family, school, friends) learn attitudes tending to disobey the law so they are more likely to commit infractions. In this way, if the normalisation model that surrounds children will be assimilated throughout their socialisation process, they will become violators in direct proportion to the intensity, priority, duration and frequencies of the contacts they establish with criminal spheres.

Sutherland directly faced the problem of the social causes of the various differential contacts, but it was Cohen (1971 [1955]) who fully developed this problematic aspect of subculture theory in one of the canonical works on juvenile delinquency. *Delinquent Boys* analyses the subculture of youth gangs, describing it as a system of beliefs and values that draw their own origin from a process of interaction between young people who occupy similar positions within the social structure. This subculture would represent a solution to the problems of adaptation for which the dominant culture does not offer satisfactory solutions. The social structure determines in adolescents of the working-class the inability to adapt to the models of the official culture, while at the same time awakening in them certain problems of status and self-consideration. Hence, the emergence of a subculture characterised, says the author, by elements such as *evil* or *negativism*, which enable those who enrol in it to express and justify hostility and aggression against the causes of social frustration. He argues that the most economically and socially disadvantaged groups tend to commit criminal acts to obtain the goods advocated as desirable by society. It is the structural difficulties that do not allow minors to obtain their objectives by lawful means.

Taking as a premise the functionalist theory of anomie, Cloward and Ohlin (1958, 1960) develop the theory of criminal subcultures based on the difference in the opportunities that individuals have to use legitimate means to achieve cultural purposes.

According to this postulate, known as the *differential opportunity theory*, the origin of a subculture of criminal youth in industrialised societies resides in the unequal distribution of opportunities to access legitimate means. They argue that the bands—belonging to the lower social strata—develop deviant norms and models of behaviour compared to the middle strata. In this sense, the construction of this subculture represents the reaction of disadvantaged minorities and their attempt to orient themselves within society. The central element of this theory is that the possibility of becoming a criminal is determined by the possibilities of integration that the individual has within a society. To access the assets, young people from the most disadvantaged sectors will have to develop behaviours that are classified as infringing or diverted for the rest of society.

Sykes and Matza (1957) introduce what Baratta (2004, p. 75) considers more a correction than a theoretical alternative to subculture theories even though a part of criminology has conceived it as such. In any case, the so-called theory of neutralisation techniques was an important revision by incorporating the analysis of those forms of rationalisation of deviant behaviour, which are learned and used simultaneously to the normalised behaviour models to which, however and as will be seen in the ethnographic analysis of this investigation, the offender usually adheres. They argue that criminal systems are not separate, but rather inserted, in society, so they also internalise values and norms consistent with the law. The analysis of the groups of young offenders carried out by the authors shows that they recognise, at least in part, the dominant social order: they notice feelings of guilt or shame when they transgress order. It is through specific forms of justification or rationalisation of the behaviour itself, that the offender resolves favourable to deviant behaviour. They consider that it is through learning these techniques that minors become criminals, and not so much through the learning of moral imperatives, values or attitudes that are in direct opposition to those of the dominant society (Sykes and Matza 1957, p. 667). The formation of a subculture is, in itself, the most widespread and most effective of the neutralisation techniques, since nothing gives such a great capacity to mitigate scruples and ensure support against the regrets of the superego as the emphatic, explicit and repeated approval of other people (p. 669).

Let us recapitulate. Theories of criminal subcultures deny that crime can be considered as an expression of an attitude contrary to general social norms and state that there are specific norms of various social groups (subcultures). These, through mechanisms of interaction and learning within groups, are internalised by the individuals belonging to them and determine their behaviour in concurrence with the values and norms of the dominant moral. Both the functionalist theory of anomie and the theory of criminal subcultures contribute in particular to the relativisation of the system of values and the rules sanctioned by criminal law. The first highlights the normal, non-pathological, nature of deviance and its function against the social structure. The second shows that the mechanisms of learning and internalisation of rules and models of behaviour that permeate criminal careers do not differ from the mechanisms of socialisation through which *normal* behaviour is explained. However, these leave unresolved the structural problem of the origin of subcultural models of behaviour

that are communicated. Subcultural theories inherit from functionalism the uncritical position of the criminal quality of the behaviours they examine.

In a critical review, Baratta (2004, pp. 80–81) points out that both theories circumvent the problem of social and economic relations on which the law and the mechanisms of criminalisation and stigmatisation that define the quality of criminal behaviour and criminalised subjects are founded. For this author, the theory of subcultures stops his analysis at the socio-psychological level of specific learning and group reactions. In this way, it remains stagnant in a merely descriptive record of the economic conditions of subcultures, which are uncritically postulated as a structural framework. The risk lies then—points Baratta (*ibidem*)—that if the conditions of the economic and cultural inequality of the groups are not analysed critically, the correlative phenomenon of deviance and criminality is neither problematised nor historically located in its meaning within the development of socio-economic formation, much less, put into a theoretical and practical relationship with the objective conditions for its overcoming. However, the theory of subcultures has the undeniable merit of having indicated a line of analysis and suggested further reflection on the economic conditions of crime.

2.4.3 *Labelling Theory or* Labelling Approach

In the theoretical horizon of the *labelling approach*, two currents of American sociology closely linked to each other intersect: the symbolic interactionism of Mead (1999 [1934]) and the ethnomethodology of Garfinkel (2006 [1967]). Such an intersection led to a new body of investigations.

Labelling theorists introduced a paradigm shift in the study of deviance in the 1960s, which was a fundamental shift in the analysis perspective: from studying social control as a response to deviance, the deviance was analysed as response to social control. The new object of study would no longer be the deviant and the causes of its behaviour (aetiological paradigm), but the social control devices and their multiple functions for monitoring abnormality (social reaction paradigm). This approach considers that it is impossible to understand the deviance if the actions of the control instances that define it are not studied, starting with its abstract norms, until reaching the action of the official instances.

The labelling theory considers that the deviance refers to behaviours defined as such. They are social behaviours like any other, only defined as crime, mental illness, etc. As Becker (1971 [1963], p. 19) indicates, the deviant is the one to whom the label has been applied successfully. Those who have had the same behaviour but have not been reached by the action of the control instances do not obtain the deviant status. Thus, the social reaction defines a certain act as deviant, the deviance being a social construction and the deviated being the one to whom that *abnormalising* mark has been attributed. What is deviant is not the act itself, but the meaning conferred to it, that is, its interpretation. For a behaviour to be perceived as such, it is necessary to observe the social reaction that it provokes; the simple objective deviance from a

model or a norm is not enough, and it must generate reactions that disturb the habitual perception and arouse indignation, embarrassment, fear, guilt, commiseration, etc.

Let us open a brief parenthesis to underline that there are few criminologists who have approached crime from this perspective. Chapman (1968) stated that the criminal concept is a social construction that is part of the social control policy gear. For Fritz Sack (quoted in Baratta 2004, p. 112), criminality, as a social reality, is not a pre-constituted entity with respect to the activity of judges, but a quality attributed by the latter to certain individuals. The author considers as arbitrary judgements those by which a punishable act is attributed to a person (production of the criminal quality in the subject) with legal (criminal responsibility) and social consequences (stigmatisation, change of status, social identity, etc.). From the sociology of conflict, Turk (1969) held the idea that criminality is a social status attributed through the exercise of the power of definition. Criminality is not a conduct of a subject only against the State, but the result of a conflict between groups. He attributes to the way that the police operate the main role within the mechanisms that lead to the distribution of criminal status and its concentration in certain disadvantaged social groups.

But let's return to microsociology, the preferred theoretical basis of this contribution, which showed the consequences that the attribution of stigma has on the subjects marked by inferiorising signs. To microsociology, we owe the approach to stigmatisation processes from the analysis of the tripartite relationship between stigmatiser-stigmatised-institution. For Goffman (2003 [1963]), one of the authors with more insight addressed the issue from functionalist structural microsociology, being discovered and qualified as deviant has important consequences for the self-image of the affected, as well as for their subsequent social participation. The most important consequence is a drastic change in the public identity of the individual, which will lead him to occupy a new status and sustain a new public identity. The subject labelled as abnormal experiences a *deteriorated identity*, which impel him to consider himself unworthy, inferior, abject. This identity, continues the author, is projected in the social interactions that the subject maintains in his daily life. In this way, the one that has been marked with a *defective* attribute, it is very possible that ends up learning the terms of their inferiority, that is, internalising them, giving them meaning. We will see in the next chapters how the classified as a *problematic young* ends up becoming what they say about him, that is, that ends up becoming problematic.

In a similar line, Becker (1971 [1963]) shows that the most important consequence of the application of a label consists in a decisive change of the individual's social identity; a change that takes place at the time it is introduced in the deviant status. The label would act as a *self-fulfilling prophecy*, that is, the one defined as deviant, ends up acting as such. The subject ends up adopting the identity that others attribute to him; a series of mechanisms that conspire to conform the subject to the image that people have or expect from him are set in motion.

Lemert (1967), another relevant author, argues that a social reaction or punishment for deviant behaviour induces other deviances by generating in the individual a change in the social identity that leads him to play the role according to the label that

has been assigned to him. One of the central distinctions in his theory of deviance is made between the ideas of *primary delinquency* and *secondary delinquency*. Lemert develops this separation to show how the punishment of a first behaviour often has the function of promoting deviant behaviour in the subject, generating, through a transformation of his social identity, a tendency to play the new assigned role. The primary deviance is defined by the author as the acts that the subject performs due to multiple social, psychological, biological factors, etc. In the secondary deviance, the subject no longer acts moved by these initial factors, but guided by a new situation, a new identity created by the action and the relationship with the control devices. The causes of the deviance must be located, as we will see in the next sections, in the reactions of disapproval, degradation and isolation made by society.

It is precisely in the requalifying dimension that voices representative of critical criminology (Larrauri 2000; Bergalli et al. 1983; De Leo 1985 [1981]; Baratta 2004; González Vidaurri and Sánchez Sandoval 2008; among others) have actively questioned the criminal process arguing that it is the correctional path in itself that contributes decisively to the construction of the *criminal* subject. In addition to pointing out that those labelled as criminals are rejected by society, critical criminology has emphasised that the processes of public designation lead to the subject assuming a new identity, reordering his personality and consolidating himself in his new status as a criminal, different from the one he had when he started his criminal activities. This is what Matza (1981 [1969]) synthesised as the *irony of the criminal system*: the criminal process, supposedly aimed at reducing the number of criminals, causes with its public process of labelling that the subjects who had performed acts of a criminal type assume that identity and subsequently act as criminals, which was precisely what was intended to be avoided. We can extend this irony to certain practices in the social field that, by marking a categorical separation between included and excluded, end up reproducing the logic of exclusion that they intend to combat. In this sense, we cannot fail to mention Foucault (2000b [1975], 2006b [2013]) as one of the authors who has argued with greater force that the function of the criminal system is not to suppress illegalities, but to distinguish and distribute them, that is, to create crime. Wacquant (1999, p. 145) underpins this thesis by arguing that crime, or in the author's words, the criminal management of insecurity, feeds on its own scheduled failure.

We would like to finish by synthetically reviewing some of the core aspects of the work of another author. We refer to John Lofland and his work published in 1969, *Deviance and identity*. Following Blumer, but also Goffman, Becker and Lemert, this author approaches the study of deviance from symbolic interactionism, underlining that the important thing is the situation in which the *deviated* behaviour was developed, and not the act itself. It is about studying the deviance not so much as a distinctive feature of the deviant subjects, but as a social response. One of the differential marks of its approach lies in placing the phenomenon as a type of social conflict between two opposing parties, a powerful one and a weak one. Hence, the consideration of power relations between both factions is a necessary issue. The imputation of acts and persons as deviants depends mainly on the size, organisational level and degree of power to attribute deviant features (p. 15). The interest, therefore, is not the

violation of rules per se, but their transgression in a context of power, size and relative degree of organisation between the conflicted parties. It is in this opposition that the dominant group sponsors the idea that the weak part is breaking society's rules. By underlining that it appropriates the concepts "society" and "rules" to make them synonymous with its interests (p. 19), Lofland integrates in his analysis the relations of domination in an explicit way. On the path opened by Durkheim (1997 [1895]), it places the symbolic (but also material) need for deviance for the maintenance of cohesion and social order. Without the existence of this phenomenon, the boundaries between *good life* and *bad life* could not be defined. The deviants, scapegoats of every society, become essential objects to temper the hostilities of social life and affirm the normality of the accusers (pp. 302–303).

Lofland was especially interested, and with this we conclude, by the conditions that allow the appearance of deviant acts and their transformation into stable patterns of behaviour, pointing out that the ascription to a category diverted by the others is a central element in the process of assumption of a deteriorated identity: the greater the consistency, duration and intensity with which the others define the actor, the greater the possibility that he adopts this definition as true and applicable to himself (1969, p. 121). And it is that the construction of social identity, whatever it is, cannot be analysed without considering the *reciprocal dependence* between the actions of the others and the actor (p. 146), or what is the same, without considering the process of interaction between the different actors.

2.5 Conclusion: The Nominating Devices

We placed beforehand that deviance, to exist, must be named. It is not said in the first person, it is a third party, a social Other, who makes the judgement (Tizio 1997, p. 99). In other words, deviance does not exist outside the devices, institutions and professionals that designate and regulate it. Gaetano De Leo (1985 [1981], p. 14) raises it unambiguously in the case of Juvenile Justice institutions by placing this device as a fundamental artefact of the criminalisation of young people, "in the sense that their action plays a key role in the definition, delimitation, elaboration and social and institutional production of the phenomenon". Not anyone can access and appear in the discredited categories; it is necessary, as Karsz (2004, pp. 133–134) points out, to be caught in the meshes of certain machinery for coding reality. To enter the networks of what is indicated by the contemporary *socially excluded* category, the author continues, individuals and groups must know certain relatively typical material itineraries, and present a certain number of characteristics determined in terms of employment, schooling, housing, family life, etc. The sufficient condition is to make an itinerary inscribed in a series of theoretical meanings, administrative classifications, institutional intimidations, economic assignments and political treatments.

These considerations lend themselves to several comments. Let us first take the plot vector provided by Becker (1971 [1963], p. 13) and John Lofland (1969, pp. 19

and 144) by stating that it is not that there are per se and a priori subjects whose behaviours are deviated, but it is based on the creation and prior social imposition of a universe of rules, that whoever is believed to have broken them may be placed as deviant. All social groups create rules that, at certain times and circumstances, they try to impose. These define certain situations and the appropriate types of behaviour for them, prescribing some actions as correct and sanctioning others as incorrect. Or, what is the same, social groups with power create deviance by making the rules whose violation constitutes becoming deviated and, at the same time, by applying those rules to certain people and classifying them into abnormalising categories. The deviance is not classified because there are different types, but it is because we classify it that we can detect it. Making an analogy in the case of a crime, Durkheim (2002 [1893], p. 91) wrote that "we do not reprove it because it is a crime, but it is a crime because we reprove it." Deviance is not a quality of the act committed by the person, but a consequence of the application that others make of the rules and penalties for an offender. The deviant, synthesises Becker (1971 [1963], p. 19), is a person to whom such qualification has been successfully applied.

Such observations lead us, secondly, to consider the classification in its concomitance with the act of naming (Leach, 1985 [1976]), or if it is preferred, with the *speech act* as a performative statement (Austin 1971), that is, a linguistic statement that does not designate but does or executes what it designates. The deviant behaviour, Becker (1971 [1963]) continues, is the behaviour named that way, from which it follows that one of the core gears of the construction processes of the otherness—deteriorated—resides in the nominating mechanisms of the *other*. The dynamics of inferiorisation begin with the act of naming it from the inventory of denigrative formulas that make up the classification cartography of abnormality. As noted by Berger and Luckmann (2001, pp. 186–187) in his classic work *The social construction of reality*, every label implies a certain social location, that is, the allocation of a specific place in the social world. This assignment entails, in turn, the attribution of a particular *ethos* that essentialises the subject from a deviated feature, an operation that, it is necessary to underline, crosses many of the representations and concepts used in the field of the so-called socioeducational intervention. Pronouncements as young "misfit", "asocial" or "problematic" appear before the eyes of some professionals in the social field as a reality in itself. These classification tables function as rhetoric of truth, that is, as invested conceptualisations of a character of evidence, which underpin what we could understand as a hypostasised representation of the "young offender", the "drug addict" or the "dysfunctional family", all of them figures that, under the rules of what Foucault (2010 [1971], p. 38) called *discursive police*, appear or *are* in a real way[1]. The infamous features attributed to them come as an ontological essence of

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[1]Evidence that scientific literature tends to produce and reproduce, ultimately constituting one of its best supports. Consider, for example, that both Jean Piaget (1977 [1932]) and Lawrence Kohlberg (1958) suggested in their early writings that juvenile offenders could be characterized by less developed reasoning skills than those of their peers. These hypotheses were later consolidated in the works of Anthony (1956) and Kohlberg and Freundlich (1973). Since then, multiple empirical studies—especially inscribed in American social positivism—have dealt with this topic, concluding that juvenile offenders have significantly lower moral development. Similarly, investigations comparing

their bearers, thus obscuring the procedure by which these social taxonomies, like all others, are chiselled—paraphrasing Schopenhauer (1997 [1819])—as *will and representation* of a world.

These categories are thought of in their positivity, that is, as external objects that are available there to be captured by the visibility networks of theories. Deceptive academic elaborations but, as Foucault warned (2000a [1999], p. 297), of hard real effects; especially if we consider that many of the subjects classified in discredited categories end up discrediting themselves, that is, identifying themselves with the role granted to them and internalising the macula with which they are appointed. As Blumer (1981 [1969], p. 10) wrote from symbolic interactionism, "we see ourselves through the way others see or define us". This postulate can be tied to another of the axioms of the Chicago School. I refer to the well-known *self-fulfilled prophecy* itself or Thomas's Theorem (1928, pp. 571–572), which argues that if *a situation is defined as real, it is real in its consequences.*

From this conundrum, a core aspect of the taxonomic operation that we try to elucidate can be deduced: denominations, as meaning-producing devices, produce reality effects, that is, representations and meanings that create images and symbols with real consequences socially and institutionally, but also in the identifications produced by the individual itself, in which he ends up being—or appearing—what others say about he *is.*

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the levels of moral reasoning of "adult offenders" with non-offenders present identical results (Gilligan (1974), Griffore and Samuels (1978), Kantner (1975), Parlett et al. (1975) and Ravitch (1973). Apparently, deficits in the cognitive development and moral and ethical reasoning of "young offenders" would be a causal factor in their decisions to commit crimes (Arbuthnot et al., 1987).

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Chapter 3
First Steps: Reaching Consensus on Understanding Violent Radicalisation and Utilising Participatory Approaches for Prevention

Elisa Guidi and Chiara Babetto

Abstract The chapter points out the reasons why it is crucial to frame violent radicalisation through a shared definition of this issue among professionals, working with minors and young adults under criminal proceeding, and involved stakeholders. Since the prevention of violent radicalisation is most effective at the local level, this suggests that the context should be valued, and this is the bedrock of community-based prevention approach. The chapter also emphasises the importance of needs analysis and stakeholder analysis. In fact, a first step for the prevention of violent radicalisation is the analysis of professionals and stakeholders' needs for collecting and, then, setting priorities. Furthermore, through stakeholder analysis, it is possible not only to identify stakeholders at many levels but also to clarify the role of each stakeholder, their influence and readiness. Finally, the chapter stresses how the prevention of violent radicalisation may be achieved through a multiagency approach that ensures the support of different organisations and authorities to people at risk.

Keywords Needs analysis · Practitioners · Stakeholder analysis · Multi-agency approach · Community-based prevention

3.1 The Value of Context and the Importance of Language in Preventing Violent Radicalisation

Nowadays, radicalisation leading to violent extremism is recognised as one of the most widespread challenges facing us, and young people are highly vulnerable to violent extremist propaganda (UNESCO 2016). In the field of prevention of violent radicalisation, some Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) publications have

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illustrated the *prevention triangle* which defines three main categories of interventions: general prevention, specific prevention, and individual prevention (Meines and Woltman 2017; Ranstorp 2016; Woltman and Gssime 2019). At the base of the triangle, we have general prevention. This approach is addressed to a broad target group with its actions oriented towards increasing social resilience. The focus is on developing social skills, a sense of responsibility, and involvement in society, especially the engagement of children and youth. For instance, standard activities revolve around encouraging democracy-promoting and critical-thinking skills in educational settings. The middle part of the triangle includes the interventions defined as specific prevention. This approach targets at-risk groups. Through strengthening the individual's social capacities and positive relationships, specific prevention seeks to decrease the number of individuals at risk of radicalisation. Some activities generally include support contacts, parental coaches, and mentors. At the top of the triangle is individual prevention. Interventions at this level work with radicalised people and encourage preventive dialogue, prisoner rehabilitation, and exit strategies.

As suggested by RAN, the prevention of violent radicalisation is most effective when it is developed at a local level (Meines and Woltman 2017). Governments should participate in the advancement of violent radicalisation prevention alongside local communities and groups, such as civil society representatives (RAN 2019b). It is more challenging for governments to thwart radicalisation solely. Through collaboration with specialists from different fields, such as law enforcement officers, youth workers, social workers, and healthcare professionals, prevention is achievable (RAN 2018). With this in mind, it is also essential that the training approach is tailored to local needs and contexts (RAN 2019a). Terrorist events being at the forefront of today's media, it is necessary for a training programme to be actualised within the local context: contributors should express their points of view considering their local issues and needs and come to an agreement with trainees as to what constitutes violent radicalisation and what terms are best used for an open dialogue (RAN 2019a).

In this framework, the first step to violent radicalisation awareness and the prevention thereof is to frame the issue through shared concepts of radicalisation among professionals and key stakeholders. Having a common definition is crucial in order to avoid infinite discussions about what radicalisation is. All professionals do not have the same training programme, so it is recommended to start from the definition used in government and EU documents (RAN 2019a). A shared language and frame of reference is necessary to achieve the involvement of professionals coming from different sectors. They can be intimidated by language and framing containing a strong security angle (terrorism, attacks). Moreover, focusing on vulnerable people who may be at risk (instead of talking about radicals or violent extremists) is important to pursue the objective of safeguarding and protecting the target group instead of criminalising them. This point of view is crucial in order to avoid terms that may offend the target group and/or potential allies (RAN 2019a). For instance, as regards Sweden, Mattsson (2018) argued when talking about countermeasures, front-line workers are reluctant to use common terms concerning the discourse on radicalisation (e.g. *Islamism, extremism*, and *radicalisation*), but they create their own terminology (e.g. *grooming, violent capital, war travellers, radicalised environments*). When talking

about root causes, professionals use terms commonly used in the discourse on segregation, but they do not apply these terms when describing the practical methodology. Thus, front-line workers do not use a common language.

Across Europe, local and regional authorities are attempting to develop local approaches to counteract violent radicalisation, approaches largely shaped by varying local conditions, governance infrastructures and political views, assets, risk assessments, customs, and habits (Meines and Woltman 2017). The value of the context is the bedrock of community-based prevention approach. As the Institute of Medicine (IOM) states:

> The *context* within which community-based prevention is developed and implemented is also important. […] Effective mechanisms for community-based prevention do not, however, reside solely in the external resources that constitute or support the intervention. Characteristics of the community in which the intervention will be implemented interact with those resources and include the cultural, social, political, and physical characteristics of the populations that are targeted by the intervention. These characteristics may also be transformed through the intervention process, increasingly blurring the distinction between the intervention (in the sense of the effective transformative mechanism), context, and intervention effect. (2012, pp. 26–27)

3.2 Needs Analysis as a Key First Action for Successful Prevention of Violent Radicalisation

It has already been mentioned that the prevention of violent radicalisation may be most effective at the local level. Achieving effective preventive initiatives against violent radicalisation requires that local governments involve other local organisations from the outset (Meines and Woltman 2017). As pointed out by Meines (2017), local strategies to combat and prevent violent radicalisation are, on the one hand, developed within a national context and, on the other, adapted to the local context. However, experts from RAN (Meines 2017; Meines and Woltman 2017) have highlighted some common elements that should be integral parts of all local actions. These are:

- *Local analyses-mapping the situation*: This element recognises the importance of including a comprehensive analysis of the local context before designing the local action plan. Key sources for gathering information at this level are national data, civil society, and first-line staff.
- *Strategies and goals*: This element highlights the importance of obtaining information about the beliefs underpinning the strategy. It is crucial to include all relevant partners when discussing the reasons for and objectives of the local strategy in order to achieve a shared formulation.
- *Political support*: This element underlines the difficulty of implementing interventions and obtaining funding without political support.
- *Definitions*: This element highlights the advantage of using shared definitions (e.g. of *radicalisation*) when working with different organisations seeking to achieve shared objectives.

- *Setting up the local network*: This element refers to creating or strengthening a network at a local level that should include not only different organisations (i.e. a formal network) but also local communities (i.e. informal networks) (Meines and Woltman 2016).
- *Conditions for multi-agency cooperation*: This element sheds light on the main conditions for working within a multi-agency setting. These conditions include: the partners' agreement as to the sub-objectives (shared goals); the elaboration with all partners of the descriptions of the specific role, mandate, and task of each partner (defined roles for all partners); the definition of a coordinator and the description of the collaboration process (cooperation); and the development of an information-sharing protocol among organisations (information sharing).
- *Interventions*: This element reminds all partners that they should be aware of the variety of interventions they could implement to prevent violent radicalisation (Meines 2017; Meines and Woltman 2017).

Taking the perspective of local analyses, it is clear that the prevention of violent radicalisation requires, before starting a strategy, the development of a plan to assess local needs and assets as a first step. Community psychology provides an explanation of why it is important to assess the needs and resources of a community. Such assessment may help to better understand the community (i.e. its needs, assets, culture, and social structure) to make informed decisions about priorities for a successful action plan (Community Tool Box 2019a). Moreover, the development of that assessment permits professionals to comprise community members and listen to their priorities for an action plan, since the priorities could differ from those of the professionals (Community Tool Box 2019a).

Since there are multiple perspectives on local needs, Kagan et al. (2011) argued that "a two-pronged approach is required to reach a consensus about need" (p. 128). What is paramount in reaching a consensus about need is clear and respectful communication between those with knowledge gained from life experience and those with professional knowledge (Kagan et al. 2011). With respect to these differences, "this process of shared learning" is one of continuous negotiation by each party, mirroring the values of the participative approach (Kagan et al. 2011).

Hernández-Plaza et al. (2004) proposed a needs assessment model characterised by two key components, the first one concerning the description and prioritisation of needs, while the second is related to the analysis of formal and informal social resources. This model foresees three main phases: (1) *Needs Assessment Planning*; (2) *Needs Analysis*; (3) *Social Resources analysis*. The first phase entails the development of a needs assessment plan (e.g. objectives, context, available information about need areas, required information for achieving objectives, sources of information, research approach, use of the results) and contact with key members of the community. The second phase consists first of exploring the areas of need and then setting priorities. The authors underlined that key informants may be members of the population whose needs will be assessed (e.g. community/religious leaders, members of grass-roots associations) but also professionals who provide different services to people in need. Nevertheless, community members play a more significant

role in defining priorities. Finally, the third phase concerns the analysis of the assets available from *both* informal and formal social support systems for the satisfaction of needs. The model ultimately includes an assessment of the capacity of available formal and informal social resources to meet needs.

Needs assessment could be based on quantitative and qualitative methods. To achieve a more accurate description of needs, quantitative and qualitative methods could be combined (Community Tool Box 2019b; Hernández-plaza et al. 2004). The value of quantitative methods is clear in today's society. For instance, they allow comparing data, generalising results, and translating results into numbers; for these reasons, quantitative methods are often valued more by policymakers and some researchers (Community Tool Box 2019b). However, qualitative methods provide information about opinions, feelings, motives, or relationships that cannot be defined by numbers (Community Tool Box 2019b). Other advantages related to qualitative methods include connecting directly with the population/community closest to what's being evaluated; obtaining crucial information about the underlying realities of the issue; encompassing target groups in evaluating community issues and needs; getting a broader description of the issues; and allowing for the "human factor" (Community Tool Box 2019b).

Within the field of radicalisation prevention, focus groups have the potential to be a cornerstone research method, due to the potential for direct community outreach. Not only do they generate useful discussion related to ideas about preventing and countering violent extremism, they function as a non-threatening space for both the practitioners and the local community to share freely their unique perspectives on the issues at hand, and to assess the effectiveness of the programme (Community Tool Box 2019c; Cox and van Gorp 2018).

In Italy, Meringolo et al. (2019) interviewed 16 social and educational professionals (through three focus groups) and a Director of the Centre of Juvenile Justice and an Imam of the Islamic community (through two semi-structured interviews). The aim was to provide an in-depth understanding of the perceptions of youth violent radicalisation held by professionals and stakeholders who work directly or indirectly in the juvenile justice system and thereby identify best practices. Some participants explained today's young offenders seem to have little commitment to achieving goals and have a desire to engage in violent behaviours due to a lack of emotional competence. The new generation is characterised not so much by economic poverty as by cultural, ethical, and educational poverty. These critical elements are perceived as aggravated among young prisoners, whose readiness to respond violently to reach an aim or a better social status stems from a lower threshold of self-control and the de-humanisation of their victims. Young offenders belong to different social and ethnic groups, increasing complexity for professionals' interventions. Some participants highlighted the social identity needs in prison contexts in terms of a high sense of membership in one's in-group and a need for religious identity. In the interviews and focus groups, they recognised the preventive role of religious leaders in avoiding violent radicalisation. They also underlined concerns about feelings of anger mainly due to the social exclusion of youth, especially immigrant youth, which may lead to attitudes and behaviours against society as a whole and against other groups within

society. The participants gave local networks positive evaluations, recognising their capacity to increase education and social inclusion of young offenders. In addition, they identified existing best practices to prevent violent radicalisation, such as alternative detention measures for promoting social inclusion of inmates in the broader society and educational programmes implemented inside prisons. As possible best practices, different strategies on a micro- or macro-level were highlighted. On the micro-level, these include working with small groups and conflict mediation. On the macro-level, they include schools as institutions for fostering inclusion policies and involving family members; inclusion protocols for unaccompanied minors; renovation of the prison environments; and implementation of community-based educational programs, especially in marginal areas, for promoting civic engagement and democratic culture.

3.3 Stakeholders as Crucial Players in Community-Based Interventions

It is clear that for preventing violent radicalisation, it is crucial to develop a holistic approach, which requires involving the right stakeholders (Meines 2017). This is not to be overlooked. Only after addressing the issue can one understand who the players are, what they can offer, and how they can be of assistance (Community Tool Box 2019d). Kagan et al. (2011) defined stakeholders as "all those with an interest in the issue, people or activity contributing to the problem" (p. 151). Stakeholders can play different roles in the matter and in the process. For this reason, it is important to do a specific analysis, such as a stakeholder analysis (Hofman et al. 2018). This is a tool that maps, in an analytical way, the actors who are affected by a process, a policy, or a piece of legislation in terms of their power, position, and point of view (Hofman et al. 2018). It is also possible to note the difference between primary stakeholder actors (also known as beneficiaries), who are directly affected by the process, and secondary stakeholders, those who play a role but are indirectly affected by the process (Hofman et al. 2018). This will be further discussed in Chap. 7.

Families, governmental agencies, organisations, religious communities, and schools can be primary or secondary stakeholders depending on the nature of the intervention. Both of these categories are also called *targets of change*. They are those whom organisations or initiatives are trying to reach in order to address the problem (Community Tool Box 2019d). A good community intervention can be designed to work with both of them. But there is another group of persons who are important in each process, and they are called *agents of change* (Community Tool Box 2019d). These are people who can contribute to the issue in a positive way through their influence. It is interesting that they can also be part of the targets of change. In fact, the same individual can be both a target of change and an agent of change. They can affect the situation and improve it. This is not unusual because the strength of an agent of change is their connection with a target. Those who are

involved in the problem or have experienced the same issue are more likely to care for and address the topic at hand (Community Tool Box 2019d).

Through stakeholder analysis, it is possible to highlight the interests, views, and opinions of those involved. This explains why these interests have to be taken into account. There are many factors to consider in the process before achieving the best results from involved stakeholders. For example, it is critical to know what expertise, input, and resources are needed. It is also key to identify the incentives or lack thereof for each participant. Furthermore, this process can clarify the role of each stakeholder and recognise their point of view. Interventions to confront radicalisation can affect the people involved on many levels. For this reason, creating a stakeholder analysis can be very useful (Community Tool Box 2019d). In Table 3.1, you can see the principle stakeholders which RAN has detected as key actors in addressing the problem of violent radicalisation.

In the PROVA project (2016-2018), the general objective was "Preventing violent radicalisation and promoting democratic values, fundamental rights, intercultural understanding and active citizenship". To achieve these goals, the organisations involved first analysed the phenomenon and how it was perceived by people committed to this issue.

The activities of the project were aimed at increasing the understanding of violent radicalisation and involving stakeholders and social actors in building systems of interventions to prevent and counteract it. To do this, the partnership carried out dedicated activities addressed to:

(a) Professionals in the juvenile justice system,
(b) Stakeholders committed to inclusion policies, and

Table 3.1 Principal relevant players who may contribute to fighting violent radicalisation

Law enforcement	Youth workers
– Police officers	– Teachers, tutors and lecturers at schools, colleges and universities
– Prison wardens	– Youth offender services
– Probation officers	– Children's services
– Border control/customs officers	– Sports coaches
Healthcare professionals	**Government/social work**
– Health services	– Social workers/Youth work
– Mental health services, psychologists and addiction treatment services	– Family work
– General practitioners (doctors)	– Local authorities
Civil society	– Legal aid
– Community workers	– Housing authorities
– Charity workers and volunteers	
– Representatives of religious communities	

Source Adapted from RAN (2018), pp. 3–4

(c) Minors and young adults under criminal proceedings, with the involvement of
     university students for improving civic engagement and positive relationships.

As the first step, the Partnership developed a Common Atlas (https://www.provap
roject.org/outcomes/atlas/). Collaborating institutions and organisations involved in
the project are committed to addressing violent radicalisation and conflicts among
minors and young adults implicated in criminal proceedings. For each country,
a map was produced of all professionals working in the juvenile justice system,
the stakeholders involved in cultural, social, and integration policy, and the social
actors participating in activities and interventions (directly involved in the project
implementation). As previously mentioned, the partnership started to collect stake-
holder information from networks engaged in past projects. In this way, most of the
organisations were already committed and spurred to give their contribution.

3.3.1 Stakeholder Analysis and Its Application

There are many applications of a stakeholder analysis; in fact, it can also be a tool
for managing and engaging with the actors regarding the influence they have in the
process (Hofman et al. 2018). For example, in case of a power imbalance, it is possible
reduce its impact in the design or implementation phase. This type of analysis can
also be used retrospectively to consider and evaluate the effects of an intervention
on different groups of stakeholders. If we have to collect data, a stakeholder analysis
can be useful to understand which stakeholders can give needed data and at which
point in the process this data is needed. In planning an intervention or a policy, this
analysis can be a tool which helps to understand stakeholder needs and better design
interventions. Another application is during ongoing evaluation, where it is important
to understand how actors and relationships change during an intervention (Hofman
et al. 2018).

Just as there are many applications of a stakeholder analysis, so there are many
ways to undertake it, as underlined in Critical Community Psychology.

Checkland and Scholes (1990) use a stakeholder analysis named CATWOE as a
way to differentiate among groups of stakeholders (see also Kagan et al. 2011).

The name CATWOE is an acronym composed of the first letter of each of the
groups recalled below with some examples relevant to the issue of radicalisation:

C = The Customer of the System

Here we can find the final beneficiaries of the action, the ones who gain from the
process (e.g. families with minors at risk of radicalisation and other local residents
and citizens).

A = The Actor

In this group are the professionals who carry out activities (e.g. youth and social
workers with their organisations).

T = The Transformation Process

Here is the process of awareness and guidance that makes a transformation in the participants at a training possible. Thanks to this process, social and youth workers, families, religious representatives, teachers, etc., become stronger in facing youth violent radicalisation.

W = The World View

Here is the impact of the system in terms of state support and economic activities that may affect the target groups (minors at risk of radicalisation, families, citizens, etc.). In this group are also the consequences of system failures.

O = The Owner(s)

In this group are those with influential power over the system, in terms of investing in the project. They are able to stop the processes.

E = The Environmental Constraints

Here you can find resources (e.g. financial, staff involved, etc.) and constraints like social policies, activities carried out by other organisation, and regulations.

Creating a stakeholder analysis may also be useful also during the planning of an intervention because it can clarify potential allies or barriers and how they can affect the process of change (Kagan et al. 2011).

During this type of analysis, it is possible to collect information about the readiness of the stakeholders, which depends on knowledge of the issue and opinions about it (negative or positive). As previously stated, the analysis can clarify the power of each stakeholder or group of stakeholders in terms of influence (Kagan et al. 2011).

To summarise, the positive effects that a good Stakeholder analysis can offer are: firstly, it can lead to a better understanding of the stakeholders involved in the issue (this helps the evaluators); secondly, it can be important during the decision-making process, by underlining potential risks and challenges; lastly, it can also be a way to facilitate engagement with stakeholders. This is very important for the overall process because it can help gain acceptance for planned interventions and make the evaluation process easier (Hofman et al. 2018). We have to take into account that, in this type of analysis as in many others, timing is important. The results can become obsolete; moreover, the evaluation can be subjective, and it may not consider all the groups of stakeholders equally.

The application of this type of analysis follows the steps below in the planning of an intervention (Hofman et al. 2018):

1. Make a list of the potential stakeholders. For each one, identify key characteristics (internal or external to the intervention, non-governmental or governmental, etc.)
2. Consider how the intervention can affect each of the listed stakeholders (in a positive or negative way)
3. Underline the interest in the process and if the participant's attitude is positive or negative

4. Decide which of the stakeholder groups should participate, which role they should have, and at what point their participation is needed in the evaluation.

3.4 Working Together to Counteract Violent Radicalisation

Violent radicalisation is a community problem that requires coordinated actions from different key players across all levels (RAN 2018). When considering a community problem, a key process is the in-depth analysis of the issue, not only to better understand it (e.g. What are the causes? What are the barriers and resources to solve the problem?) but also to identify the best actions to deal with it effectively (Community Tool Box 2019e). The RAN (2018) advocates a multi-agency approach for preventing violent radicalisation which

> is a system in which information can be shared, which is crucial for identifying and dealing with vulnerable, at-risk individuals. These multiagency structures and working processes provide for more effective identification of vulnerable individuals at-risk, improved information-sharing, joint decision-making and coordinated interventions (p. 3).

Maarten van de Donk, account manager in the Centre of Excellence of RAN, has argued in an interview that the multi-agency approach allows for informed assessments of individual cases, avoiding "jumping to conclusions", which according to the interviewee, "is one of the biggest dangers now, and can be extremely harmful" (Fitzgerald 2016, p. 135).

At the local level, it is very important to create a multi-agency structure to prevent and counteract the phenomenon of violent radicalisation in order to ensure support from different organisations and authorities for individuals at risk (RAN 2018). The main pillars bringing this partnership together are: eliminating prejudice, building a common language, cooperating, and respecting one another's roles (RAN 2019a). Moreover, individuals undergoing the transitional period from prison to community must indefinitely feel their needs are precisely assessed and met by multi-agency cooperation (RAN 2019c).

To prevent overlap and unnecessary efforts, the multi-agency approach should not set up new frameworks for cooperation but should use existing collaborations between local governments, police, local organisations, and the local community (RAN 2018). In this context, local authorities are those who can best play the role of coordinator within a multi-agency project (Meines 2017).

RAN has identified some best practices in terms of existing multi-agency settings across Europe (RAN 2018).

Since the 1970s, Denmark has developed the Danish SSP (School, Social Services, and Police) System aimed at cooperating locally for the prevention of risky criminal behaviours among children and adolescents (Pedersen and Stothard 2015). Subsequently, other structures—PSP (Police, Social services and Psychiatry) System, KSP (Prisons and Probation, Social Services and Police Cooperation) System, SSD (Social services, School, healthcare and Daycare) System, and SSP+ (for young people

from 18 to 25 years old)—have worked together to address specific target groups (RAN 2018). These systems have focused on crime prevention and have integrated for the prevention of violent radicalisation (Hemmingsen 2015). In fact, the Danish approach conceives of terrorism as a crime like other types and considers violent radicalisation as a risk, especially for vulnerable young people (Hemmingsen 2015).

In Finland, there is the Anchor model, which is a multi-professional early intervention approach for promoting well-being by preventing, at the earliest possible stage, criminal behaviours, violent radicalisation, and extremism of young people as well as other issues that affect adolescent well-being, such as domestic violence (Kinnunen and Partanen 2019; RAN 2018). As indicated in the official website of the Anchor model (https://ankkuritoiminta.fi), the development of Anchor's work is the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior of Finland, and this work is implemented in different regions of the country. The Anchor model, arranged within police departments, strengthens the cooperation between police, social services, healthcare and youth services, and it is based on individual needs. Anchor teams also work with other key players, such as members of municipal governments, schools, civic organisations, and religious communities (Kinnunen and Partanen 2019). By collaborating across multiple agencies, the Anchor model enables teenagers and their families to receive comprehensive support (RAN 2018).

Both Danish and Finnish practices advocate a non-stigmatising approach, thanks to the non-exclusive focus on preventing the radicalisation of their systems. They both recognise multi-professional collaboration as a crucial element to increase information sharing, to build trust among members of different agencies, and to improve preventive actions for young people (RAN 2018). In an article on strategies to prevent violent extremism, Ellis and Abdi (2017) stated that:

> Implementing (counter violent extremism) CVE in the absence of trusting partnerships may not only undermine the potential for systems to respond to prospective threats with early intervention, but may also contribute to a weakening of social connections between communities, potentially adding to the very problem CVE is tasked with addressing. (p. 295)

The authors recognise that Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) allows for respectful and collaborative relationships between communities, organisations, and the government (Ellis and Abdi 2017). CBPR can be briefly defined as a "collaborative research approach", in which community members, stakeholders, and researchers are equally involved in research, recognising the unique contribution that each group makes (Collins et al. 2018). Thus, building partnerships through a CBPR could develop the trust necessary to counter violent radicalisation by designing actions that are more tailored to the needs of the community and in support of non-discrimination and the elimination of stigma (Ellis and Abdi 2017).

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Part II
Multidisciplinary Approach in Implementing Activities

Chapter 4
Innovative Methods for the Interventions in Preventing Violent Radicalisation

Ovidiu Gavrilovici, Aliona Dronic, and Laura Remaschi

Abstract The chapter will describe two methods for promoting activities in an expressive way, detailing three practices or techniques. The first example refers to a narrative application of the "Tree of Life" narrative practice, piloted in Romania. The second example refers to visual methods, explaining in detail two techniques: "Evocative Cards" and "Autobiography through the Human Figure", which have been successfully used working with minors and with professionals in training, in Italy. These tools help to engage participants in conversations that sustain vitality, hope and action orientation in life, to create a context of honouring the suitable identities of the participants. The group practices may be facilitated allowing a structured, gradual, creative narrative construction of a shareable story about alternative and socially valuing aspects of the identity of participants. This process allowed the participants to become co-authors of desirable narratives about their experiences.

Keywords Narrative methods · Tree of life · Visual methods · Evocative cards · Creative methods

4.1 Introduction

The chapter describes two methods for promoting innovative activities, explaining their original features: narrative and visual approaches, two practices that may be definitely similar in implementation, but different in their theoretical basis and facilitation attitudes. The first one—narrative approach—has its reference framework

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and its origin in clinical psychology, and has been effectively adapted for dealing with community-based interventions and for inclusion purposes. The other—visual methods—comes from experiential learning and from community psychology interventions with people who may have difficulties (because of their age, or country of origin, or for marginalised situations) in communicating with *words* their concerns.

There is, nevertheless, contiguity among them, due to their favour expression with histories and images, instead of group discussions. Facilitators and professionals have to be, in both cases, adequately trained and well-experienced, for capturing all the subjective meanings emerging from the activities.

The first part, therefore, refers to a narrative application, the *Tree of Life* narrative practice. This tool helps to engage participants in conversations that sustain vitality, hope, and action orientation in life, to create a context of honouring the desirable identities of the participants; and to be inspired and to inspire a rich personal, group, or community story development.

The second part refers to visual and iconic methods, with two examples: *Evocative Cards* and *Autobiography through the Human Figure*. These tools help to stimulate participants a creative reworking of critical issues in order to find new strategies to cope with the tasks that life faces them. Such practices focus methodologically on group-centric and person-centric approach, referring to the theoretical and methodological models that use lateral and creative thinking. Using these approaches, participants may be able to become aware of their potential and to become responsible in solving critical issues in a proactive way, re-reading their history and engaging a positive relationship with the reference group.

4.2 Tree of Life. Collective Narrative Practice

4.2.1 Reference Framework

Tree of Life (ToL) is a non-structuralist informed collective narrative practice. Narrative community practice adopted Tree of Life as an opportunity to develop alternative preferred identity stories about life and living while in situations of hardship, illness, violence or trauma, countering the initial problematic stories (so called problem-saturated stories—White and Epston 1990).

Tree of Life concept is widely used in a variety of cultural and scientific areas—from mythology, religion, life sciences, philosophy, biology; it is a rich metaphor with many of connotations (Lock 2016).

Ncazelo Ncube promoted the ToL practice since 2003 (Ncube 2006). As a result of a collaboration with David Denborough, Michael White (1995), Cheryl White and Shona Russell (from Dulwich Centre in Adelaide, Australia), Ncube publishes the narrative version of ToL in 2006, in the International Journal of Narrative Therapy and Community Work. Later, on 2007, Ncube provided the introduction to the Tree of Life chapter of David Denborough's book on "Collective narrative practice",

enlisting ToL as an example of collective narrative practice, specifically arising from the field of addressing the needs of those who survived trauma, initially of children (Ncube and Denborough 2007). More recently, various applications of ToL enlarged the beneficiaries' groups, to adults exposed to various hardships and difficulties (from suffering from mental health conditions, to those who are incarcerated or suffering from the effects of violence) (Jacobs 2018).

The *Tree of Life* (ToL) is also described in the literature as "a narrative-based expressive arts intervention" (Schweitzer et al. 2014, p. 2) or a "psychosocial strengths intervention" (Lock 2016, p. 3). Other authors mention using the ToL metaphor in their creative expressive art therapies, without referencing the narrative approach (Hirschson et al. 2018) or using the pretext of drawing of a "Tree of Life" for interpretive purposes (Saarelainen 2015). The most recent published study on the ToL, used in working with refugee youth (Stiles, Alaraudanjoki, Wilkinson, Ritchie, and Brown 2019), described it as a "culturally-grounded, strength-based group counselling approach". Those definitions illuminate the departure from the narrative therapy conception of preferred identity supported by desirable, alternative storylines, which are non-problematic. There is a need to disentangle the various utilisation of the "Tree of Life" instrument or technique under a variety of conceptual positions which depart from the non-structuralist perspectives.

ToL uses the metaphor of the "tree" and its various areas (roots, ground, trunk, branches, leaves, flowers and fruits) to describe aspects of lived experience, inviting the participants to enter into conversations focusing on relational, non-structuralist identity descriptions. The ToL may be used individually or in groups or communities. It invites the participant or the participants to share alternative accounts of their lives, not problematic descriptions or conclusions; as such, it is resonant with Michael White's unique outcomes (2007) strategy of inquiry, supporting the co-construction of a personal and relational narrative of the participants which is apart form problem or problematic effects on their lives.

The actuality and growing interest among scholars and practitioners alike in this practice can be seen in social media (over 3200 members in the Facebook Group "Tree of Life: Narrative Approach" as of September 2019). The Tree of Life practice in groups was also used as a useful alternative to traditional mental health services (Hughes 2014). ToL may be used in therapeutic, educational, or developmental narrative practice in dyads.

Even if Stiles, Alaraudanjoki, Wilkinson, Ritchie, and Brown (2019) considered the "Tree of Life therapy" as having "no evidence-base", referring to quantitative research evidence sources which are not yet performed, the few studies published in the area of receiving refugees are employing a qualitative design with case studies including a limited number of respondents. The status of the research in this field consists of the increasing area of practice-based evidence and the beginning of the first studies of a mixed design with control or comparable groups.

4.2.2 Current Developments

ToL is generally developed as a community practice applied in groups, but other adaptions emerged, such as using it in inpatient settings in health care (Wellman et al. 2016). The authors, narrative therapists, may also use the ToL process not only in groups, but in an individual therapeutic setting, in a family or couple context, or with invited witnesses as an audience. Due to the fact that ToL is a relatively new tool, there is still little research on this practice, but the existing reports of evidence-based practices indicate improvement in the participants' psychological states. For example, a study of survivors of torture in Zimbabwe (Reeler et al. 2009) shows that more than half of the respondents report better coping at three-month follow-up. German (2013) investigated in an exploratory mixed methods study with 5 graders in a London school the usefulness of ToL and reported improvements in the pupils' self-esteem post-intervention, improvements in cultural understanding of themselves and other class members, and some reduction in racist behaviour. Hughes (2014) describes benefits of applying ToL practice by the Tavistock Centre in London with refugee parents and children in schools. The intervention promoted a cultural adequate environment and process for the development of empowering stories about the participants' lives and for finding solutions to their problems. Finally, Schweitzer et al. (2014) describe in a single-case study gains in adopting a preferred self-narrative of a young Liberian refugee settled in Australia, participating in the application of a manualised version of ToL for a group of eight young persons.

A total of 57 persons engaged with the ToL practice during 2018 in the Erasmus+ PROVA Project (2016–2018) with the aim of prevention of violent radicalisation and conflicts. Thus, 27 professionals from private and public organisations in Iasi County, Romania—psychologists, social workers, and educators from social services and educational institutions as well as prison staff—15 minors under criminal proceedings and high risk of deviance in child protection services, and 15 young adults incarcerated in Iasi Prison participated in ToL. Another opportunity for using ToL as a collective narrative practice was in December 2018 when a group of high school 11-grade students interacted with the aim of making visible their difficulties in the passage to the adulthood.

4.2.3 Tree of Life Narrative Practice. Methodological Aspects

Gavrilovici and Dronic adapted Ncube (2006) and Denborough (2008) model of ToL. A more complex description of a ToL in combination with other narrative practices (outsider witnessing, definitional ceremony) performed by the authors in Iasi Penitentiary is described in a previous contribution (Gavrilovici and Dronic 2019). Ncazelo Ncube (2006) describes the structure of the ToL practice: (1) Tree of Life; (2) Forest of life; (3) When the storms come; and (4) Certificates and songs (p. 75).

ToL collective narrative practice comprises a four-tiered process with multiple narrative aims and principles, outlined in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Narrative aims and principles

ToL process	Narrative outcomes and aims
1. ToL—drawing a tree and writing text (initial telling)	An initial document of the "points of entry" of participants' life experiences A narratively facilitated conversation, following the ToL structure (which comprises of two narrative processes—the performance of the developing story in front of the audience, and the putting of the personal story into circulation within the group or public)
2. FoL—Forest of life–trees forming a community	An exhibition of ToLs An interactive experience of visiting, viewing, reading and (potentially) writing and drawing with the exposed ToLs. An experience of "communitas" (Turner, 1969). Putting the stories into circulation and rich story development—with resonances from the audience in the exhibition The narrative outcome is a richly described preferred identity storyline. This is making visible the preferred life story of the person, consecrating the first part of the narrative principle "The person is the person, the problem is the problem"
3. SoLR—Storms of life and responses	Externalising conversations describing the relational aspects between the problems or difficulties affecting the persons participating in the ToL. Descriptions of problematic effects and identification of responses of the persons (the effect of the problem or difficulty to the person and the responses of the person, as a result, including those directed towards the problem or difficulty). Relating the responses to what is considered valued and important During SoL, the second part of the narrative principle "The person is the person, the problem is the problem" is richly described, connecting in the end the person's responses to his or her preferred identity descriptions
4. Certificates; celebration	Documenting the main preferred descriptions of the life story Celebrating and authenticating the defining personal and communal preferred life stories in the group and/or participating public

(1) *Tree of Life. Poster—drawing, writing—and performance*

The ToL is carried out using the principle of rich story development:

(a) the drawing of a tree, individually—which becomes the context, support, and
     organising framework for the initial narrative elements of personal experiences
     and conclusions about each participant's life;
(b) the facilitated writing of various experiences prompted by the respective ToL
     component by each participant; this is also an individual phase; the facilitator
     acts for the whole group and may support certain individual participants if it is
     the case, the completion of the writing of each component is performed all at
     once, sequentially, from the roots, to the fruits; this phase results in a written
     draft of a potential personal narrative which may be considered the initial "points
     of entry" into possible life stories, which may be called "the initial telling".
(c) each participant takes turns, having conversations with the facilitator in front
     of the group or public detailing his or her ToL; this results in an oral personal
     life story co-authored during the facilitated narrative conversation which may
     be considered "the personal story telling". This performance with the audience
     (facilitator plus other members of the group and/or witnesses) creates the first
     context for the personal story circulation.

The initial part starts with a canvas—a rather large piece of paper or flipchart—
where a drawing of a preferred tree is performed by the participant: this is the initial
context for the narrative process that is starting next. The type of tree is adopted by
each participant. The facilitator only suggests that the drawing will have room for at
least four parts: roots, ground line, trunk and tree crown (branches with leaves and
fruits).

The tree drawn by each participant includes roots, ground line, trunk, branches,
leaves and fruits. The tree drawing is used to symbolise certain areas for the partic-
ipants to write aspects of their life and history: roots (origin, family, ancestry,
culture), ground (place of residence, current activities and hobbies), trunk (skills,
especially relational abilities), branches (hopes, dreams, wishes), leaves (important
people contributing in their lives), and fruits (relational "gifts" received from those
important people) (Ncube 2006; Iliopoulou et al. 2009; Hughes 2014).

Dulwich Centre website (2009) promoted a version of ToL where another compo-
nent is added, the "seeds" which invites the participants to write about the "gifts" or
"legacies" to give to those others who matter to them (Iliopoulou et al. 2009). Vari-
ations on the components are to be observed also in Ncube (2006) which included
"bugs" as areas of the drawing of the ToL to invite writings about daily or routine
problems and challenges in participants' lives, or in Dulwich's website, mentioning
a "compost heap" near the tree trunk drawing, on the ground line, if there are people
in participants' lives who are worthy to be remembered but have committed abusive
behaviours or harm to them (Table 4.2).

The facilitation questions or examples may be exercised during the ToL individual
initial phase, to support the writing in each component of the tree on the poster. Also,
facilitation may be used during each participant's group presentation or to the public

Table 4.2 Tasks for participants to complete the writing part of the ToL (the "telling") and their respective narrative aims

Tree of Life components (narrative structure)	Examples of personal experiences to be written by the participant (areas of personal experiences suggested to the participants)
Roots	Places they were born and where they have lived until now; family history, legends, myths, origins; favourite places or objects; very influential persons in childhood and adolescence; preferred music, dance
Ground line	Actual place of living; regular activities and hobbies
Trunk	Important values; demonstrated skills—that the person or others have proof of; valued characteristics or qualities; engagements with a certain purpose, purposes or commitments
Branches	Personal hopes, dreams, wishes, directions in life
Leaves	People who are important and valued (living or not) they met in their lives and people or characters (historical figures, musicians, authors, etc.) that matter to the participant, influencing their lives
Fruits	"Gifts", "legacies", especially relational contributions in their lives by important others (like being cared for)

(*Source* Adapted from Ncube 2006)

when there are eventually invited other witnesses or supporters (family members, other organisers, professionals, invited guests, etc.).

Enriching storylines emerge this way, when, in our protocol, we invite the person to present in a narratively facilitated conversation, the ToL drawing with its relevant text, in the same succession, from the bottom to top, from the past (the roots), to the present (the ground and the trunk), up to the future (branches, leaves, fruits and seeds). During this "performing" of the version of life story in front of the audience, the author of each ToL drawing and text is getting to more detailed account, examples, and conclusions, is making new connections, and is arriving at and giving voice to the various meanings that emerge and become apparent in the narratively guided interview by the facilitator. It is now when the new details may be added on the canvas, or they may be added later, if the story "author" wants to.

During the group or public presentation, the facilitation may invite the person to include (Ncube 2006): details about the history of a skill, of important relationships, of hopes and dreams, from whom they learned the skill, practised the relationship, or sustained the hope or dream, who supported this learning, examples from past experiences, witnesses of relevant skills and preferences.

(2)   Forest of life

This part of the ToL narrative practice is composed of creation of an exhibition with all the individual drawings and texts on a wall, offering the possibility for all participants (and members of the audience, consequently) to visit, view, read, and comment (in writing) on the ToL drawings exposed. This may be perceived as a resonance from what is written and drawn on the paper in front of them, and also from the witnessed facilitated conversation based on the poster.

This exhibition allows everybody to compare, contrast, and reflect on the initial "points of entry" expressed in each ToL and in the overall exhibition, creating the possibility to have an experience of the commonalities and the differences, the variations of each life story "production" or performance.

The "Forest of Life" (FoL) creates a platform for sharing preferred experiences and for visualising ourselves as parts of a whole, as members of a community, structurally as the trees in a forest, and also, symbolically, as being connected by shared values, hopes, wishes, and relevant and valuable relationships. According to Turner (1969), these symbolic set or interactions may be viewed as communitas, in place of community, which has more connotations related to the place. The end result of the FoL is, from a narrative perspective, a platform or a safe territory for the participants to construct an alternative, non-structuralist, intentional identity story (preferred ways of living, values, hopes and dreams, principles).

(3)   Storms of life and responses to the effects of the storms

The metaphor of storm affecting the forest is suggestive in multiple ways. The storm is not affecting a single tree, but a whole forest, an entire community; the effects of the storm may be different to various parts of the forest, or to individual trees; there may be different possibilities to resist to the storm's effects; and, there are many ways that a tree and a forest may continue to live, to grow, or to regenerate, after the effects of a storm.

This element of the ToL community practice structure allows to tell the story of difficulties, trauma, illness or violence that may characterise their experience (Ncube 2006). Having rendered visible their preferred identity description illuminated in the previous phase, the participants are guarded against re-victimisation or re-traumatisation which may occur if they have strong experiences of this kind and are invited directly to relate to them.

Once richly described in preferred ways, the participants may now enter in conversations guided by externalising conversation principles and responding to trauma narrative practices. Thus, the participants may be invited to relate problematic aspects of life which affect them, and may be able to reflect and to express the ways they responded (during the difficult times) and the way they continue to respond to the effects of the problems in their lives.

The facilitation of this third stage (SoL) is mapped by the following: the naming or stating the difficulties and describing their types and intensity, the effects of the difficulties encountered on their lives, the responses to the effects on their lives, the explanation on the abilities, knowledge or skills used in responding to the effects of the difficulties experienced, the exploration of moments of diminished effects of difficulties, and the description of the recurrent life after the effects of the difficulties.

This structuring of the conversations allows the participants to engage with the descriptions of actions, thoughts, or emotions related to the problem effects which are now revealed as resistance, actions of protection, of countering the effects, of preserving what is important to them. These acts of dignifying responses honour in the ToL collective context the important aspects for the participants' lives and their preferred identity claims.

(4)   "Certificates" and songs

In order to sustain the emerging preferred life story, a final phase of the whole ToL practice is to document the main desired identity expressions and to authenticate these conclusions expressed in the group of participants or public (participants and invited audience) using an awarding ceremony and celebration.

Ncube (2006) proposes that the document may include the name of the participants, their expressed hopes, dreams, and skills. The authors offer the participants in the ToL practice in Romania a "Tree of Life Certificate" which includes blank spaces to be filled in by each participant, with name, abilities, skills, talents, dreams, wishes, hopes for the future, and the indication of the special persons who contributed in their life.

Also, the Certificate included a symbol of a tree, the date of the event, and signatures of all those present, the person, the facilitator, and any other participant witnessing the event. Some Certificates may also be a support for messages from participants or audience, on the back of the Certificate itself.

The posters with ToL and the Certificates belong to the participants, and they may decide to take them home, to take photos of them, to further maintain or circulate their exhibition, inviting other people in the audience, or to present them in future events. David Denborough (2008) also mentions that the awarding of the Certificates may be followed by a celebration with poems, songs, and music.

4.2.4 Guidelines for Narrative Facilitation

The drawing of ToL is a pretext for the personal narrative engagement of each participant with the successive areas of the "tree" symbolising various personal narrative non-structuralist descriptions of identity. The participants, individually, write about their experiences and conclusions in the respective ToL components. They are invited, positioned, and sustained as experts of their own lives. As the foundation of narrative practice, the participants have innumerate life experiences which may

be expressed using narratives, that may be put into relationships which create new meaning making possibilities, and may discern relevant, important, thus, preferred aspects of their lives, in a narrative process.

During the ToL collective narrative practice, the narrative facilitator creates a context that invites the person to engage in interactions and conversations which permit non-structuralist descriptions of identity, intentional, relational portrayals of self-in-relationship, and a historical sequencing of life experiences, a non-essentialist perspective that "knit" multiple narratives in expressions of storylines. Thus, the ToL participants identify alternative stories of self, enriching and emphasising preferred personal descriptions of self in the direction of describing relational and agentic self. During the different phases of ToL practice, they present the rich context of connecting past experiences, to present descriptions and future hopes and horizons for the future.

The ToL practice aims at creating a safe place to stand (Ncube 2006; Denborough 2008; Jacobs 2018) for those involved who are affected by the problematic aspects interfering with preferred ways of living. This practice permits reconnecting to and experiencing preferred identities that may be marginalised or neglected by the problematic influences in the participants' lives.

The narrative principles honoured by the various stages of the ToL are (a) putting things into relationships; (b) rich story development; (c) "the person is the person, the problem is the problem", described as follows:

(a) Putting things into relationships: Creating a setting and inviting the participants in the centre to tell aspects of their lives that are worthy to be shared, preferred accounts of their experiences, shared with a select audience. The narrative setting allows the participants to have an audience for their story (a primary audience is also the narrative facilitator).

(b) Rich story development: The structured telling of a story, then responding to it with re-telling from the audience or the other party in the conversation, and adding-on to it with further re-retelling, are invited and sustained in the ToL approach. First, on the various areas of the tree drawing, the key words or short sentences the participants are writing are seeds or markers of potential stories from the universe of life experiences of each person. The crystallisation point metaphor from chemistry may be utilised here, as an image for the point of entry into a potential storyline. This initial schematic draft of relevant aspects from the participants' life experiences which belong to the realm of the preferred—key preferred people, places, non-structuralist identity descriptors (goals, dreams, wishes, values, principles or guides for action, values, etc.)—construct a canvas of what will emerge in the later phases of the ToL. This tree drawing which organises the text becomes a document on which potential life stories will be explored in further interactions.

One embedded strength of this ToL narrative practice is the organic metaphor of a living tree (firmly rooted, vertically grown, aspiring to the horizon with its branches and carrying living leaves, generative with fruits and eventually germinating with their seeds), carrying life. Also, respecting a biological growth metaphor,

the co-construction of the life story is supported by the various elements of the trees, providing a time-related sequencing, a platform for continuity and structuring coherence.

(c) The person is the person, the problem is the problem: The ToL is providing an account of "a second story", the preferred, desirable story of life, not the problem-saturated story that affects the group with whom this narrative practice is performed with. Be it living with AIDS, exposure to violence and living with trauma, affected by mental health problems, chronic illnesses or alike, the ToL narrative practice is inviting the persons participating to become the authors of a story that describes their aspirations, intentions, values, principles and directions for living (their non-structuralist, intentional identity descriptions), apart from the problem-saturated descriptions defined by the problematic effects in their lives. This way, exercising an appreciative structured process, ToL is providing a platform for refined, rich description of the person, separated from the effects of the present, past, or chronic problem that affects the person (White and Epston 1990).

ToL is a complex narrative practice involving a number of principles and requiring some expertise with the narrative practice to facilitate it. Thus, despite its technical simplicity—using a drawing and some text and inviting conversations about those— there is a need to understand and employ consistently its foundational narrative principles in order to render its desired effect, to enable the participant(s) to become agents in the re-authoring of their life story in ways that would resonate with preferred identity descriptions that are rendered visible and circulated during this process.

4.3 Visual and Iconic Methods

4.3.1 Reference Framework

The use of images, such as photographs and drawings, is increasingly widespread in both psycho-educational and therapeutic contexts. The reasons for such diffusion are related to the importance of the images in people's daily lives, due to the increase of the digital way of communicating, which has made possible to produce and disseminate images quickly and without extra cost. Another reason is based on the variety of cultures and languages living in our communities, so the images can facilitate the mutual knowledge among children and families coming from different countries (Ownby 2013).

Due to the Internet and smart phones development, it is important to take into account the visual channel of communication (Metcalfe 2016). Two recent handbooks may show how present and widespread such channels are now prevailing both in the world of training, therapy, and research. Prosser stated that "the most important competency in societies around the world in the twenty-first century is visual

fluency, and qualitative researchers are developing visual methodologies to study that phenomenon" (2011: 480). Pauwels, too, stated, in the introduction of the *Sage Handbook of Visual Research Methods* (Margolis and Pauwels 2011), that visual methods in psychological and social research are now more and more diffused.

In the field of therapy, we may observe the importance of art therapies, referring to both drawing and graphic methods, and also Phototherapy, that is the genogram with photographs, which stimulate the rehearsing of the experiences both in individual and group settings using as a "therapeutic tool" the photographs or drawings, to stimulate the patients' self-narration and evoke their experiences (Cacciari 2001; Cosden and Reynolds 1982; De Angelis 2011; Fryrear 1980; Weiser 1993), and memories (Goessling 2018; Ohmer and Owens 2013).

In the field of education, and in particular of education to citizenship, and in community development, we may mention Photolanguage (Bessell and Burke 2005; Bessell et al. 2007; White et al. 2009), Photovoice (Teti et al. 2016; Wang 2006; Wang and Burris 1997; Wang et al. 1998), and Community maps (Reavey 2010; Uprichard and Byrne 2006) that encourage the analysis of psychosocial problems starting from the images produced by the participants themselves, and then foster their reflection leading to the awareness of weaknesses and strengths of people involved in the community.

The images are therefore used to promote active advocacy and citizenship processes in the participants, engaged to solve their problem by means of an intervention (Goessling 2018; Hergenrather et al. 2006; Kelley et al. 2016; Ohmer and Owens 2013; Ornelas et al. 2009).

With the beginning of the Internet, a research corresponds, now, first of all in "looking" something online and in documenting the results through the images (Mannay 2016). This is a usual people's habit in their daily lives, but also a way to carry out the research in ethnographic, anthropological, sociological, and psychological fields.

From the ontological point of view, this has changed the meaning of "looking" into "look at something" (Metcalfe 2016). The fact that the images are fast and imperious, as in the digital world, has altered the notion of time. Obviously you cannot witness everything, and there are areas of unknown; this can make people feeling precarious and foregone (Metclafe 2016).

There are several ways to know, and visual language has now become one of the main ways to build meaning, even from a semiotic point of view. If semiology is the science that studies cultural phenomena as a system of signs, there is nothing really knowable if not expressed through the systems of signs, or in other words culture is made of communication systems that are coded through sign systems that connote symbols and meanings. But if the sign coding system is today expressed by visual signs, it may somehow transform the meanings, the communication modes, and the cultural systems. An image produces sensations and thoughts with different meanings that are encoded with different linguistic signs. This increases the possibility of reworking the encoding of an image, corresponding to a life experience, into a narrative, in a different way from the previous one, increasing the possibility of identifying new knowledge, and new skills.

There are, therefore, multiple meanings for the same system of knowledge. So we change not only the system of seeing and representing spaces, but also the reflective consciousness of such grounded culture changes, that is, we rework and tell the narrative of the experience linking it with the living places (Uprichard and Byrne 2006).

On the basis of these aspects, visual methods are useful for promoting education with an egalitarian approach to life and society, because they promote the possibility of analysing, interpreting, expressing the individuals' identity and the cultural system, as an integrated system, a complex vision of society, and as the result of different expressions and visions of the world. Räsänen (2012) has represented with the image of a flower the different aspects that affect cultural identity, highlighting how visual methods, and in particular the visual arts education, help to overcome cultural stereotypes and promote the acquisition of a multicultural identity.

Photovoice, one of the most known methodologies, was used to foster advocacy for marginal and disadvantaged groups such as Indio women in America or in rural areas in China (Wang and Burris 1994), who—being illiterate and speaking a niche language—would not have had the opportunity to give voice and cross the barriers of their cultural isolation only through verbal language. The use of visual methods joined with community interventions such as Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) approach, in which all actors are involved (families, associations, schools, public and private services, universities) can promote health and prevent psychosocial problems in adolescents and increase resilient attitudes in poverty or marginal groups, and where it is a high exposure to violence (Irby et al. 2018; Finkelhor et al. 2015).

4.3.2 Visual and Iconic Methods Stimulate the Re-Working of one's Life Experience Through Lateral Thinking and Creativity

When graphic tools, such as images or drawings, are used to stimulate the narrative re-thinking of one's life experience, creative thinking and expressive skills of associative type, rather than logical deductive, is stimulated. In the psychological field, creativity has been studied since Guilford (1950), who conducted systematic studies to better understand creativity and how it influences and is influenced by personality, social relationships, cognitive and emotional aspects. De Bono (1990) stated that creative thinking is innate and contrasting with logical thinking, vertical, with cause-and-effect relationships. To produce new ideas, we need "lateral" thinking, so the ability to weave unexpected connections. There are technical specifications: the use of visual and graphic stimuli, which allow breaking the habitual patterns of thought (e.g. when a problem is expressed through a photograph) evokes new mental associations, which attribute meanings according to a symbol or a sign code that is given by the elements of the image. It is only later that verbal language intervenes, because it refers to logical-deductive patterns. The creative process typically goes through four steps:

1. *Preparation*: collecting and selecting relevant information, analysing the problem, exploring possible solutions. In *Photovoice* workshops, the participants have to take firstly one or more photographs about the proposed issue. In the Evocative Cards method, the participants are presented with a series of photos, depicting different images. Then, each of them chooses the image more evocative, according to the free association linked closer to the proposed theme.
2. *Incubation*: mental processing of the available material look for an order that can build a new meaning. In the Evocative Cards method, after choosing the image, the individual has to reflect on the reason of his/her choice.
3. *Innovation*: New meanings may emerge, coming out because of the nature of visual and non-discursive stimulus. In both the *Photovoice* method and the *Evocative Cards* method, new associations emerge between images, emotions, and experiences, by means of the analysis of the picture.
4. *Check*: A new idea, a solution, an intuition have to be tested and verified to be formalised. From the analysis of the photographs, we are able to identify skills, modalities, strategies, and even the stakeholders that can be involved to change the situation.

Another interesting aspect that is stimulated through the use of visual and creative methods is the reproduction of the mental condition, a form of insight, a *saissement* (as defined by Anzieu 1981): a break from the usual patterns that lower the level of cognitive control, so to be more receptive to an intuition. The state of *saissement* or insight can be favoured by a surplus stimulus, such as human contacts, use of substances, extreme and risky behaviours, or by an absence or deprivation of external stimuli, such as meditation. In the training courses that use visual methods to stimulate creativity, it is initially built a setting in which the person is willing to use free associations and lateral thinking. The warm-up or ice-breaking phase is crucial to allow such steps to be effective. It creates a decrease in cognitive defensive control, which allows the safe recovery of emotions, memories, and concepts, some of which being unconscious.

Such method allows first of all the capacity for self-awareness, activating a process of change, of arriving to alternative meanings of one's life experience. In this sense, visual methods are useful for promoting positive change.

The power of visual methods resides in connecting imagination and storytelling. The participants are active both in photographing and in choosing images and describing them, telling something about themselves and their thoughts. In the group this is amplified, because images and stories find resonances and comparisons with others. In this way, the stories and the related images take on new trajectories, new meanings are found, and new strategies of action are performed which enhance the transformative capacity of the participants, both of their own life, and that of the life of their own relatives, such as family and friends, as well as the life of their community or culture (Moxley 2018).

The creative act of transposing images and storytelling has at the same time an aspect of the uniqueness of each story, linked to events and meanings with a different value for the individual who is telling and for those who listen. It has at the same time

an aspect that transcends the single story and connects participants to each other in a common dimension. The told stories are the inter-subjective elements that constitute the basis for the creation of historical and spatial ties. The narrative identities are co-constructed of stories people tell about themselves and of stories that other people tell about them. In fact, the common elements of the narratives are found in every culture and in every historical epoch, allowing mutual identification through the symbolic recognition of common aspects. Such elements are the "Logos", the discourse, the language shared among people; the "Telos", the purpose, the intent of a group or community; the "Epos" or shared historical memory; the "Ethos" or the reference values that a group or a community adopts in a given space or "Topos", that is an area in a given time or "Cronos", referring to the story of a character who has its roots, or "Genos", founded in each real or fantasy told story (Vogler 2007).

This process allows promoting a learning centred on the individuals and on the group, and a change of constructs, meanings and attitudes both intra-personal and relational, and, finally, when the focus is on the interventions, on community changes, which can be fostered by narrative and creative techniques.

These methods are therefore effective in contexts of social marginality and/or at risk, because they maximise the expressive potential of the participants and reduce the linguistic or social or cultural difficulties in expressing themselves through logical-deductive thinking and language.

Visual methods build bridges between the specific context of application and the community network outside that group. In such a way, the products (e.g. photos, videos, drawings, collages…) may express social messages and requests, becoming tools useful for advocacy actions. For instance, civic exhibitions can be held in the presence of stakeholders and policy-makers. As in the case of *Photovoice*, they can support a project focused on environmental justice and can foster collaboration, preventing anger and violent radicalisation (Goessling 2018; Moxley 2018).

4.3.3   Common Aspects of Visual and Iconic Methods in This Kind of Meetings

Visual methods in interventions are founded on common theoretical and method-ological models that use creativity and artistic languages, combined with narrative approaches, in order to create alternative, desirable individual and social change. What joins interventions using visual and narrative methods is a vision of activities centred on the individual and on the group.

Crucial aspects are: (a) Non-judgmental approach; (b) Creating a welcoming, open, and confidential climate; (c) Active listening; (d) Reflection and self-awareness; (e) Collaboration; (f) Going from practice to theory; (g) Willingness to use of lateral or divergent and creative thinking.

(a) *Non-judgmental approach*: The facilitator has to ensure that values, behaviours, and interactions within the group are considered as personal opinions and narratives and worthy of attention and mutual respect (Rogers 1970). There is no better or fairer story or opposition, as they are expressions of an individual vision, subjective, and non-absolute.

(b) *Creating a welcoming, open and confidential climate*: The facilitator has to help the creation of a space, in which participants feel safe, comfortable, and free to express themselves without constraints.

(c) *Active listening*: The facilitator has to promote in each member of the group the active listening of others, in order to facilitate the exploration of the experiences through narratives and images.

(d) *Reflection and self-awareness*: Through the use of images and narratives, participants recall, explore, interpret, and re-interpret their life experience, so as to better reach self-knowledge.

(e) *Collaboration*: The active and non-judgemental listening, together with the choice to use visual and narrative methods, promotes collaboration between participants. In addition, each shown and told story is celebrated, recognised in its unique value, in order to preserve the spirit of openness and mutual exchange that has been achieved by the members of the group.

(f) *Going from practice to theory*: To promote the process of self-awareness and of creative and narrative processing of one's life experience, each participant has to start from the story of his/her experiences both in a narrative and visual way. The drawing up of them in terms of values and justice or social ethics, as well as the possible theoretical framework of an issue, will be given at the end of the process that means that the theory and ethical evaluation of the stories will arise from the experiences shown with the images and narrated by the participants themselves. There are no theories provided a priori, which could affect both the non-judgemental ability of participants and their ability to use creative thinking.

(g) *Willingness to the use of lateral or divergent and creative thinking*: Through the construction of a group willing to listening and exploring its theories, the use of visual images and stories is introduced. From the free expression of these aspects, new meanings and new strategies emerge, which are useful to improve and/or change aspects of individuals' and community's life.

Examples of using visual and iconic methods include the intervention with *Evocative Cards*, carried out with Juvenile Justice professionals, and the Autobiography through the Human Figure.

4.3.4 Evocative Cards

The *Evocative Cards* (Remaschi, in press) is a creative game that refers to the narrative method just described.

It is a pack of 52 cards representing different photos (natural, urban landscapes, people in the foreground, animals, objects…) that are shown arranged on a table to participants in a training session. Each participant has to choose two of them, based on the proposed theme, explaining the reason of his/her choice. With the chosen images and stories, the participants, divided into subgroups, create a fantasy tale linked to the theme. Then, each subgroup tells its story to the others. In the final phase, the salient elements, moving from the world of storytelling to the real life, are identified, underlining criticalities and potentials, and looking for strategies of change, in order to improve participants' life and/or working situations.

Interventions based on such methodology have been carried out during the Workshops of the Project PROVA (2016–2018), as a part of the training aimed at the Juvenile Justice professionals, and during the training on Resilience addressed to high school teachers and students (Tuscan Region 2014).

The appropriate number of participants in workshops with such methods ranges from 10 to maximum 20. More participants are any way possible in longer workshops (Figures 4.1, 4.2, and Table 4.3).

Fig. 4.1 Example of an Evocative Card. (*Source* of the photo https://pixabay.com/it/photos/albero-campo-calma-736875/; https://pixabay.com/it/users/bessi-909086/)

Fig. 4.2 A workshop using Evocative Cards with teachers of a high school. (*Source* Photo by Laura Remaschi)

4.3.5 Autobiography Through the Human Figure

A tool that fits with iconic and narrative methods is the Autobiography through the Human Figure (Remaschi and Meringolo 2015). This tool was proposed by Lovell (2017) and has been adapted for applying it in several projects, in particular with minors under proceedings, in two different European projects (OUTinOUT 2012–2014; PROVA 2016–2018).

It consists of a graphic representation of the human body, in which each participant has to tell some aspects of his/her life, writing them in the corresponding body parts. The feet relate to their roots, the right leg to the places where they lived, the left leg to the places they would like to visit, the belly to the things that scare them, the heart to the things they love, the right arm to their skills, the left arm to the skills they don't have but they would like to have, the mouth to the phrase/word that distinguishes them, the eyes to their projects, the head to their dreams. Differently from other narrative methods, its focus is on the image of Human Figure, which leads the construction and the explanation of the autobiographies (Fig. 4.3 and Table 4.4).

Table 4.3   Steps in organising workshops with *Evocative Cards*

Session Number	Activity Type	Activity Detail
Session 1	Knowledge among participants and thematic introduction and working method	Ice-breaking activities. Free discussion on the issue of preventing violence with adolescents, linked to their professional role
Session 2	Evocative choice of the card proposed by each participant, related to the stimulus question and to the theme	Each participant chooses two cards: one that evokes a characteristic of their professional role and one related to difficulty managed the anger/aggressiveness/violence of its minors
Session 3	Narration through the description of the chosen images	Each participant shows the two cards chosen and tells to the group the reason of the choice. To give more meaning to what is expressed, each one chooses a word that is pinned next to each image
Session 4	Reflections, resonances, and feedback	Once each person narrated and showed the images, each participant has the opportunity to share how they felt, what resonances cards produced, what story/image impressed or touched him or her the most
Session 5	Storytelling in subgroups	Based on the choices made by the participants, the group is divided into subgroups of about 4–5 people. Each group is asked to create a story (using the narrative style of its choice), on the theme of the meeting and using the cards and narratives expressed by the participants of the group
Session 6	Acting the stories	Once the production of the story is over, each subgroup represents its own story to the others. Each story is heard and celebrated
Session 7	Theoretical methodological reworking of what emerged	Starting from the analysis of the stories narrated, through a group discussion, the main concepts used to analyse the real work situation are extracted. Critical issues, potentials, and strategies to improve participants' professional role are identified

MY DREAMS

MY
PROJECTS

THE WORD I SAY MORE

POSITIVE
THINGS/EMOTIONS

ABILITIES THAT I HAVE

ABILITIES THAT I WOULD LIKE TO
HAVE

NEGATIVE
THINGS/EMOTIONS

TRIPS ALREADY TAKEN

TRIPS I'D LIKE TO TAKE

ROOTS
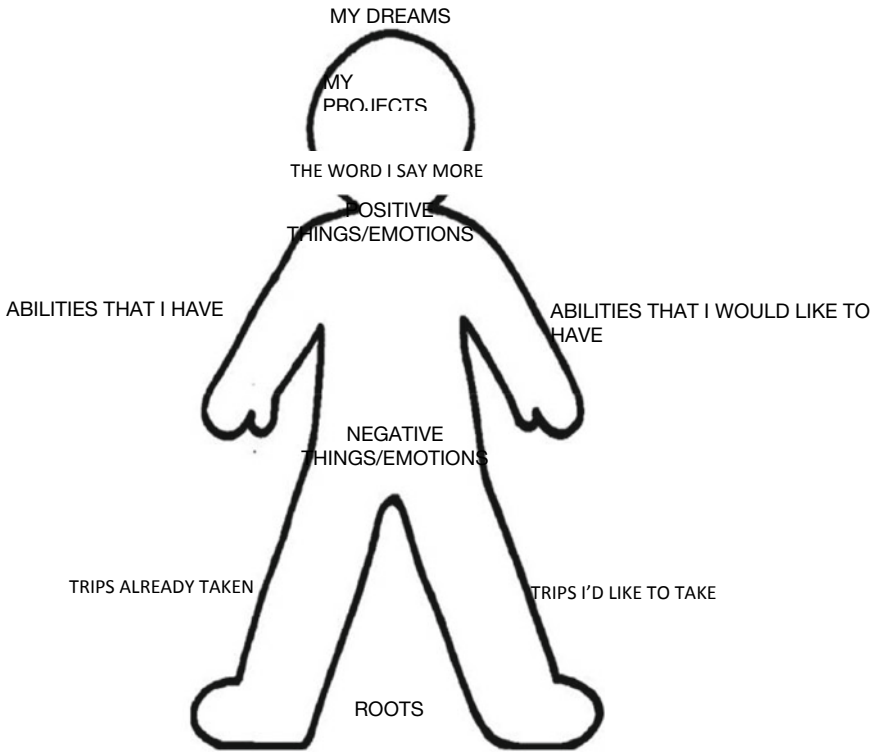
Fig. 4.3 Instruction card on how to fill out the "Human Figure". (*Source* Inspired by Lovell 2017 and adapted)

Table 4.4 Steps in organising workshops with "Human Figure"

Session number	Activity type	Activity detail
Session 1	Knowledge between participants and facilitators. Classroom pact and group expectations Thematic introduction and working method	Ice-breaking activities. Presentation of activities and sharing of classroom rules, pact of trust between participants and facilitators. If a group of minors have not chosen to participate independently, it is important to explain what are the motivations of each of them and to bring out any resistance
Session 2	Autobiographical activity with the Human Figure	Each participant has a sheet on which he draws the shape of the Human Figure in his own way, after which he writes on corresponding part the required aspects
Session 3	Narration through the description of participants' autobiographical figure	Each participant shows the realised figures and tells the group what represents them. At the end, the autobiographical figures are attached to the wall
Session 4	Mirroring, resonances, and feedback	Once participants have told and shown their stories, each of them has the opportunity to share how they felt, what resonances cards produced, what story/image impressed or touched him or her the most, to identify similarities and differences in the stories told and witnessed
Session 5	Shared reworking of what emerged and closure	The activity ends by discussing with the group what emerged and by carrying out a shared evaluation of the meeting, in which everyone can express how they felt, whether they perceived useful and satisfactory the activity or not

4.4   Conclusions

The chapter showed different kinds of innovative methods, with a common purpose to favour expressive and creative approaches, particularly in interventions related to controversial issues.

Tree of Life is a narrative scaffolding process, where the preferred narratives emerge from personal accounts, respecting personal preferences, being promoted by their own performances, care taken and supported in the "ToL community" (of participants, facilitator, and eventual witnesses). Narratives are documented in the ToL canvas and ToL Certificate, celebrated in a community context, and aspire at being influential in the near future in the person's and the other participants' lives.

According to Pia (2013), collective narrative practices are not unique solutions for violence prevention but may be used in combination with other actions addressed to foster community involvement. As Senehi (2015) states, ToL may be adopted and adapted by the peace workers, criminal justice professionals, and others who work with the effects of violence, in other to achieve goals aimed at preventing violent radicalisation and contributing to peaceful relationships.

Visual and iconic methods as *Evocative Cards* and *Autobiography through the Human Figure*, as we have seen, fit into the theoretical framework that sees the creative processes as the basis for a positive change of individuals and the group they belong to. Such methods are often used in interventions related to the community development, such as Participatory Action Research.

Community psychology interventions and Participatory Action Research are explicitly aimed at overcoming social injustices through increasing power and conscientisation (as in Freire 1970) in those who are marginalised and lacking of resources. Psychological activities surely cannot solve unfairness and social problems, nevertheless methods that enhance skills, awareness, and sensitivities of each participant may let them to obtain a positive relationship with others, becoming an active citizen, being based on ethical principles of quality and respect, and on open and non-violent communication.

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Chapter 5
Theatre Projects in Prisons

Check for updates

Holger Syrbe

Abstract The chapter will reflect on the specificity of art projects in prisons, their methods and their impacts on the participants, the prisons and the societies at large. The author will provide an overview of more than 20 years of work with detainees and will include individual stories and reflections by minors in prison and visitors. aufBruch was founded in 1997 and produces public arts and theatre projects in all prisons and in other public spaces in the city of Berlin. Performances, which are thematically connected to the "Inside" productions, are created once a year in spaces outside prison not normally used for theatre, with a mixed team with actors and ex-inmates. The chapter will present the experience of aufBruch in Germany, paying particular attention to the theatrical activities carried out in several European projects, including PROVA.

Keywords Theatre projects · Penal institutions · Theatre in prisons · Art projects with prisoners · Competencies development

5.1 The Prison System in Germany

On the 31 March 2017, there were a total of 51,643 people in prison in the Federal Republic of Germany (48,609 men and 3034 women), of these 8273 in day or temporary release and 43,370 in closed prisons. Along with 3889 people in young offenders prisons and 561 people in preventative detention, the remaining prisoners can be divided as follows: 31,540 people sentenced to a maximum of two years, 10,244 for more than two up to a maximum of five years, 3578 for more than five up to a maximum of fifteen years and 1831 to imprisonment for life.

In total, this is equal to approximately 76.5 prisoners per 100,000 inhabitants. A comparison of other European countries shows that Scandinavia has the lowest numbers of prisoners (Denmark: 59, Finland and Sweden: each 57), while the former Eastern bloc states including the Baltic states have the highest number of prisoners

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(Lithuania: 235, Latvia: 218, Czech Republic: 212, Estonia: 208, Poland: 195; the USA for comparison: 666). The cost per year incurred by running the prison system in Germany is estimated at three to four billion Euro. The percentage of foreign prisoners is more than 35%, in juvenile prison often more than 50%.

In German penal law, the aim of imprisonment is clearly stated to be resocialisation. However, socialisation is often spoken of, since it is assumed that some of those sentenced to imprisonment are only made familiar with socially binding norms for the first time in the context of the prison system. Many detainees come from milieus, where these norms have not been taught or are excreted in advance from all social cycles such as school, education and work. Furthermore, it is also the prison system's mandate to protect the population from further crimes. However, according to accepted opinion, this is not an equal aim as that of the sentence. Much rather, this merely expresses the safety aspect of imprisonment (negative special prevention) as the minor task of the execution of the sentence. The consideration of other purposes of punishment, such as compensation for guilt or general prevention, is not accepted in planning the conditions of a prison sentence according to general opinion.

The fundamental principles are encoded in law[1]:

- According to the approximation principle, the social situation within prisons should approximate that of the outside world insofar as is possible, for example, through work, leisure and education.
- According to the countermeasures principle, the harmful results of imprisonment are to be counteracted, for example, through visits and more open imprisonment models, such as temporary release, day release and long-term day release.
- According to the reintegration principle, the prisoner should be prepared for their life after imprisonment, for example, through long-term day release, early permanent release, as well as support during and after release.

After the verdict has legally come into force, the prisoners enter an open or closed correctional facility. Around 15% of sentences are carried out in open prisons. At the beginning of the prison sentence, a treatment assessment is carried out with the participation of the prisoner. This serves to establish the relationship of the prisoner to their crime regarding acknowledgement of guilt and explanation attempts, the prisoner's personal circumstances before the crime and in terms of socialisation, as well as their potential and limits for resocialisation in the time they serve their sentence.

This process is especially thorough with violent and sexual criminals; in that, the person's psychological condition, the significance of possibly existing personality disorders for the crime committed and the person's understanding are described using psychological diagnosis. If necessary, all available sources of information are used

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[1]Law on the Execution of the Imprisonment and the Deprivation of Liberty and Security Measures/Gesetz über den Vollzug der Freiheitsstrafe und der freiheitsentziehenden Maßregeln der Besserung und Sicherung (Strafvollzugsgesetz—StVollzG).

for this, especially the verdict, legal assessment and details from the national central register.

This results in a sentence plan, which sketches the course of imprisonment regarding individual goals (work, training, school education, developing social contacts, prescription for treatment through psychological or social therapy, whether they are suitable for day release programmes, etc.). The sentence plan is regularly added to, to check goals and required measures and if necessary change them. The prison system's responsibility to treat the prisoners demands that both prisons offer the appropriate treatments and that the prisoners work towards achieving the goals of the sentence plan.

Socialisation or resocialisation is an explicit goal according to the law, but how this is to take place or how it can be achieved is not defined in more detail anywhere. Considering the high portion of prisoners with a migrant background, a falling level of education among prisoners and the high number of repeat offenders, the question comes up again and again of how the system can get through to these people and which options exist at all that promise the most success for integration into social processes. School leaving certificates, completed professional training, sufficient knowledge of the German language and successful employment have for some time now no longer been the rule. Single training modules are more common since 2010. Precisely involvement in artistic projects, which can at least partly correspond to inmates' interests and which address and deal with the cultural and social realities of their lives, has proven to be a successful tool in reintegrating prisoners into social life in the last few years.

aufBruch KUNST GEFÄNGNIS STADT is one of those independent artist organisations, which has been creating and providing such projects, by now for more than twenty years since 1996. It is one of the most renowned and professional prison theatre projects in Germany and Europe, and in the now twenty or more years that it has existed, has become well known outside Germany thanks to a large number of productions and shows, invitations to notable festivals and wide-ranging positive reviews in the national and international press.[2]

aufBruch's theatre works in prisons and in public space are based on the concept of involving people (who have committed crimes) of all ages, from different social backgrounds and cultural milieus, as well as with various levels of language and education, in artistic projects and to then make the final work of art available to the wider public. Through this work on the artistic projects, a space is created in

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[2]*Theater der Zeit*/Heft 10 2019/www.theaterderzeit.de/2019/10.

Gefängnistheater aufBruch: A Prison Theatre Project in Berlin by Rebecca Jacobsen/exeunt magazin June 2015/https://exeuntmagazine.com/features/gefangnistheater-aufbruch-a-prison-theatre-project-in-berlin/

Prison theater group bridges society and its outcasts by Ben Knight/DW.com/July 2011/ https://www.dw.com/en/prison-theater-group-bridges-society-and-its-outcasts/a-15219043

Precarious Presence in Contemporary Theater by Natasha Siouzouli/questia.com/nov 2007/https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1G1-372956605/precarious-presence-in-contemporary-theater

Broadway behind bars by Edd Meza/variety.com/June 2007/https://variety.com/2007/legit/news/broadway-behind-bars-1117967465/

which different social groups and classes can meet, trends towards discrimination are counteracted and integration is encouraged.

Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights[3] states that every human being has the right to participate in cultural life and to enjoy the arts. Equally, artistic work as part of a comprehensive concept of culture and education should be recognised in our society as a basic right, which is also valid for prisoners. The right to art as a basic human right—also and especially in prison—was successfully proposed by aufBruch to be included in the amendment to the Berlin law on the enforcement of prison sentences. The task in the next few years will be to make this right a reality in practice in Berlin prisons and to establish the unquestionable nature of this right as well as public accessibility.

Since its foundation in 1996, aufBruch has been working exceptionally successfully in Berlin prisons and the city of Berlin and has produced more than 90 productions with more than 1300 performers. It has also produced plays in Russian and Chilean prisons and is involved in a large number of European research and network projects, as described in the following paragraphs.

5.2 The Beginning

In 1996, a small group of artists came together around Holger Syrbe and Roland Brus who all shared the aim of initiating artistic projects that addressed social problems and made them visible. After their first projects with homeless people, they began to focus on the issue of prison. They made contact with Berlin Tegel prison. There was very little experience in the area at all. Of course, there had been a few attempts by volunteers and social workers to rehearse plays with prisoners. But that a group of professional artists would approach the facility with the request of working with prisoners as an independent group in the prison and then show the result as a public theatre event was completely new. Internationally, there were already some forerunners, such as the San Quentin Drama Workshop and the Compagnia de la Fortezza in Volterra run by Armando Punzo (Photo 5.1).

But the idea of opening the prison to the public and allowing an independent crew of artists to work with the prisoners without any major interventions by the prison system did represent a significant safety risk that unsettled the prison management. Months of meetings and negotiations followed, there were supporters in both political and artistic institutions, and then, there were finally some positive signals from the prison management. At the end of 1996, the first performances and interventions in the JVA Tegel (Tegel prison) took place. A troupe of actors walked through the prison wearing diving suits, drumming, busied themselves measuring cells and corridors and acted out a visit from the management of a company to an oil drilling island in Tegel Lake in front of other prisoners. In a different wing of the prison, a group of actors performed scenes from a mediaeval castle cut off from the world by a siege with

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[3] *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (Resolution 217 A (III) from 10.12.1948).

Photo 5.1 Stein und Fleisch/Stone and Flesh (1997). (*Source* copyright Thomas Aurin, with permission to use the photos in the book)

a live goat, which quickly became an object of great affection. These performances thus brought the idea into the prison, and an internal theatre group was subsequently founded. In spring 1997, work began on the first production. In July 1997, the first premiere of the prisoners' theatre group aufBruch took place in the culture hall, a performance of the play "Stein und Fleisch" in front of an external audience and fellow prisoners, followed by three further shows and then a guest performance in the women's prison in Berlin. The play was based on motifs from the life of the slave Spartacus and was set in ancient Rome. Twenty performers from eight nations conquered the stage for themselves as a space free of censorship and told the story of their daily survival rituals in the arena of Tegel using the literary foil of slaves and gladiators in ancient Rome. Walking the knife-edge between fiction and reality like this became an essential feature of later work. The subsequent guest performance in the women's prison in Plötzensee was a first in German prison and theatre history and left lasting impressions on everyone. The spontaneously improvised bowing sequence by the ensemble, when they stripped off their clothes, became legendary.

The rehearsal process had taken five months, two to three four-hour rehearsals a week, more towards the end. Improvisations, group exercises, trust exercises, games, speech and voice training took up a large part of the first few weeks, since there was usually no basic understanding of what theatre is or can be at all. There were also many intense conversations with the participants, through which a number of biographical components and elements were collected to use in the production. The rehearsal process with such a multi-cultural and multi-lingual group turned out to be

very complicated. Problems with communication, a lack of acceptance for different needs and abilities, various addictions (e.g. drug addictions, debts) and the structures of the prison constantly interfered with the work. However, the participants also quickly realised that new possibilities were opening up for them there, that things were being spoken about that were otherwise not addressed, that they were being taken seriously as individuals and that they were being given a space in which they could feel free in their otherwise strictly regulated daily lives. They were no longer seen only as prisoners, but as partners who could achieve something in a piece of work. Along with the prisoners, some actors, male and female, also took part in the project in order to help ease any fear of contact with the unfamiliar medium of theatre.

The audience too was very impressed by the intense and powerful stage presence of the performers, many layers of the production and the possibility of entering a prison as a visitor and coming into contact with its inmates. The clichés that the visitors had about criminals were tested for their validity by the impressive theatre performance and the personal encounters afterwards. Suddenly, the prisoners were perceived as (fellow) human beings.

The security checks and admission process were a big challenge for the prison. The shortage of staff in prisons beleaguered our work from the very beginning, in fact got even worse over time. Only in the last few years has this trend improved somewhat and by employing new staff, it was attempted to create conditions in prison that correspond to the legal requirements for imprisonment and made the goal of the sentence, resocialisation, the main focus. Nonetheless, the majority of the prison's money still goes to preventing escape and maintaining the security system, and only a fraction goes to education, culture and social requirements.

There was a large public response in the press. The prison management also realised that "good news" about prisons in the press was also possible.

> Here, the theatre... is always a complex experiment, which from the start questions publicly performing in this place itself. Reality? Does one see it? The accompanying text cleverly warns against the false assumption: Theatre in prison hides the prison publicly from those who are looking for it.[4]

> The play is over. Applause, cheers and the happy faces of the actors are the reward for this concentrated major effort in an extreme location.[5]

Perception in the prison was divided. Some of the prisoners came to see the show, but a large number of them did not even realise the theatre existed. There were protests from the staff committee about increased overtime, the attitude "*we have enough drama here*" and "*the prisoners should be serving their sentence, not playing around*", as well as many security concerns. But a large number of the prison officers also saw the work positively and as having a meaningful purpose. With support from the prison management and the social work department, it was decided to continue the projects. Since then, work has continued without a break and been expanded to more and more prisons. Of course, in subsequent years, the theatre has remained a

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[4]*Berliner Zeitung*, 03.07.1997.

[5]*Märkische Allgemeine*, 07.07.1997.

cumbersome foreign object in the prisons, but nonetheless one that today belongs to it in Berlin without question.

5.3   Our Projects

aufBruch: the name also represents the concept of our project (aufBruch in German language is: to break out, depart, start)—a breaking out of existing the structures with the aim of the integration and interaction between all classes of society.

Art is our medium, our way of working. In our work, we strive to make art accessible to social strata that otherwise do not have much contact with it. We try to bring art out of its aesthetic ghetto into the social topography of the city and society. Our work can present the familiar image of the city on site in a new light and allow it to be experienced in a new way. In this process, theatre is our main medium, but we also work with video and film, installation, music and choreographic and workshop techniques. Our working method always takes reference to its protagonists, who usually come from the fringes of society and grow together to become a multi-national, multi-lingual ensemble. The powerful act of speaking words is an extreme form expression in aufBruch's work. The work of making those words their own becomes visible; the discrepancy between text and performer disappears into an art form that is their own. "The otherwise invisible people", since people locked away with difficult biographies, people (largely) without any stage experiences use their bodies in a primal way to express on the stage.

The prison as a locked and hidden space isolated from society is our place of investigation, and it feeds our work with its stories. When we make theatre in prison, then not only because it sharpens our view of everyday reality "outside", but also because the reality of the prison also provides answers to the urgent question of the function theatre/art, its themes, materials, tools for examining reality today and especially its benefits. In prison, one encounters everything as if under a magnifying glass: the system of power and every human emotion… violence, power, powerless-ness, hierarchy, control, love, hate, pain, addiction, longing… in its work, aufBruch always explores those places that are populated and shaped by people with diffi-cult biographies, but who are in turn also shaped by these places. Discovering these places—whether it is the prison or public spaces and other locations in the city—as art spaces, to fill them, make them visible and bring them into social discourse is an essential part of aufBruch's artistic work. Thus, the majority of our productions take place in prison, but can be attended by an external audience in public perfor-mances. In this way, a space for an encounter free of prejudice is created between various social groups and classes, trends of social discrimination are counteracted and integration is encouraged. We work almost exclusively in closed prisons.

The city is our shared living environment and with its complexity and conflicting interests determines our artistic work. The cycles of social processes and the prob-lems of a multi-national society are the basis for a diverse artistic exploration and transformation. Research and interview work in various areas are a characteristic

feature of aufBruch's activities. In this way, an artistic exploration takes place that intervenes in controversial social processes and makes these describable—a new form of making the reality we live in visible. The stories, inspiration and performers from prison are brought into public places in the city and are given a new visibility and meaning there. In the public space of the city, places where theatre does not usually take place, in forgotten places, aufBruch finds its second home for developing its external projects with a 20–25-person mixed ensemble of ex-prisoners, prisoners on release programmes, professional actors and Berlin citizens, in order to address the current social debates and make them visible in public perception through exceptional people, projects and locations in a special way. aufBruch's focus on a multi-cultural ensemble from many social classes is an essential factor in shaping the statements in the productions. This is decisive for the relevance and public presence of the performances, which are seen as exemplary intercultural, integrative work in the city of Berlin.

aufBruch understands criminal energy to be the engine and driving force for artistic work that deals with fundamental moral and ethical values in today's society. Each and every one of us carries this criminal energy somewhere inside them. The people who cannot channel this energy are our protagonists in the prisons. The transformation of criminal energy into culture and art creates a special form of aesthetic expression, characterised by a high level of directness and energy. The body, text and unconscious interact dynamically.

When selecting material, aufBruch chooses from works from the classical, realist and modernist periods. Their literary power and rhythm are adapted to the modern language and speech habits of various different actors, enabling a new way of accessing these texts that goes beyond traditional interpretations of them and allowing the social conflict inherent to the plays to be made visible and audible. aufBruch seeks out archetypal conflicts in these plays and translates their content into visually and linguistically rhythmic forms on the stage. Play such as "The Robbers" by Schiller, "Roberto Zucco" by Koltes and "The Tempest" by Shakespeare has been staged, but also "Schwejk" by Hasek, "Spartacus" by Howard Fast and "Parsifal" by Wagner. Compared with the usual stereotyping that people with a non-German background experience in film, TV and theatre, aufBruch's aesthetic approach enables a new perspective: since the very beginning with aufBruch, a Romanian Don Quixote, a Turkish Odysseus and a Lebanese Hamlet, for example, have stood on the stage without question. The main challenge of every production, "inside" and "outside" has to motivate the participants again and again to bring their own personal potential to bear on the production and to create a new type of artistic interaction and form of expression.

In our productions, the texts from classical—often German—high culture are often spoken and embodied by people for whom German is their first foreign language and who are strangers to the fine arts and traditional, Western European educational biographies. The way that the prisoners make the texts their own and the way that these texts are cast in a whole new light through this process open up spaces where what we believe is familiar to us can be heard and interpreted in a new way.

In 2011, aufBruch was awarded the George Tabori prize for its artistic approach, as well as the Berlin Integration Prize in 2012.

5.3.1 Theatre Projects in Prisons

Since 2004, the project and aufBruch's artistic theatre work has been managed by Peter Atanassow, Sibylle Arndt and Holger Syrbe, under whose direction the prisoners have again and again formed ensembles with linguistic and expressive power, who, with their unexpected level of professionalism, paired with the authenticity of the prisoners, have been able to develop a new theatre language.

> ... since Einar Schleef died, such intense and focussed battle-cry cannon-fire has not been seen in the theatre as in this furious production by the prison theatre group aufBruch...[6]

Initially, projects were only made in Tegel prison, but since then, our field of work continued to expand and more and more prisons were acquired as partners. Since 2014, aufBruch works in all the prisons in Berlin. In all the large correctional facilities, theatre projects were and are being produced (Tegel prison, Berlin juvenile prison, Plötzensee prison, Heidering prison).

We strive to work with a mixed artistic team of men and women, German and foreign artists, professionals and those at the beginning of their careers; in order to actively oppose any prejudice and resentments, the prisoners may have from the very beginning. The diversity and mixture of our artistic team have proved to be extremely effective over the years in meeting the wide-ranging cultural and multinational spectrum of the prisoners with a diverse, individual experience background on our part and to be able to develop flexible, innovative working methods.

Through daily routines decided by others and necessary rules inherent to the system asserted authoritatively, the "prison as a totalitarian institution" impedes the natural development of decision-making competence, maturity, self-responsible and self-determined behaviour—all core competencies that are essential in the world outside in order to function as a valuable, satisfied and successful member of society. Most of the participating detainees are social outsiders, often without a school leaving certificate, without high levels of social competence, the ability to work in a team, family support, self-confidence and tolerance for aggression. They often have few prospects for the future and a lack of social integration and are thus isolated, excluded and exposed to discrimination. The recidivism rate for released prisoners is extremely high; moreover, long-lasting criminalisation often only occurs first in prison (the prison as "the school of crime"). They lack (school and cultural) education, basic and media competencies and equally tangible professional qualifications, prospects and control of their lives, controlled, targeted, effective and goal-orientated deployable verbal and nonverbal communication techniques, linguistic competence, diplomacy, tolerance towards fellow workers, awareness of the opportunities of cultural diversity,

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[6]*Zitty magazine*, 21/2002.

stamina, commitment, reliability and consistency, discipline, the ability to deal with conflict and see things from others' perspective and capacity for empathy. They also often lack key personal experiences that could give them self-assurance, self-esteem and self-confidence, as well as sufficient artistic, creative opportunities for validation in order to ensure a meaningful use of their leisure time, which could also serve as a means to let out some of their aggression.

> The true purpose of art is not to create beautiful objects. It is much rather a method for understanding. A way of penetrating the world and finding one's one place in it. (Auster 2007)

When they begin their sentence, the prisoners are forced to undergo a process of conforming and depersonalisation. Restrictions on freedom of movement and social contact reduce the autonomy and independence of the prisoners. Everyday routines are controlled by others down to the smallest detail. For example, they are often only allowed a small number of photos, letters or books in their cells. These rules are designed to maintain security, so that cells can be quickly searched. The prison system is characterised by hierarchical relationships, on the one hand the relationship between prison officers and prisoners, but also the relationships of prisoners to each other. Behind prison walls, not only is justice carried out, but also a merciless system of oppression reigns, where the strongest rules by force. Prison is a system in which one is what one represents or can represent, sorted according to muscle power, relationships and crimes. A small, constant war is waged for influence and positions. Rapes and suicide attempts are not a rarity. Anyone who is reduced to only the status of a prisoner and is defined as a criminal only perceives themselves one-dimensionally. A loss of culture and damage caused by imprisonment is an expression of this.

> Having to submit ourselves, that's what's wrong. But in the end, we all submit all the time: to tradition, family, authority, duty. Rebelling against this always has disastrous consequences— who's strong enough to carry that cross …? We submit to everything and everyone, the living and the dead. Only our needs, our dreams and our passions too—we don't give those up. And we shouldn't! And if we "for once" live for ourselves, then never for very long. A moment here, a moment there. Just long enough for no one to notice. …That's why we will all live for ourselves, but each individual a life that they did not choose themselves. So: the more we submit, the less we can desire: love, life or whatever. (Christian T, JVA Tegel 2017)

The extreme situation in prison constantly influences our artistic work, the themes, the creative process and the result. A theme chosen beforehand must be flexible enough to be reworked, since one never knows in advance how big the group of participants will be, whether people will drop out or be barred from attending for disciplinary reasons. The mixture of different cultures and religious backgrounds too always has an influence on the project's creative process. The conflicts the participants have in their daily lives often overshadow the work, cause frustration, depression and a lack of motivation and also often quickly affect the other performers. In our work, we try to push the reality of prison aside for a while and to create an "alternative reality". Establishing understanding for the space of freedom that is theatre in the participants, who mostly have no experience with art from their socialisation, is a laborious process. A situation in a play has to be explained, and parallels to their own

lives must be drawn in order to understand it. What happens in a scene can be developed using improvised acting, but this introduction contains problems too. *Theatre is helpful, but also means stress, because our everyday conflicts are brought with us*—says one participant (Ali, JVA Plötzensee 2016). The basis for improvisations can be lines from the play, props, acting out everyday situations or dream sequences. Imagination, thinking, observation, sensitivity, feeling, will, values, spontaneous gestural and physical expression and the ability to react quickly produce a creative working environment. The task is then to artistically transform that according the performers' abilities and talents.

aufBruch's productions link the classics of drama with the prisoners' lives and emphasise aspects of the plays the productions are based on, to which the actors have a direct relationship, such as criminality, violence, lack of power, subjugation and social exclusion.

A large part of our work is motivation. We try to keep all participants occupied and give them all something to do, and everyone should have a share in the responsibility in the group. Shared rituals help to achieve this, such as an opening circle and a vocal warm-up, but the largest block is choric work. Everyone is part of the chorus. The chorus transports a large portion of the content; we practise and train it every day, almost ritually. The performance situation of the chorus contrasted with the individual is exemplary for many of our productions and also reflects the situation in prison. The use of other material, biographical elements and texts from the performers as well as the intense collage-like reworking of the original plays using other texts, spitting and multiplying characters and the adaptation of large passages as choric texts are our typical working methods. The chorus is the centre of our artistic work and in its force and precision a significant feature of aufBruch's aesthetic identity. The chorus, which originates from ancient theatre, forms the basis of our artistic mode of expression.

The splitting of characters into multiple performers comes from the idea of the chorus. aufBruch is not concerned with psychological role play or logical character development. The authentic actor plays the character as an archetype, and his personal expression characterises the essence of the character. If the character changes over the course of the play, the actor changes too. Women's roles are also played by men. We often need to work quite hard and overcome many clichés to convince the actors to do this.

Along with producing exceptional theatre and art, the aim of the project is also to provide the participating prisoners with a meaningful way to spend their free time, career orientation in this area, an expansion of intercultural perspectives and qualification for the job market, as well as support in the transfer process to the job market through a practice-orientated, creative work and learning experience. Along with teaching the concrete skills required for the profession, the focus is on the fundamental learning of important social and personal basic competencies, such as a sense of responsibility, tolerance, discipline, motivation and group compatibility, as well as cultural and language skills, which are necessary requirements for successful reintegration and a real chance at participating in social (working) life later. Our work also strives to prevent radicalisation tendencies.

The assumption that people (young people and adults) who perform theatre tend to become more open and open-minded, more content with themselves and experience the feeling of being able to handle difficult situations successfully, that performing theatre develops various personal competencies (self-awareness, stamina, self-discipline, self-expression, good judgement, critical thinking, belief in one's own effectiveness) and encourages openness towards other cultures, enables the ability to look at things from another's perspective and has a strong influence on self-confidence, has now been proven many times. Through dance, body and movement work, they also learn nonverbal communication techniques, which are an essential basic skill and the basis of job application trainings. Working in the arts is also very effective at giving participants a sense of purpose. Even after short period, they no longer do it for their sentence plan, but for themselves. They no longer only experience themselves as failed or rejected, but as a member of a functioning group. They are very concentrated on they work, time flies, and in the end, something visible exists that is a manifestation of the process. However, these processes are not automatically successful. Obstacles such as a lack of self-confidence, distractions, irritation, tiredness, etc., must be continuously overcome during the process. For many detainees, it is a huge achievement to complete the work on a production in a group successfully. On the one hand, they experience that the continuous work in an ensemble strengthens them. However, they also learn that it is necessary to push their own sensitivities and mental state into the background during that process. Respect and trust are created by exercises as a group.

5.3.2   Working Method

The projects all proceed according to a similar pattern in different prisons, adapted to the specific situation in each prison. Together with the prison management and partners from the social-educational departments, the security departments and group leaders and social workers, we work out the basic framework of the project we are planning. The work is divided into five subsections as follows.

I. *Project presentation/Search for participants.*
    After a planning phase with the prison in question, the aufBruch team go into the prison to present and explain the planned project to the prisoners interested. Contact with the prisoners that is as direct as possible increases the chances of interest and the development of a stable, motivated and large theatre group. We hang up posters, but also try to reactivate the previous participants to spread the word and thus create a larger group. We also cooperate with social workers, group leaders and prison officers in making announcements and speaking directly to suitable candidates to convince them to take part. In principle, any prisoner can take part in the projects, as long as there are no restrictions on the prison's side. The prison checks whether each participant is able to participate. aufBruch does not differentiate on the basis of the crime

committed, religion, language or previous experience. However, there is a clear set of rules that must be followed during work on the project.

II. *Preparation/"Casting".*

In the so-called casting phase, initial rehearsals take place so that potential participants can come and try it out. After the announcements and presentations of the project, the detainees can officially register their interest in the project and apply for permission to take part. The final decision about whether they can take part in the project lies with the prisons, since there may be internal reasons that exclude participation in projects like this. In this phase, four to six rehearsals of four hours each take place. We do the first exercises and theatre games and have discussions about the content of the play planned and its themes, and the prisoners can express their ideas on this. They also do their first speech training and chorus exercises. We want the participants to get a comprehensive and realistic impression of the project, be able to articulate their own expectations and make a conscious decision about their participation. We also want to encourage openness for theatre and group work, but at the same time, demarcate the framework. The main aim is to get to know each other.

Since the theatre projects can be extremely intense and mean a huge intervention in the participants' everyday life in prison, they need to be prepared for this. The project involves around 300 h.

III. *Rehearsal phase.*

This is followed by the seven-week rehearsal phase; we rehearse four to five times a week for four to six hours each rehearsal. In principle, all participants are at every rehearsal. Participants can miss rehearsal for good reasons, but repeatedly missing rehearsal without being excused leads to exclusion from the group. It is very important to establish reliability from the beginning and to enforce sticking to agreements, since only this way can a group be created that is pursuing a goal, can deliver a professional result and be respected for their work. If problems arise, we try to convince prisoners of the purpose of the project in individual or group discussions and to motivate them to continue. A careful and intensive team-building process is essential in order to create the spirit of an ensemble, a trusting working atmosphere among participants, respectful behaviour and the fundamental ability to concentrate (developing basic personal and social competencies).

The structure of the rehearsal has many fixed, partly ritualised activities. There is an opening circle at the start, where we greet each other and any problems can be discussed. We try to shift the focus to problems related to the theatre work. Many problems such as lack of time to shower, not being collected on time from work, conflicts with fellow prisoners and prison staff have an immense influence on our work. We take participants' personal problems seriously too, but communicate to them that these problems should not be part of our work. In the subsequent warm-up, we switch over to theatre and seek to leave the reality of prison life aside from then on. A few movement elements and short games to wake up the body and reduce inhibitions are always on the schedule. Voice exercises take up a large part of the process and are an important way

of producing the physical requirements for a public stage appearance. Chorus training is a ritual part of every rehearsal: group work, group building and speech training are an important foundation for the growing production from the beginning. The choric texts must become flesh and blood; the chorus gives the whole group a sense of security on stage. The choruses are dissected in extreme and meticulous detail in terms of intonation, divisions, volume and high-points and trained using a large amount of repetition.

Rehearsing the scenes is divided into individual and group work. Here, the roles are allocated and built into the structure of the play. Individual talents are used, trained and developed further. Participants who are not in the particular scene being rehearsed can be kept occupied with practising their lines, individual pronunciation exercises or work on understanding the text with the aufBruch team. Writing workshops takes place in parallel in order to work on literary, linguistic and intellectual skills, or also to create new content for the play.

Songs and musical elements are always part of our productions, and a special movement training is also included for the choreographic elements.

In the closing circle, we evaluate the day of rehearsal, always with reference to what is coming next, which priorities are next on the list. After rehearsal, participants must independently learn their lines, songs and choric texts in their living areas.

Many prisoners who apply to take part in the project have very little interest in art at first and barely even any idea of what to expect. Most register to take part because they think it will help alleviate their boredom or because people they know or their sentence plan recommends participation in group projects. Perhaps it is also a certain curiosity or simply the hope for a few advantages and privileges during their sentence.

Individual resources and talents quickly become evident during the rehearsal process, and they start to try out unusual and new things. There is a great opportunity in this "implementation of ideas", because many prisoners are also imprisoned in their own thinking and overthinking. Rehearsal helps them to see themselves from a distance, to re-experience and re-evaluate themselves. The certainty that the prisoner will be respected as a person and for their creative work is essential. The issues of revealing oneself, sharing feelings, admitting weaknesses and exposing themselves to the risk of embarrassment or losing face in front of other prisoners also play a very important role.

In the later rehearsal process, there is an intensive and sustained learning of specific skills so the task of convincingly playing their role in the later production can be mastered (voice training/physical training/improvisation/writing exercises/choral singing, etc.). These skills are the result of tough training and demanding repetitions, for which the prisoners must motivate themselves (this practical participation in the real work of being a professional actor). For this, it is necessary to provide different and sometimes very individual frameworks, as well as to maintain a strict set of rules.

IV.   *Performance phase.*

In the final stage of rehearsals, original props are introduced, and the set is continuously built during the rehearsal process and completed. We install professional theatre lighting and build platforms for the audience. The participants must learn to deal with the theatre equipment and are given a costume. Accepting their costume and their role, and to fill it, is often also laborious processes with lots of potential conflict.

There are six to fourteen public performances with 75–250 audience members per project. External audience members can buy tickets in our online shop or at the box office of the Volksbühne, a large state theatre in Berlin. Internal visitors must register their attendance in advance. Each prison carries out a security check. Every audience member is checked and searched when they enter the prison. Personal possessions, money, food, cigarettes and anything else similar must be locked away in lockers. Personal identification is swapped for a visitor's card. All visitors must follow the instructions of the prison staff (Photo 5.2).

The show's duration is between 70 and 150 min. Here, the participants experience (often for the first time in their lives) recognition and respect for their achievement from their social surroundings (family, friends, group leaders, theatre audience), the successful completion of the result of their work. These experiences strengthen their social competencies and change their perception of their own willingness and ability to achieve things.

Applause for an achievement is often a completely new life experience for our participants. The audience is often very enthusiastic about what performers

Photo 5.2 Nebensonnen/Parhelions (2013). (*Source* copyright Thomas Aurin, with permission to use the photos in the book)

have achieved—something they did not necessarily expect. This often allows the audience to forget that they are actually in a prison, which makes them give a very strong and exuberant applause.

After the shows, there is always a public audience talk, in which the performers and audience can talk directly to each other. The performers are given a direct response; the experience can be shared. The audience therefore gets a direct insight into the world and reality of life behind bars and prejudices can be deconstructed.

Talking to members of the press is also part of the process. Because of the large media interest, during the project, prisoners learn to more carefully and confidently deal with the media and its representatives. During these audience talks they can develop their skills in linguistic expression and the ability to reflect. They also learn that they do not have to answer every question. Protecting themselves and a reference to the just successfully complete theatre work usually divert the conversation away from an often voyeuristic and provocative media focus.

The shows in prisons are attended by an audience that is generally diverse and from many walks of life: Berlin theatregoers, the performers' relatives and friends, journalists, students and theatre professionals are all just as interested in the detainees' achievement as the prison staff, employees of the Berlin justice department and people who live beside the prisons or in the neighbourhood. The shows are almost always completely sold out. This form and this amount of openness and public presence is a completely new occurrence in modern prison history. The visit to the event is so much more than simply a voyeuristic look behind prison walls and barbed-wire fences. For many visitors, it represents their first encounter with the medium theatre too.

V. *Project evaluation.*

At the end of each project, we hold an evaluation event. The strengths and weaknesses are analysed and discussed. We watch the video of the show together, and many situations are relived and reflected upon (media and performance analysis). All press articles and notices are evaluated and discussed and talked about.

The participants receive certificates of participation, documenting the duration, intensity and specifics of the project and the skills and abilities they acquired therein.

There are group and individual talks on future projects and prospects on continuing to work together, also in productions outside the prison (developing future prospects). By closing the project with a celebration, we try to represent the significance of the project for each individual and to show our respect for the work done.

There are also cases of individual participants dropping out of the project, not continuing it to the end. However, that the majority of the actors stay and push themselves beyond their own limits can certainly not be taken for granted in prison. Again and again we hear statements like: "*This is the first time in my life I've ever finished something*" (Marcel, JSA Berlin 2016).

We have worked with many of our actors over a number of years, even after they are released from prison. The performers develop countless competencies and acquire a diverse range of skills in aufBruch projects. A significant portion of there is social skills, but professional skills and abilities are also acquired and trained. In order to improve the chances of participants' integration in society without committing crimes, these competencies are a very important building block. It remains difficult to provide certification of these skills, and there are few tools for it that have a relevant role and are recognised by the job market. Among other models, aufBruch uses the *Kompetenznachweis Kultur* (KNK or proof of qualification in culture)[7] from the National Association of Cultural Education for Children and Youth (BKJ).[8] The BKJ is the government's main expert partner for youth education and a member of the European Forum for the Arts and Heritage (EFAH). The KNK was commissioned and funded by the Federal Ministry for Research and Culture. The KNK is an individual proof of education in the form of a portfolio. It documents in black and white strengths shown in cultural education work. It was developed in close collaboration with practitioners in cultural youth educational work, with scientists from competency research and representatives from business. The KNK consists of a meaningful description of artistic activity and the individual strengths of project participants demonstrated throughout. In the portfolio that belongs to it, documentation and results such as photos, CDs, DVDs or other items can be collected. The participant is involved in the creation of the certificate and is individually advised in this.

5.3.3   Projects Outside Prison with Mixed Ensembles

Once a year, aufBruch creates a high-profile theatre project somewhere in the city of Berlin with a 25 to 30 member mixed ensemble of ex-prisoners, prisoners on day or temporary release, professional actors and Berlin citizens in order to address current social debates and make them visible in public perception in a special way with exceptional projects and locations.

With aufBruch, most of the people on stage are people with a migration background, around a third of the performers do not have a German passport. The ensemble represents the demographic reality of the city of Berlin, where immigration has such a strong influence. The focus on aufBruch's multi-cultural ensemble from many different class backgrounds is an essential factor in artistically shaping the statements of the productions. It is decisive for the relevance and public presence of the shows, which are seen as exemplary intercultural and integrative work in the city of Berlin.

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[7]Cultural competence record, an educational passport for young people/Kompetenznachweis Kultur, Ein Bildungspass für Jugendliche, www.kompetenznachweiskultur.de.

[8]Federal Association of Cultural Child and Youth Education/Bundesvereinigung Kulturelle Kinder- und Jugendbildung (BKJ) e. V.

In the encounter between various social and cultural groups, the mixture of different actors consistently continues aufBruch's social integration work begun in the prisons. Uniting this diversity of personalities and characters from different social backgrounds in one artistic project is novel and unique—in Berlin and all over Germany. The outside projects enable the prisoners to continue to develop their creative potential after release and make it easier to involve them in new structures alternative to their usual milieu.

In the context of its external productions, aufBruch has cooperated with the German–Russian Museum in Berlin Karlshorst, the Museum Island in Berlin Mitte, the Wall Memorial in Bernauer Straße, St Johannis Church in Moabit and the former airport Berlin Tempelhof.

5.4   International Work and European Projects

Across Europe, aufBruch is considered one of the most professional prison theatre projects and is a permanent member of the European Prison Arts Network, whose aim it is to get to know each other's European partners through discussion and communication and to learn from each other through exchange.

In this function, aufBruch was invited to Santiago in Chile to represent all the European groups in 2010 and produce a complete play in a Chilean men's prison there. In return, in July 2011, aufBruch organised an international symposium for prison theatre with a special emphasis on the exchange and encounter between Europe and Latin America. In cooperation with the International Theatre Institute ITI Germany and the Instituto Cervantes, we invited the most important people working in prison theatre from Latin America and Europe to a five-day meeting in Berlin to publicly discuss the methods, ways of working and prospects of prison theatre.

In the project ERASMUS+"PROVA—Prevention of Violent Radicalisation and of Violent Actions in Intergroup Relations" (PROVA 2016–2018), we pursued the goal of finding effective working approaches and methods, especially artistic ones, to work against radicalisation in prisons and youth work, as well as deconstructing the differences between society and prison, and spreading model projects more widely in society.

For this purpose, workshop formats were specially developed with young people, in which they were brought in group processes and norms and values in society were questioned and discussed. Especially through playful work and active dealing with the issue of radicalisation, many adolescent detainees could be addressed and bridges built back into society. Artistic model workshops as preventive measures were integrated into the procedures in the prisons to prevent tendencies of radicalisation.

aufBruch is a leading partner in European network and research projects and therefore also contributes to spreading the art form of prison theatre and the special artistic aesthetic of those involved to the wider public. The aim of aufBruch's international activities is to present the methods tried and tested in Germany in European

and international contexts, to promote international networks and strengthen cross-regional relationships in order to develop additional cooperative projects, workshops and close, productive communication structures in the European and international contexts as a result.

5.4.1   Workshops in Prisons

In prisons where theatre projects on this scale cannot be produced, artistic workshops are run instead (JVA Moabit, juvenile prison Berlin, juvenile arrest centre Berlin, JVA for women, open prison). The spectrum of workshops offered is broad. aufBruch is increasingly offering wide-ranging artistic, creative workshops in Berlin's prisons and correctional institutions, often in cooperation with other artists, institutions or artistic disciplines. Thus, we have produced publications in the literature workshops, songs and CDs in hip-hop workshops and entire documentary films and actors' show-reels in film projects. In 2018, more than 300 prisoners attended these workshops, which were offered in all seven Berlin correctional facilities. A few examples of these workshops are described below:

Camera Acting Workshop/a Workshop in Front of and Behind the Camera/Juvenile Prison Berlin

The camera acting workshops facilitated by a documentary filmmaker aimed to give the detainees a feeling for working with film. The course took place three times a week. Over six weeks, the eight participants were carefully introduced to responsibly dealing with their own and others' effect in front of the camera. They were also able to experiment with light and the camera and learned to use the microphone.

Using many different improvisation and association exercises, they discovered their own expressive ability and therefore the conscious use of gesture and facial expression. They were then asked to learn dialogues and monologues from selected film scenes and to practise reliability and self-control as acting partners. These "show-reels" can be used by the prisoners after release as audition films when applying to production companies for small parts or as extras.

Furthermore, during the workshops, the prisoners also worked on their job prospects by shooting job application videos for possible training positions. They presented their interest in the specific training position in front of the camera and highlighted their own qualifications.

After the workshop's facilitators spent a few weeks of cutting and editing all the film material, both the job application clips and the show-reels by all the participants were presented in a final event for staff and prisoners invited from the prison and an external audience.

"Here Time Becomes Space"/Sound Workshop in JVA Tegel

In November 2017, aufBruch organised a sound workshop in cooperation with musicians from the Berlin Philharmonic orchestra and opera singer Judith Kamphues in

Tegel prison. The goal of the workshop was to make the medium "music" accessible to inmates of the prison, give them a feeling for rhythm, explore their singing voices and give them their first insights into various facets and forms of different musical disciplines.

In rotating groups, the prisoners had the opportunity to try out different percussion instruments and to get to know their own "instrument", their voice. In varied activities, they were also taught basic knowledge of choral singing and percussion. In order to make it easier for inmates to access this "unfamiliar" medium, there were always various different exercises available, so that everyone could get involved depending on their personal talents and preferences.

First, a fundamental understanding and feeling for metre, tempo, rhythms and musical interaction was built up in playful group exercises. The next step was to introduce them to the different percussion instruments from the philharmonic orchestra, through which the prisoners had the chance to try out their previously learned feel for rhythm on instruments. Very soon, the groups tried and worked on different small pieces, and then later in the workshop, the prisoners learned and practised a rhythmic concert piece.

The singing classes began with various breathing and voice exercises, intended to give the prisoners a feeling for their own body, their own presence and the sound of their own voice. Building on this, they first learned simple melodies from folk songs, which they then sung in rounds divided into small groups. At the end of the workshop, the prisoners manage to learn and present complicated choral pieces from Richard Wagner's opera "Parsifal" as a choir.

Out of Nothing/JVA Moabit

The aufBruch writing workshop in Moabit prison, facilitated by renowned writer Marian Leky, takes place once a year. A group of prisoners meets twice a week over three months to transform their thoughts into words. Using a wide range of writing exercises, they created diverse biographical accounts and imagined stories. The aim is also to overcome language barriers, spoken and written. A large amount of sensitivity and patience is therefore required of the group. The participants were supportive of each other without exception, so that everyone had the chance to express themselves in their own words or sometimes in their own native language. Thanks to dedicated help and after consulting with the authors, aufBruch translated Bosnian and French texts into German so that the content could be best understood by everyone.

Hip-Hop Workshop/Women's Prison

The hip-hop projects run by the rapper Aisha aka Lady Scar take place continuously in the JVA Lichtenberg. Every Tuesday evening, interested women meet to write creative lyrics, work on different beats and practise their own songs. The participants chose two themes to work on: "angel on the right, devil on the left" and "Mama". The group then created songs out of the lyrics, which were then professionally recorded. The decision to present the songs at the JVA Lichtenberg summer party brought a new, special challenge in this workshop. This meant additional rehearsals, in which the participants were coached in their stage performance twice a week.

At the end of the workshop, the participants were given their own CD.

Fundamental artistic skills are also learned in the workshops; teamwork and acceptance are the basis of the work. In this area too, intense and moving elements of artistic expression are created or revealed.

5.5 Specific Features

Through theatre work in prison and the combination of the freedom of art and the highly regulated procedures in prison, it is natural that friction occurs and occasionally paradoxical situations. The prisoner can be in the situation that they feel like they are "advertising" for the prison with their work, since they would never have had the opportunity to get involved in theatre elsewhere. Especially when members of the prison management or representatives of the senate attend the shows, these thoughts cross their mind.

By playing special roles, certain individuals become indispensable for the production, and in some cases, participants have tried to use this against us. It has happened that participants then provoked confrontations and pulled out of the project at a late stage. However, because all participants are almost always at all rehearsals, many of them know other people's lines to a certain extent, and often passages or even entire roles can be quickly redistributed and taken over, compensating for the missing actor.

It must also be taken into consideration that all our work contains risks and potentially undesirable effects. For example, with people with strong psychopathic characteristics, there is the risk that they will adopt therapeutic strategies using their manipulative talent, make them their own and use them for endangering others. Through close cooperation with the responsible staff in the prisons, we try to minimise and stop these effects.

Generally, we work from the standpoint of a critical view of prison and imprisonment, but working in partnership with the prisons is also very important for the work. Prison staff should be involved as much as possible, and their criticism should be taken seriously. Any resentment usually disappears as soon as a certain level of participation and understanding of the work is made possible. We also try to find compromises as solutions and implement them in cooperation with departments that are orientated towards an oppositional attitude towards the fundamentally liberal idea of theatre, such as the security department.

The prison management fundamentally values our work. It is of course nonetheless the case that new and unfamiliar things in prison are either rejected, assimilated or mitigated by "the system's own immune system". Various parties question the point of projects like these. Theatre is often portrayed as a luxury good or reward, along with the question of why prisoners should perform theatre or be allowed to "on top of everything else". The deconstruction of the role of the "prisoner as criminal" is viewed critically, since it contradicts the logic of the system, which defines various roles within the system. Added to this are the difficulties regarding requirements on all resources. Time, rooms, additional work and financial resources are the main

points. The prisons often do not have any suitable rooms. The risk that other activities like sport (when using sports halls or because of additional supervision) could be restricted creates significant conflicts. However, in several prisons, we were able to find creative solutions, such as performing in unused outdoor spaces or empty prison wings waiting to be renovated or demolished. From outside the prison, we are often criticised for our work only taking the perpetrator into account and not the victim. But of course, fostering learning and development processes in criminals are also a contribution to reducing the risk of repeat offenders and can be seen as a preventative measure that benefits all of society.

Teamwork in the group of external team members is the basis for a successful project. Every single team member must be briefed, instructed and be clear about what their role is. The team members must be able to deal with any emotions that come up, conflict situations, increased impulsiveness and aggression and addiction problems. The work in both directions, with the prisoners and the prison staff, must be carried out with authenticity. There are team meetings and rehearsal evaluations every day, in which problems and situations that have arisen are discussed and solved.

In the project, the performers acquire a series of personal, social and methodical competencies. Taking on various roles, the experience of working in a group being exposed to the medium of art as a form of aesthetic education addresses a wide range of learning and development levels. Processes of self-reflection can change fundamental attitudes. Emotions can come up, and thereby, inner conflicts can be overcome; the cathartic effect of theatre acting can take place. Alternatives to habitual actions can be developed, and problem-solving competence and the ability to empathise can be trained. Moral and ethical questions are discussed during the rehearsal, and new patterns of behaviour can be assimilated into daily practice in their lives.

> Why are there people in the world who betray others to gain advantages for themselves? It happened to me too, but because I started to consume what I was selling. That made me start to make mistakes that other people used to gain advantage. They thought, now he's weak and gone totally stupid. They did it to protect themselves. But I tell myself, people like that have no value and no honour. I thought about doing the same thing myself, but that's not the way I am. (Khaled, JSA Berlin 2017)

In projects like these, the prisoners experience that they can reach a certain goal. The audience's response also contributes to a better image of themselves. Through the physical and mental activity, their general health also improves. The participants learn to contribute, work together and also to hold back. Conflicts must be withstood and solved constructively.

The situation after the run of shows is frequently difficult—after the applause and a final discussion, the team leaves the prison. The performers are thrown back into everyday life in prison, which can cause strong mood swings. After the end of the project, a long time often passes before the next project with a similar intensity is about to begin.

5.6 Effects/Evaluation

Besides the fact that the prisoners' development is positively influenced by the theatre work, there are also effects on society. Society must further develop its readiness to reintegrate criminals and work against stigmatisation. Resocialisation is always a two-way process. The theatre projects can enable a new view of prisoners. Prison staff who have supervised the rehearsals too had a positive perception of the high levels of discipline and concentration demanded from participants during rehearsals and their motivation and commitment.

The public shows in prison also work against the tendency for the media to distort prison and prisoners. The institution of prison has opened itself to theatre and therefore also new concepts, forms and methods of treatment.

Parallel to aufBruch's work and other projects in German prisons, there is also a wide range of established qualification models and methods in the European context that enable criminals to reintegrate back into society. These approaches and methods are by now the subject of complex scientific research areas (applied theatre studies) and have been successfully evaluated several times (Geese, Anger Management an Offender Behaviour, Applied Theatre).

aufBruch was professionally evaluated by UNIVATON (2017).

Some excerpts from the Evaluation Report are quoted hereafter:

"Central to aufBruch's artistic approach is working with original plays as the basis for the work and that a rough plan of the process has already been made at the start of rehearsals. Depending on the participants' commitment and how prepared they are to take on roles and develop them further or to integrate other forms of expression into the play, the rough plan is developed further and adapted.

In this process, worlds collide with each other, namely the institution of prison, which represents sanction and the loss of freedom, and theatre as an art form that strives for freedom. The theatre thereby occupies a space that is otherwise devoid of art.[…].

In ideal cases, aufBruch manages to inspire initial basic interest for the play in the participants with a theme that is orientated towards their actual lives. This exploration of a theme encourages self-reflection. … The working relationship established by the project team, which is characterised by high standards, resource orientation and mutual respect, motivates the participants to dedicated work on the project. Furthermore, motivation is encouraged by the fact that the project team recognises and uses the participants' interests and talents for adapting the play. After successfully completing the rehearsals, the participants manage to perform the play as a product of their work. They are proud of their teamwork and therefore also more confident in their own ability to work in a team. They experience recognition from an external audience, which increases their self-esteem. Last but not least, the participants develop their artistic potential and discover new interests and talents. They therefore leave the process with an increased interest in theatre and art.

Participants can show another side of themselves and therefore improve their relationship to the prison staff. One prison staff member reported that she now uses

her observations of the participants during the theatre project as a prognosis for their further development.

Another effect in terms of the institution of prison, according to the prison staff we questioned, was that people in the audience are given a more realistic image of prison—beyond horror scenarios—meaning that prison staff are also given positive feedback and overall public perception of the institution is improved by the fact that pre-existing negative expectations of the audience are not fulfilled".

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Holger Syrbe, Manager, Stage Designer, Visual Artist, has many productions in various state theatres and exhibitions in various galleries. He founded aufBruch in 1997. Artistic director, stage designer and technical director in all prison theatre projects of aufBruch, and leader of its International Department, involved in many European projects and conferences for developing workshop models for artistic projects in prisons.

Chapter 6
Increasing Professionals' Knowledge and Skills to Deal with Violent Radicalisation

Ovidiu Gavrilovici and Aliona Dronic

Abstract The challenges of professionals working with minors and young adults under criminal proceedings include professional difficulties such as being bound to repeated interruptions, communication strictly linked to the procedures, and changes in policies and regulations. The chapter will detail training programmes aimed at improving knowledge and competences of different professionals (educators, psychologists, prevention officers, heads of departments, social workers, sociologists, etc.) concerning radicalisation, team-building capabilities, empowering activities in personal and professional development, skills in planning interventions for preventing and mediating conflicts, and narrative practices in developing preferred alternative identity and personal accounts. Thus, the narrative approach has as a primary process the creation of an invitational space to present, share and give new meanings of the professionals' knowledge and skills, useful in the prevention of violent radicalisation.

Keywords Narrative approach · Training programmes · Juvenile justice system · Prevention of conflicts · Radicalisation

6.1 Challenges of Professionals Working with Minors and Young Adults Under Criminal Proceeding

Metareviews on the effectiveness of programs for offenders are scarce and usually do not focus on the relevant characteristics of staff activity in such programs (Dowden and Andrews 2004). In the professional literature, several aspects are considered key with respect to prison professionals. The level of payment, training, work-related stress and violence and prisoner–staff ratios are among them.

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In a qualitative study performed in the UK (Ismail and Viggiani 2018), the authors identified a series of factors acting as barriers for prison alignment to actual policies: scarcity of resources, low prioritisation of actual policies, and pressures at all levels—operational, managerial and strategic—to adhere to procedurised operations, focusing on security, control and discipline.

Moving staff to different locations and the frequent modifications of norms and procedures may be accused of creating an environment of uncertainty, lack of control, inadequacy or de-professionalisation. The work context may be an important factor affecting the prison work. Overcrowding, obsolete or inadequate infrastructure, lack of space, air and light, sewage and waste disposal and problematic maintenance of hygiene (Allen 2016; Enngist et al. 2014) may influence negatively the quality of life of the prisoners, the work climate, and the relationships between staff–prisoners and staff members. Also, Gavrilovici and Dronic (2019) identify in a qualitative study with staff prison in Romania that the procedures and the regulations obstruct the mobilisation of resources towards rehabilitation and reintegration processes. Among the structural and functional problems identified, there is a lack of adequate space for both persons under detention and prison staff, overcrowding, shortage of staff, limited and inflexible working methodologies for psychologists and social workers, insufficient probation personnel, and difficulties in collaborating with family members.

With respect to prisoner–staff ratio, The Council of Europe reported in 2013 a ratio of three inmates per custodial staff (excluding health and other support personnel) (Allen 2016). Prisoner–staff ratios are important due to its effect on staff burnout, its influence on the possibility to apply the necessary security, surveillance and custody, or on the capacity to engage in meaningful relationships and dialogue with the prisoners. Lack of personnel affects also the other activities meant to respond to various prisoners' needs—medical, work-related, psychological, educational, and vocational.

Relating to exposure to violence and work-related stress, the prison personnel may demonstrate mental health symptoms (depression, sleep problems, irritability, etc.) as responses to threatening situations, exposure to violence, including self-harm or suicide attempts among the detainees. Other effects of the stressful work environment are an increase of absences, higher percentages of staff turnover—for example, 25% turnover in Northern Ireland between 2012 and 2015, according to Allen (2016)—vacancy rates, burnout, substance abuse, decreased work-related satisfaction, early retirement due to health problems, etc. Enggist et al. (2014) mention "the paradox of high levels of discontent not due primarily to stress from working with prisoners, but to organisational conditions and relationships between authorities and staff" (p. 186).

In a study involving 114 federal prisons in the USA, Bierie (2012) indicates that prison staff members whose perceptions show more difficult prison conditions also have more problematic health issues: increased drinking and smoking (in the prior six months), higher worry and psychological problems, including symptoms of depression. Somatisation, such as headaches or back pain, was reported with a higher incidence, too. The study reported more sick leaves for the staff accusing harsher prison conditions.

As it is the case of Romania, various professional backgrounds of the management of prisons, some being initially trained in military schools, in law schools, and recently, from a social sciences background—social work, psychology, education, etc.—may create other tensions, inside the prison staff relationships; a distinction of those trained during the communist regime and those trained after 1989 may be perceived, in certain instances, as problematic.

The "parent role" of juvenile justice professionals as *parens patriae* (Burke et al. 2014) creates often times an adversarial position with the natural parents. Thus, such professionals may be in an ambivalent situation—parents need to be carefully considered for parental involvement, some of them may exert a positive influence while others may contradict the overarching societal or community goals. While family involvement is cited as one of top three important issues to deal with by the juvenile system, it is operationally one of the most challenging (Burke et al. 2014).

6.2 Actual Theoretical Aspects Relevant to Staff Training

Regarding the health hazards in the prison workplace, Enngist et al. underline that "staff have a very important part to play as role models in the rehabilitation of those in their care, engendering a culture of positive health that is an important contributor to a healthy workplace for everyone in the prison" (Enngist et al. 2014, p. 187). Also, in their report, Enggist, Møller, Galea and Udesen promote the healthy prison environment as including reward and recognition schemes, opportunities for career progression, occupational health services, mentoring schemes, training for contingency plans in case of hazards or critical incidents, support for those directly affected and for those who witness critical incidents. Also, specific training for those working directly with prisoners is recommended especially for situations of "addictions, mental health crises and suicide attempts" (p. 188), as well as in case of physical or learning disabilities.

Training is considered an important factor in acquiring, maintaining and developing the necessary prison staff skills. Training is affected by the lack of funding, poor payment, existing level of qualifications, and the stressful work environment (Allen 2016). Training is bound to international standards with references to initial training and in-service training. Allen reports a wide variation of basic induction training for prison staff (Table 6.1.).

There is also a wide variety of subjects in the training curriculum. In Ireland the course includes modules on communication and interpersonal skills, human rights, pro-social modelling, health and safety, prison craft, the sociology of Irish society, equality and diversity, health care, prison law, education, mentoring and ethics, while in Norway there are subjects like psychology, criminology, law, human rights, and ethics (Allen 2016). On the other hand, Giavrimis (2012) reports that prison guards in Greece receive little training in dealing with difficult situations and the respondents report no need for training in performing their duties.

Table 6.1 Basic induction training in 2016, in various states

State(s)	Duration and type of training
England and Wales (since 2016)	12 weeks (10 pre-service training, 2 weeks in prison)
Victoria (Australia)	7 weeks pre-service training course
Canada	8 weeks online learning + 10–11 weeks classroom training
Hong Kong	26 weeks residential training course
Maharashtra (India)	12-month basic training course
Norway	Two-year education at the Staff Academy
Ireland (since 2007)	Accredited two-year Higher Certificate in Custodial Care

Source Inspired by Allen (2016) and adapted

6.2.1 Norms and Regulations Relating to Staff Training

The United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for Non-custodial Measures (The "Tokio Rules") (1990) includes staff training norms such as: the clear responsibility towards rehabilitation both ensuring the rights of the offender and protecting the society; the need to network with relevant agencies and services (Article 16.1); the need to know the nature of noncustodial measures, the purposes of supervision, and the various modalities of application of noncustodial measures before entering duty (Article 16.2); and continuous training after entering duty (Article 16.3).

The recent Resolution of the Human Rights Council on human rights in the administration of justice adopted a set of revised rules based on the "Nelson Mandela Rules" 2017). One of the rules targets training as a distinct focus mentioning the necessity of training staff prior to their entry into service, as well as of ongoing in-service training, with a curriculum reflective of contemporary evidence-based best practice. The list of training requirements includes: security and safety, the concept of dynamic security, use of force and instruments of restraint, as well as management of violent offenders, with due consideration of preventive and defusing techniques. Any staff in charge of working with certain categories of prisoner should receive specialised training (Allen 2016, p. 24).

The United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Nelson Mandela Rules) (2015) present custodial norms indicate that staff training should include, among other rules: before entering duty, evidence-based best practices and the candidates for prison work should be examined and test selected; ongoing service training after entering duty, during the staff career (Rule 75); training should include specific topics: legislation, regulations, and policies (international,

national, and institutional), about the work activities and relationship with the prisoners, the staff's rights and duties in relation to human rights, respecting prisoners' dignity, and prohibiting the use of force (especially "torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment"). Regarding the treatment (Rule 91), "Nelson Mandela Rules" indicate that it should "encourage their self-respect and develop their sense of responsibility" (p. 27). Recent developments of security threats regarding radicalisation asked for new training relevant themes, since the development of the Radicalisation Awareness Network in 2011, in order to support the recognition of inmate radicalisation (Vejvodová and Kolář 2019).

6.2.2 Total Institutions and the Capability Approach

The organisational context emerging from a tradition of separation of deviance from the normal population was described with the sociological concept of total institutions (Goffman 1961, 1984) and reflects the issues of how power is constructed and performed. In total institutions, there is a clear segregation between the "managed" group and the "supervisory" staff. The segregation is also spatial, inmates in prison living in restricted areas with limited contact to the outer world. Goffman described maintaining segregated staff-beneficiaries, the "mortification of self", active processes of de-individualisation of normalising behaviours, and finally, of maintaining the lines of authority and operating various means of control. The general effect of this institutional arrangement is the depletion of opportunities of affirming and exercising agency and personal choices in the regulated culture of a total institution (Gavrilovici 2007).

The symbolic and factual oppressive professional role is highly regulated by national legislation and specific institutional norms and procedures. The staff is required to accommodate conflicting work identities and roles—enforcing security and confinement on one hand, and support, rehabilitation, social and community reintegration services, on the other—"between care and control, between being a guard and a helper" (Enngist et al. 2014, p. 186). Public discourses about the prison, the violent behaviour of prisoners and the perceived risks of relapse may act as social pressure making it difficult for the prison staff to reclaim understanding, recognition, and professional dignity from the general public who may be biased towards the perception of prison solely as a place of punishment and coercion.

A unique perspective on the limitations of the institutionalisation in creating an environment supportive of developing and exercising freedom, agency and self-efficacy is provided by Amartya Sen's "capabilities approach" (2004). According to this model, the true measure of welfare is not composed of real actual functionings (what a person is able to do, in Sen's view), but of the person's capabilities (the set of functionings a person can choose from). This can be implicitly be linked to the concept of total institutions: the capabilities concept of Sen takes into the consideration the freedom to choose among alternative behaviours, while the inmate living in Goffman's total institution (1961) is characterised of a lack of capabilities

(the barriers derive from the system of penal system explicit and implicit norms for prisoners' behaviours and from the informal norms created by the prisoners' hierarchies and informal leadership). Sen is further refining its capability concept noting that as much as a person is limited in its choices between options offered by others (or permitted within the total institution), and the person has no or limited control or influence on those options, there is no real liberty to exercise.

For example, in the child and adolescent protection services, the change of residential care towards less restricted social services (daycare centres, family reintegration, family placements, foster care, adoption, etc.) may be understood using the model of development as freedom (Sen 1999); that is, we can move from (a) the inclusion of freedom as instrumental for welfare and (perceived) quality of life, to (b) the perception of liberty as an ingredient of welfare; to finally (c) understanding welfare as freedom.

The prison environment and interactions may construct a rite of passage from a free person with full citizenship rights, to the status of a certain type of prisoner—according to the severity of the penalty and the type of institutional conditions available—and during the incarceration, to exercise various alternative pathways, if available, modulating degrees of freedom and exercising responsibility related to that, until the phases of preparation for release to freedom or other systems available in community.

The human needs, upon Sen (2004), are based on four sources of validation: wealth (possession or access to resources); functionings (real standards of living); capabilities (real opportunities to be chosen by the person); the voice (the capacity to have something to tell or to influence the social arrangements the person is subject to). Finally, to complete the picture of a real member of a society, the person, who has a certain degree of wealth, functionings, capabilities and voice, needs to reach the level of fully expressing himself or herself, with a critical voice—the capacity of a person to live within a society and to form a personal perspective (grounded in his or her specific culture and history) that can be expressed freely; that is, the final capacity to act critically is not merely to act on your own, but also the freedom to question and to revaluate what is in the society.

The utilitarianism simplified the two aspects of a person—the capacity to act (the person as an actor) and the person's welfare (the person as a patient)—pushing society and persons to maximise only the welfare or the utility, according to Sen. The total institution is a perfect example of the failure of maximising care for children without parental support. The inmate is deprived of the capacity to deal autonomously with a moral conflict.

The exercise of the potential humanity seeds existing in each of us depends, in Amartya Sen's perspective, in reaching the capacity to have the fundamental freedom to enjoy the exercise of responsibility. Development as freedom requires, on one hand, the demolition of the barriers which constrain the freedom or conduce to the limitation of choice (Gavrilovici 2007), and on the other, to support pathways toward responsibility.

Osmani (2016) considers that capability is a socially embedded concept since "capability is indeed an individual's attribute, but the process through which this

attribute comes into being is inescapably social" (p. 4). In this sense, the Capabilities Approach is participative, deliberative and democratic (Bruner and Watson 2015, p. 4). According to Condry and Scharff Smith (2018), at stake are the human dignity and justice for those who are denied capabilities and freedoms. "Prison is an institutional structure of oppression and domination. By definition, prisons restrict liberty of those imprisoned, and their freedom of expression, access to resources, self-determination, and democratic participation" (p. 33). Finally, Amartya Sen argued that "justice demanded not only a fair distribution of the means to freedom, but freedom itself in the form of human capabilities" (National Research Council 2014, p. 332).

While prison is indeed a place where prisoners have many of their freedoms removed, Condry and Scharff Smith (2018) suggest that there is possible to imagine prison regimes that maintain some of the capabilities (their examples span from provision of healthcare and food, making it difficult for violence to arise, to providing working opportunities): "Human rights and the principle of normalisation can facilitate the organisation of prison regimes with respect for prisoner rights, capabilities, and freedoms" (p. 34).

6.2.3 Engagement

Mason and Prior (2008) identify from meta-analytic studies on the effectiveness of intervention programs for young people who offend that engagement is one of the key components. "Engagement suggests a set of objectives around developing young people's personal motivation and commitment to involvement in activities" (p. 12). Achieving engagement is suggested to be an important outcome of the intervention process, and key practices (attitude, methods and techniques) are necessary for the intervention team and supportive staff. Mason and Prior (2008) underline that in the centre of obtaining engagement are the relationships.

In a narrative approach reading, what it takes is supporting a relevant preferred self-story to emerge in the context of the intervention; White and Epston (1990), the founders of the narrative therapy movement present in their foundational book "Narrative means for therapeutic ends": "an acceptable outcome would be the identification or generation of alternative stories that enable to perform new meanings, bringing with them desired possibilities" (p. 15).

As psychotherapy evaluation narrative research indicates (Adler 2011), the presence of the theme of agency in the psychotherapeutic interventions precedes improvements in wellbeing. That is, the persons who are invited to change demonstrate first a change in their stories and then applying them into their lives. The narrative approach takes into consideration the narrative identity which is described in terms of the internalised self-story, in development during time, and in relationships (McAdams and Adler 2010). Another conception belonging to the narrative approach is stories to

live by, a relational understanding of stories as important meaning-making vehicles which allow us to understand how we may understand knowledge, context, and identity (Clandinin and Connelly 1999).

In the document "Key elements of effective practice" (Baker 2008), assessment is an important part before selecting the proper intervention; this is suggested to be made taking into account the social context and identifying the most relevant factors weighting on the offending behaviour. The narrative approaches are relational highly contextualised interventions. Actually, they would better be described as invitation, not intervention, since in this social constructionist, dialogical approach the life expertise of the person in the centre is solicited and supported, the narrative facilitator adopting a de-centred but, nonetheless, influential position (White 2007). Also, another important aspect is to individually tailor the interventions (Mason and Prior 2008).

6.2.4   Desistance Theory, Narrative Approach and Training

Desistance refers to "the permanent cessation of offending behaviour" (Graham and McNeill 2017, p. 2), and it is a processual phenomenon (McNeil 2006), with developmental—temporal—and identity-related facets.

In a recent book on skill-based practices relating to both rehabilitation and desistance from offending (Ugwudike and Raynor 2018), the authors indicate that skill is a multidimensional concept. Similarly, desistance is viewed multidimensionally, as a recently relevant aspect in criminal justice field. Summarising various desistance theories, Ugwudike and Raynor enumerate the focus on agency, on structural factors, or on the interplay of agency-related factors with general structural influences.

One useful contribution on clarification of the concept of desistance is offered by Maruna (2001) who proposes a processual view of desistance from an identity perspective: the primary desistance is seen as interrupting the crime-related identity, while the secondary desistance is viewed as signifying the permanent adoption of a non-criminal identity, that is, a pro-social identity. The professionals may be influential facilitating assisted desistance (King 2014; Ugwudike and Raynor 2018) including strategies like de-labelling and offering a system of rewards and positive reinforcements.

Regarding to labelling, the term offender … "implies a continuing offending identity, when the activities we are describing and studying are explicitly intended to promote the opposite, namely desistance and the development of the non-offending identities" (Ugwudike and Raynor 2018, p. 8). The authors recognise the lack of conceptual alternatives to avoid the labelling, "service users" or "people under criminal justice supervision" being limited or too long and not exact. In Scotland, the preferred term by the people who offended is "people with convictions" (Graham and McNeil 2017). From a narrative approach perspective, such expression is closer to an externalising phrasing, describing the person in relationship to the event or characteristic, without this becoming definitory of the whole person's identity.

Graham and McNeil utilise, for example, the concept of re/integration due to the understanding that many of the persons who committed offences may be lacking any experience of integration, living their lives in discrimination and segregation. "Re/integration is inescapably a relational, a social and a political process" (Graham and McNeil 2017, p. 15).

According to Maruna (2001), there are three theoretical approaches relevant for desistance: maturational reform, social bonds theory, and narrative theory (McNeil 2006). Maturational reform theory relates to the conception that ageing is a factor in reducing offending behaviour, while the social bonds theory, to the social rooted criminal behaviour. Narrative theory is related to identity changes.

McNeil (2006) understands desistance as a process to be supported by offender management and which should be included in criminal practice; he mentions the interactions between agency and reflexivity while supporting respectful relationships, inclusive of human and social capital (capacities and opportunities).

Risk-Needs-Responsivity (RNR), desistance and Good Lives models are now adopted in various parts of the world in relationship to supervision skills and practices in prison. Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision (STICS) was a first intervention to test the training of probation officers Risk-Needs-Responsivity (RNR) principles of rehabilitation (Ugwudike and Raynor 2018). Tensions of management performance may "undermine reflective practice, skills development and service-user engagement" (Ugwudike and Raynor 2018). Training and supervision are supposed to include both theory and personal growth and development (Vanstone 2018).

King (2010) identifies the most prominent theme in his qualitative research with people who committed crime on probation as being the discussion about future objectives in relationship to desistance. The lack of future orientation may characterise persisters, while desisters may show and describe scenarios for the future that are not crime-related. Such studies offer insight and evidence on factors supporting and those blocking the desistance process. Also, King is emphasising on the shift from "risk-based penology" towards the emergence of "rehabilitation *through* responsibilisation" (p. 303).

King (2010) proposes a systemic aspect of desistance, which "will depend on the agency of the practitioner as well as the agency of the offender" (p. 303). He mentions that

> there exists a paradox where offenders embarking on desistance transitions wish to submit to the structures of mainstream society, but find themselves excluded by those same structures. There is also a paradox where, to support desistance, practitioners are required to adopt a flexible individualised approach to working with offenders, but operate within a policy framework that is rigid, technocratic and managerial. Such flexibility is required if the type of relationship described above is to be developed to facilitate desistance. (King 2014, pp. 309–310)

Staff prison and supervisors need to be able to prove agentic attitude in supporting the person with convictions despite the narrowing effect of strict rules and regulations. "Policy should allow for a more flexible, personalised relationship between officer and offender, but this is unlikely, in the foreseeable future at least, given the media

and public anxieties about crime and the hegemonic managerial ethos within public services more generally" (King 2014, p. 310).

The adoption of various descriptions of desistance—primary, secondary and tertiary—describe the conception of the person who committed an offence: from doing, to being, to becoming (defined relational and contextually), from behavioural perspective, to phenomenological, and finally, to existential perspectives. "The additional notion of tertiary desistance (…) refers 'not just to shifts in behaviour or identity but to shifts in one's sense of belonging to a (moral and political) community', encompassing 'how one sees one's place in society' and how one is seen by others" (McNeill 2016, p. 201).

Similarly, the transformation of the view of offending, from deviance to desistance, allows the understanding of the historical perspectives and methodologies characterising the field. The local perspectives of each person's case illuminated by latest social constructionist tenets and its uniqueness made Graham and McNeill (2017) to state that "there is no one cause of desistance, just as there is no one theory which can fully explain it" (p. 2). The authors continue positioning later desistance theory in the realm of identity theories characterised by the need to understand changes in narratives and identities of people. Recurring to such identity theories allow relationships where de-labelling is possible. Generativity, personal initiatives, and actions to give back or make good may be invisible to others and may lack recognition and support, if they are not positioned on a relational, social constructionist perspective.

Desistance can be seen as "anthropocentric rather than authoritarian; rejecting a medical model of expert-led change" (Graham and McNeil 2017, p. 10). Thus, staff training should include the recent developments in the field, allowing a sort of double perception (similar to the double listening proposed by White (1995) with respect to the narrative therapist's attitude while sustaining problem-saturated stories of people in therapy, identifying examples of responses to problematic effects and other relevant non-problematic initiatives). The staff training should permit reflective processes and dialogical skills to disentangle offender-identity claims and descriptions from alternative desirable identity descriptions. In terms of the penal system conceptualisations, Graham and McNeil (2017) mention generativity and reciprocity as important ingredients in supporting alternative identity expressions. In narrative practice, this generativity and reciprocity describe acknowledging and honouring of alternative identity claims from the part of the relevant audiences—prison and probation staff, community service workers, family members, work colleagues, etc. The narrative approach practice would invite and prepare different audience constituents to respond to such descriptions enlisting support audiences and accompanying the current and future actions of the person in the centre. Repositioning the person "in the centre" is, from a narrative approach perspective, inviting responsibility, that is, to support the person to assume his or her responses, knowingly and publicly. Thus, responsibility may be read as "response" and "ability" (Mori and Rouan 2011), a dialogical ability of someone to respond in front of a relevant person, group or community about their intentions, actions and the effects thereafter.

6.2.5 *Expanding Theoretical Aspects Relevant to Staff Training*

The professional and academic literature benefit, in the past 20 years, of new psychological and psycho-social constructs of resilience and post-traumatic growth (Tedeschi and Calhoun 1995; Turliuc and Mairean 2014) which bridge the traditional models of trauma to positive psychology and postmodern, social constructionist narrative approaches to trauma.

Lozano Alia (2019) describes in a Radicalisation Awareness Network Ex Post Paper that "victims and victims' groups can play a relevant role in promoting social cohesion and strengthening the community's resilience to violent extremism, shifting their role from silent violence recipients to peace builders and agents of change within their own communities, becoming owners of this process" (p. 1). There is an important recognition of the possibilities for agentic actions from the persons who experienced (radicalised) violence; nonetheless, there is still a need to enlarge the theoretical perspectives to include the narrative approaches to trauma.

With respect to radicalisation leading to violent extremism and terrorism, education is considered the most important factor to improve resilience against radicalisation and recruitment. A larger pool of professionals from the community are invited to constitute an early identification network against such radicalising processes "promoting common democratic values and managing controversial issues with open discussions" (European Commission 2018, p. 12). The systemic view of professionals in various community institutions supports "the role of probation, risk assessment implementation, religious counselling in prisons and the training of chaplains, role of family support interventions and handling returnees" (European Commission 2018, p. 36). Thus, a general framework of shared principles and skills is supported under such a wide approach to education, influencing pre- and in-service training in the penal system and beyond.

This critical threat of violent extremism and terrorism asked for multi-modal interventions and for inter-organisational and inter-sectorial coordination. In this sense, Russel (2018) describes that these pressures "have taken the discussion towards the local, and towards communications, to achieve more effective results" (p. 1).

Based on structuralist models of violence, there is a labelling practice of naming the person who was affected by violence and trauma as a victim. Putting the victimhood in circulation that is describing the person affected as solely being the victim is countering the mere processes of personal agency and response to trauma and its effects, of actively pursuing what is relevant, important and defining, for the respective persons. A narrative identity perspective is necessary in the professional literature to be used in concert with the traditional perspectives on trauma.

6.3   A Narrative Framework for Staff Training

This applied component of the present chapter is based on the complex training programme performed in Iasi, Romania, with multi-professional staff from Iasi Prison, Iasi County and Municipal social services, Iasi County School Inspectorate, the Probation services of Iasi, and local NGO's.

The participative design of the professionals' training included focus groups on reintegration of prisoners in community, training and finally, multi-professional roundtables. Based on a demonstrative participative training course with prison, social services staff and school teachers, the initial aims of such training were authenticated and completed. The training courses include both theoretical and practical knowledge, new methodologies, techniques and intervention strategies in working with beneficiaries. The process allows participants' engagement, active involvement in the training activities, includes self-disclosure about personal and professional life in a safe and respectful team-building environment; also, the training format invites sharing personal conclusions and reflections on training experiences and offer opportunities to train for active listening (Dronic and Gavrilovici 2018a).

6.3.1   *Professional Training Format and Narrative Methodology*

The general format agreed with the public and private institutions management for the training included a course which had six modules with two sessions each, recommended to be included in the regular workdays. The training topics covered general and specific aims (Table 6.2).

The observations, recommendations and conclusions at the end of the training course spanned from the appreciation of a highly interactive format, to the keen interest for the narrative-based exercises and communication skills practised: the usual trainings for professionals lack interactive, workshop-type, competency-based opportunities. The nature of their work is bound to repeated interruptions, communication with colleagues at work and/or managing daily family obligations which are deterrents for an after-work training (Dronic and Gavrilovici 2018a).

The narrative group conversation with the course participants in the last session recruited recommendations for future training features from the participants. The training should be interactive and dynamic, promoting a sense of personal and professional development, supporting networking, including pedagogical support for learning, preferably organised outside their institutional environment and should also include dedicated modules or sessions for each professional category (not only multi-professional) (Dronic and Gavrilovici 2018a).

All the narrative facilitated exercises and conversations were based on the preconception that every person involved has innumerate life experiences, that among those there are preferred ones, to be shared in the context created; the preferred experiences

Table 6.2 Structure and topics of the training course for professionals

Module—general topic	Specific topics	Selected narrative applications
1. Team-building abilities	Communication skills—double listening as a narrative communication practice	'Something of merit' exercise
	Teamwork skills: supporting authenticity in groups and small communities	
2. Coping with violent conflicts	Skills in preventing, mediating and dissolution of conflicts—externalising conflict	'Tree of Professional Life' narrative practice
	Anger management in the workplace—externalising practices dealing with anger manifested in organisational settings	
3. Empowering activities—personal development	Coping with stress at work: signs, symptoms and main causes vs. Narrative approaches to trauma	'Thread of Life' narrative practice
	Coping with stress at work: identifying and acknowledging effective practices and strategies—narrative practices supporting responses to effects of trauma	
4. Planning intervention skills	Appreciative participatory methods to evaluate interventions	'Outsider witness' narrative practice
	Using narrative approach in building interventions with beneficiaries	
5. Empowering activities—professional development	Narrative practices and skills in developing preferred personal alternative identity	'Tree of Life' narrative practice
	Narrative practices and skills in developing preferred professional alternative identity	
6. Community Empowerment	Community Empowerment Scale	
	Using narrative Community Empowerment practices	

of life and the conclusions emerging in conversations from them would contribute to a process of co-constructing of a narrative identity of a certain kind. As much as such an alternative desirable narrative identity can be richly described, shared with relevant others, documented, put into circulation in relevant relationships, supported by active and influential alliances, problem-saturated identity claims and proofs from violence-related or anti-social past may be countered and marginalised.

In a narrative-based intervention, the locus of the intervention is on the context, supporting emerging dignifying narratives for all involved and countering manifestation of degrading, use of force, dehumanising ways of expression.

"Something of merit" exercise

In the Cambridge English Dictionary, "merit" is the quality of being good and deserving to be praised or rewarded, or an advantage that something has. The exercise is inviting each participant to make visible in a short conversation something they consider important or valuable and later in the conversation to use and explore their preferences in appreciating what is that they consider 'of value' in the other person's sharing. Gavrilovici (2016) introduced this exercise in the professional training course "Narrative therapy. Level One" in the Psiterra Association training programs in Romania.

This is a rather short exercise which is designed to create a first experience of the narrative expertise that we all have as communicating human beings. It invites the participants to go through four stages of narrative processing, in a Vygotskian way, step by step:

(a) creating a dyad with any participant available;
(b) sharing for only 2 min each "something of merit" about themselves;
(c) writing on a piece of paper (on typing on the phone, tablet or laptop) a few keywords or a short sentence about "something of merit" listened in the other's sharing for only 1 min;
(d) sharing for only 2 min each—reading what it is written or typed and explaining why those words attracted their attention, why were them "of merit" to the person in the dyad;
(e) plenary sharing the whole experience of participating in the exercise—what and how it happened, what outcomes appeared and explanations for what it was possible to result out of these experiences.

The exercise creates a pedagogical experiential space for multiple realisations: first of all, it is rather easy to enter into a conversation with someone; second, more often than none, there are many aspects to be shared in as little as two minutes, and sometimes, the sharings may be surprising even for the person who shares; third, we are not passively receiving others' sharings since the process is a reciprocal engagement; fourth, while the sharing connects the person who shares to important and valued aspects of life, according to his or her own preferences, the one who receives the sharing connects it to his or her own important and valued aspects of life, according to his or her respective preferences. As a result of the reciprocal sharings and reflective and documenting actions in relationship with them, new aspects of

life are associated to the ones shared initially, in the conversational knitting creating new experiences of commonality and differences, and a sense of connectedness; the shared is lived as common, since it is the reflection of their immediate, personal, and at times, sensible and private aspects of living. Another foundational experience mentioned is that of switching positions in conversation, from storyteller to listener. The exercise allows the experimentation of going through a series of narrative experiences of telling (sharing) and listening (receiving, responding, clarifying, acknowledging). The exercise demonstrates the abilities of those present to transform experiences (thoughts, emotions, facts of life, situations, etc.) into meaningful stories, that is, to generate meaning out of facts of life and, also, that stories that touch them (that are rendered meaningful in conversations, being related to what is important to each of them) become influential for what will guide their actions: from actions to narratives, and from narratives to actions. This short experiential exercise describes what Mori and Rouan (2011) mention as "narraction", the interplay between the agentic properties of narratives connected to identity shaping effects of narratives. The ability to participate in the creation of a telling (by listening) and in supporting its development and clarification is proposed as one of the narrative skills used in personal and professional communication.

The trainer explains in the end the narrative processes which are put in place by the participants in conversation and their discrete results, in each part of the exercise:

(a) the initial sharing of person A to person B may be considered as A: $S(A->B)$, the story of A told to B. Reciprocally, there is a story of B told to A, B: $S(B->A)$.
(b) the individual, separate documentation of what was considered important to each person in the other person's telling, for example, the person A is producing A: $d(S(B->A))$ and the person B, reciprocally, is writing B: $d(S(A->B))$ where d stands for "document".
(c) the reading of each document followed by an explanation of why each person considers important in the other person's telling; this explanation is adding some resonant own sharings to the initial telling of the other. This resonating aspect may be understood through the lens of a narrative development principle, a gradual narrative enrichment, or a rich story development (Combs and Freedman 2012): person A is performing A: $(d(S(B->A))$, adding the explanation A: $s'(d(S(B->A)))$, where s' symbolises the resonating story (explanation) to the initial sharing (Table 6.3).

Also, the trainer describes the performance of an ad-hoc conversation as a shared enterprise, a co-agentic process of rendering meanings relevant to each other, a joint production of shared meanings (conversation as collaborative "versification", co-versification, collaborative meaning making). The difference of the joint purpose of understanding the other's meanings and co-construction of joint meanings is central to a conversational engagement, while a debate or dialogue would entice rendering visible each party's position and argumentation. In this way, narrative conversations are communicative engagements knitting together collaboratively with the aim of sharing a common understanding or arriving at a joint, common understanding. Using

Table 6.3 Gradual narrative enrichment process in a conversation

Conversation stage	Discrete narrative outcomes for the story of A	Discrete narrative outcomes for the story of B
1. The initial sharings (interpersonal)	A: S(A– >B)	B: S(B– >A)
2. Documentation of importance (individually)	B: d(S(A– >B))	A: d(S(B– >A))
3. Reading + explaining importance (interpersonal)	B: [d(S(A– >B)) + B: s′(d(S(A– >B)))]	A: [d(S(B– >A)) + A: s′(d(S(B– >A)))]

appreciative (valorising) judgments which are rendered visible, explicit, such narrative conversations arrive at constructing common ground, unifying experiences and conclusions (commonality is underlined and celebrated). Alternatively, dialogues and debates are communicative engagements which permit expression and explicitation of differences in positions, arguments, interests and objectives or aims, with varied possibilities of hiding some of these aspects for manipulative purposes, with a separating or segragating effect.

The trainer is presenting an operational definition of influence, persuasion and manipulation, using transparency or openness criteria to distinguish between overt, open, transparent modes of communicating the interests, arguments and aims of the teller (persuasion) and the covert, partially open or hidden modes of communication (manipulation).

The trainer also underlines the operational definition of reactions and responses, reactions being communicative actions which are automated and implicit, while responses are selected, conscious and deliberate communicative actions, where the relationship between intentions, actions and the foreseen effects are assumed as a narrative expression of responsibility.

Concluding, this simple and short experiential exercise structures the interactions between two communicating agents in a reciprocal appreciative framework able to reveal the value-based referential system of each communicator; the explicitation of some of the values effective in according importance to each other's stories is a demonstration of narrative processing of initial factual data (what Michael White described as known and familiar, situated in the landscape of action) towards preferences, values and identity conclusions, later on in the conversation, in a scaffolded Vygotskian way by the structure of the exercise—what is possible to know, situated in the landscape of identity—(White 2007).

"Outsider witness" narrative practice

The "Outsider witness" (OW) narrative practice was introduced in the narrative therapy and community work by White (1995), following the work of anthropologist Myerhoff (1987), and provides a context for the operation of the rich story development principle. Beyond the telling of a person invited in the centre to share preferred experiences of living (personal or professional, or both), another person is invited to take the place of a witness, positioned outside of the initial telling. This OW person

may be already in a relationship with the person in the centre or may be unknown to him or to her. The metaphor that may describe the setting of OW practice is that of a water surface which may produce ripples as it is touched by something. The ripples are indicative of the interaction and may be informative to all those involved in the context.

In this particular practice, the facilitator informs and supports the OW to perform a particular listening practice, focusing both on the telling and on the effect of the telling on themselves, and invites the OW to respond to the initial story of the person in the centre in a certain way, scaffolding the responses in the zone of proximal development in a Vygotskian way, termed by White (2007) as the "outsider witness map".

The facilitator informs the person in the centre about the special position and task of the OW, underlining that this listening and responding practice does not include judgments of any kind, neither critiques with rapport to some internalised or some cultural standard of reference or norm, nor practice of 'applause', or praise, o laudatory comments.

(1) The first question the facilitator asks the OW directs his or her attention towards the word or the phrase that caught their attention most while they were listening; the first task is to phrase that word or sentence from the initial story told by the person in the centre as a relevant aspect, something attracting their attention (What caught your attention? What words or phrase were resonant for you?).

(2) Next, the facilitator moves the conversation with OW towards the effect of focusing on what seemed important in the shared telling (What do you consider the word or sentence suggests about what the person in the centre holds precious, what is important to him or to her? What image did what caught your attention produced? What could you see?).

(3) Following the image request, the facilitator asks about an explanation or a personal theory about why the word or phrase and the image were relevant to him (How can you explain you were attracted by the particular sentence and have seen that image or had that idea? Could you give an example from your own life about that?).

(4) Finally, the facilitator is inviting the OW to report the effect of the conversation on himself or herself, the effect of the conversation's influence, of the preferred identity description and the associated resonance disclosed in the conversation (Compared to the moment we started this conversation, where have this taken you? How were you moved or transported by these ideas?) (White 2007). (Table 6.4.).

Practising OW conversations allowed prison staff to enter in a non-judicative position disclosing successively discrete responses related to the witnessing experience. The narrative facilitation progression (*scaffolding*, in Michael White's terminology) is creating a context of sustaining the narrative engagement of those present, from a landscape of action with factual type of experiences to an identity type of statements and conclusions, the landscape of identity. This process of narrative knitting is specific of narrative therapy and community work. Similar narrative generative

Table 6.4 Map of outsider witnessing practice

OW scaffolding	Relating to the telling/person in the centre	Relating to OW own experience
Identity/conclusions	(2) Identifying the image; person's preferred identity	(4) Acknowledging influence or transport
Action/facts	(1) Identifying expression	(3) Identifying the resonances in his or her own life

Source Inspired by White (2007) and adapted

contexts of interaction are exemplified in "externalising conversations" or "unique outcomes conversations maps" of narrative practice promoted by White (2007).

"Thread of Life" narrative practice. An alternative narrative development exercise

This narrative practice was adapted by the authors from its initial use for children affected by major trauma (genocide). The methodology is interactive, may be applied individually or in teams and may involve outsider witness practice or definitional ceremony practice, if possible.

The inspiration for this intervention stems from the narrative exposure theory and therapy developed by a team at University of Konstanz, in Germany (Neuner et al. 2004). Behind the intervention is the model of hot and cold memories proposed by Peter Lang. Narrative Exposure Therapy (NET) is an interactional practice using a thread and some objects with positive and negative meanings (i.e. symbols of flowers and rocks), signifying preferred and traumatic events of life.

The thread signifies life, and it is positioned on a poster on a flat surface, with a clear beginning (moment of birth) and a spiral ending (not knowing the moment of death). The facilitator invites the participant to position 3–4 flowers on the long of the thread and the year, and some details about the specific preferred event are marked on the poster and 2–3 rocks symbolising traumatic or difficult life events (larger rocks, more difficult events). The authors of NET do not emphasise the narrative processes that may explain the influence of the intervention in countering effects of trauma or difficulties in people's lives that are presented this method. The first stage of placing the objects on the thread is complete when the person is naming each event, and the mere process of naming may take a while and it is a creative, exploratory activity that the facilitator needs to support in the conversation with the person in the centre.

Next, NET proposes to take a photo or to make a drawing of the project. In the narrative adaptation of NET, in our "Thread of Life" narrative practice, this is the symbolic 'documentation' of the story that started to be told while placing the objects on the thread and detailing the experiences of life behind them, in a preferred order, starting with the "flowers", until a preferred rich account of identity is developed. NET supposes that the project itself may be 'packed' and handed to the person in the centre; beyond the photo or the picture, the material project is supposed to maintain and cultivate the mixed aggregate of experiences—preferred and traumatic—depicting a more diverse life story than one that may be affected by a very grave traumatic incident or by other problematic life accounts. The practice of

NET supposes that there are multiple sessions where the facilitator invites the person in the centre to detail each event presented in the first session (eventually, one or more events may be dropped from the agenda, if considered less relevant, in time).

The narrative adaptation of NET in the professional organisational environment is a "Thread of Life" narrative practice that includes the narrative facilitation of these processes. It is a one-session or multiple sessions exercise that may be organised individually, then presented in teams of two, reciprocally (with the presence of an outsider witness, if possible), and finalising with a plenary conversation about the whole experience. The main focus is to enable the rich description of preferred identity based on the storylines brought by the descriptions of the events marked with "flowers", making this description visible in conversation, in dyads. Only after that there is an exploring phase of some of the "rocks" descriptions, effects, responses to those effects, and identification of important personal values and preferences informing those responses. Since professionals in penal systems are often exposed to critical incidents and dilemmas, this exercise proves to be extremely relevant in its potential to construct a safe context for making sense of traumatic or difficult experiences while focusing and expanding the descriptions of preferred events of life which delineate relevant preferred narrative personal and professional identities of those in the centre.

"Tree of Life" and "Tree of Professional Life" narrative practices

The "Tree of Life" (ToL) narrative practice (Ncube and Denborough 2007) is presented in detail in Chap. 4 of this book. Adapting this model to adults, there are similar indications, and the differences are in the specific references to professional life in the Tree of Professional Life narrative practice. Such adaptations make use of common difficulties encountered in the professional organisational life (e.g. major crisis, conflicts, disruptions in workflow, etc.) introducing them as in the storms of organisational life stage, if it is the case. Even if the ToL is adapted to the professional life (ToPL), the participants usually include in various areas of inquiry (the tree drawing) relevant personal aspects which are influential and definitory also for the professional identity. The result of ToL and ToPL makes visible the preferred aspects of life, values and principles, making up the narrative non-structuralist identity of those participating in these narrative practices, conducing to a higher level of self-awareness, self-knowledge, and of knowing each other, rendering visible important shared values conducive to the sentiment of community and togetherness, emerging results of such practice. These exercises require careful narrative facilitation, skills in conducing externalising conversations and may benefit of using outsider witnesses and definitional ceremony narrative practices (White 2007).

The complex design of the training included post-training roundtables recruiting the expertise and the participation of prison and social services staff. There were three multi-professional roundtables on issues previously identified in focus groups (on aspects of reintegration of prisoners in the community).

6.3.2 Multi-professional Roundtables

A series of three roundtables included themes sanctioned by the focus groups previously organised: networking and actions in marginalised contexts; sports and healthy lifestyle in prevention of violent conflicts; local policies in approaching violent behaviours. After being involved in the initial focus groups, exploring and suggesting themes of interest for the professional course, the participants in the professional course were developing a 'team' experience and a community affiliation experience may be reported. The invitation in professional roundtables creates the platform for exploration of creative and innovative plans for potential action, new narratives of possibility—for individual, institutional or inter-institutional action, coordination and collaboration become visible.

Roundtable 1. Networking and actions in marginalised contexts

The specific topics identified were: internal and external networking as strategies to reduce violent radicalisation and conflicts; public–private networking for helping professionals from justice system to assist beneficiaries from marginalised contexts. Multi-professional roundtables comprised social workers, psychologists, head office and educators from prison (Dronic and Gavrilovici 2018b).

The most important emerging themes from the roundtables dealt with human rights, networking and stereotypes about prison staff, media and public pressure on prison, the detainees' responsibility, the issue of mistrust, the existing tension between penitentiary workers. Also, the existence of more trustful relationships with the female staff, the development and functioning of internal networking and the need for continuing education and training—workshops, roundtables and professional/community meetings were identified as wishes and desires for the future (Dronic and Gavrilovici 2018b).

Roundtable 2. Sports and healthy lifestyle in prevention of violent conflicts

The participants where students, psychologists, school counsellors, university professors, and social workers and the specific topics dealt with the promotion of sports and healthy lifestyle in schools and the effects of the sports and healthy lifestyle on the adolescents and young adults.

Among the useful recommendations emerged the importance of clarifying the distinction between agonic traits and violence in sports and the migration of professional identity. A description about the school counsellor's professional perception changed in time from a fireman or policeman crisis-intervention style in the first years of introduction of this new career in Romania (after 1989), towards a perception of the counsellor as a warden or guardian, and hopefully later on to the addition of preventive professional roles towards learning and personal development. Also, the roundtable provided a context for inviting ideas such as being active, practising sports and engaging with a healthy lifestyle "domesticates" aggression and violence, cultivates constructive ways to express stress, tension, frustration and conflict. The immersion in the digital world and the digital identities seems to marginalise the other

ways of expression and interaction, the other identities, excluding bodily engagement with oneself and others, and nature. As a countering force, promoting physical activity, sports and a healthy lifestyle is inviting people to have self-control and discipline in choosing the appropriate ways to express themselves (Dronic and Gavrilovici 2018b).

Roundtable 3. Local policies in approaching violent behaviours

The multidisciplinary roundtable invites psychologists, heads of departments, social workers, sociologists, school inspectors and high school teachers. The most relevant themes mention the need for specific knowledge and skills to be developed to tackle school and community violence (beyond the introduction of the School Violence Prevention Commissions), further involvement and integration of community actors in local school projects in raising awareness and informing on violent behaviours and its effects, creating more friendly urban spaces and ensuring natural green environments in cities, promoting collaboration and safe areas; also, other suggestions mentioned involving university students as important volunteering resources and promoting local public–private partnerships with civic engagement.

Relating the highly interactive narrative professional training to the possibilities for staff to support processes of desistance, an area of tertiary prevention is created. Tertiary prevention aims at preventing recidivism to violent extremism or other risk factors in the future, implying that an initial desistance or disengagement has been achieved (Koehler and Fiebig 2019). Relevant narrative communication skills may be introduced both to selected groups of persons with condemnations and to a variety of staff specialisations–fostering a repositioning from "deviance" perspectives to "desistance", from problem-saturated identity descriptions to alternative preferred ones–which may create the potential to support desistance processes and a growing climate of trust and openness.

6.4 Conclusions on Staff Training and Support

The prevention efforts are mostly consecrated in the community and especially at the school levels. As the teachers (UNESCO 2017), other categories of staff in the other sectors that deal with aspects of violence and anti-social actions may be affected by stereotypes (specific professional, or generic, from community and societal discourses) and may be unskilled in addressing them by reflection and professional and personal communication. Identification of own biases and the awareness on what type of discourses individual or professional groups are supporting become important training topics to be addressed.

Some of the suggestions on delivering training programs promoted by the Radicalisation Action Network (RAN 2017) include the need to tackle (a) complexity—since radicalisation processes are multifactorial and historic; (b) sensitivity – important conflicts of values may be at risk while dealing with violent and criminal behaviour; inviting law enforcing professionals to exercise and adopt narrative skills

may be initially perceived as a threat to a "strengths" that they need to show in face of violence or potential violence; exercising explorations in uncertainty may be profoundly antagonic to their traditional training; exploring de-labelling practices may be felt at least as "awkward" and may be countered with judgments that such practices may prove to be, if applied, dangerous, useless or naïve; (c) personal biases—every professional has a value-based platform for his or her decisions and actions; the recommendation of RAN is that "working as a professional is possible: be aware of your own preferences, know how not to reveal them very publicly, and avoid falling into the trap of feeling intimidated" (p. 3).

Other RAN recommendations refer to training delivered in multi-agency settings. The correct expectations from the part of the trainer are required, since the training may "be challenged by diverse perspectives, (possible) prejudices and a lack of trust between professionals" (p. 4). Among the recommendations that are relevant here too, the trainer should focus on the commonalities of the multi-professional participants, should increase the chances that the participants communicate and present to each other, should be inclusive comprising the many perspectives evolving in the process and should be persistent, in time (multiple sessions training). Also, RAN recommendations suggest utilisation of specific case studies which may be treated multi-professionally in training settings.

A multi-modal approach is one that identifies different strengths and different needs, and uses different and appropriate means for addressing them (Mason and Prior 2008, p. 6). Developing narrative skills, engaging in sharing and arriving at new meanings of the professionals' knowledge and skills are primary aims of the narrative training approach, useful in the prevention of violent radicalisation.

Training needs to incorporate aspects that provide a systemic understanding of the continuum of existing services nationally and locally while equipping the prison personnel with the necessary knowledge and skills required to interact and collaborate with community public and private services. Supporting community-based experimentation and participating in private–public partnership demonstration projects may stimulate policy initiatives which may end up making the prison system more transparent, prone to collaborate and coordinate with the existing community services, improving overall efficiency in reaching its mandate.

The multi-tiered participatory design (focus groups/training/roundtables) allowed the team of trainers to adapt the initial theory and training evaluation derived topics and methodologies to the organisational, inter-organisational and local needs; the focus groups invested the participants with a platform for the recognition of experience and expertise, and the training was participant-centred creating the context for professional community development with shared knowledge and values, and finally, the roundtables supported reflections which included appreciation of the training features and suggestions and recommendations for the future.

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Chapter 7
Involving Local Communities: Participatory Meetings with Stakeholders

Cristina Cecchini and Camillo Donati

Abstract The chapter will stress how local stakeholders may be crucial in the prevention of violent radicalisation, since their involvement may endorse a real change in the community, particularly when issues at a policy level are addressed. Some participatory approaches (e.g., Participatory Action Research) are introduced, able to foster stakeholders' engagement and commitment in effective community-based programmes. Definitions of different categories of stakeholders are provided, since each of them may produce different effects. The description of significant best practices collected by the Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) also highlights stakeholders' relevant role in counteracting violent radicalisation in Europe. After a brief description of the fundamental role of key stakeholders in the development of the activities of the PROVA project, the methodology of the Consensus Conference is introduced as an example of effective tool for participatory processes. A literature review about the use of this methodology is detailed in order to suggest practical advices and effective recommendations for its use, starting from best practices emerged at an international level.

Keywords Participatory Action Research · Stakeholders' engagement · Participatory methods · Consensus conference · Panel of experts

7.1 Introduction

Stakeholders represent a crucial resource to be involved, especially when actions related to complex issues such as violent youth radicalisation are implemented, because they are able to endorse a real change in the societal dynamics. While the actions implemented for the direct beneficiaries are the main focus of projects

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evaluation and dissemination (i.e. if and how an adopted methodology delivered the expected change in a specific situation), the involvement of stakeholders can make the difference in developing the results and in assuring the sustainability of the implemented project.

Following this framework, triggering a process that can "give voice" to each person who has a stake in the action may be fundamental to start effective preventive actions able to affect the complexity of the phenomenon. Regarding this, participatory processes may represent a strategic methodology to be applied, where the stakeholders' engagement becomes a primary goal. This is particularly true when interventions should address issues at a policy level (Boubekeur 2008).

7.2 Participatory Approaches and Stakeholders' Involvement

A participatory approach consists of a process where all participants involved are able to express their impressions and ideas in order to produce change and to achieve a fuller comprehension of the community background.

On this basis, the implementation of a participatory approach may enhance the efficacy of an intervention. For instance, a review (Taylor and Soni 2017) about preventing radicalisation in UK described a participatory preventive action carried out in schools, which was able to increase critical engagement in the issue, promoting dialogue among different perspectives and avoiding the isolation of certain groups (Winston and Strand 2013).

In general, the literature frequently suggests that a participatory planning process allows to achieve some important positive outcomes (Community Tool Box 2019). Firstly, the involvement of community members and relevant stakeholders encourages an authentic commitment to the intervention, potentially increasing its success and ensuring their support while encountering barriers along the project. Moreover, participants' efforts in changing the community foster their sense of belonging and strengthen social networks to overcome differences among community groups.

A participatory process produces also trust between researchers and the community members, which is the foundation for change and community building (Drahota et al. 2016; Mehta et al. 2019). Moreover, by involving diverse community representatives, all different members perceive to be acknowledged, and community needs and resources are expected to be properly addressed, increasing the project's reliability. Widening participation may result in receiving a larger number of perspectives and in enhancing usually unheard members, giving value to their points of view. Another important aspect is that researchers may understand better the community and their members, from a social, cultural and political perspective (Kral and Allen 2016). At the same time, they may be able to avoid possible barriers to the development of the project.

Moreover, stakeholders' involvement and their engagement throughout the whole implemented process are effective indicators of the intentions for a specific network to be willing to implement specific actions on a long-term perspective, not only on a project-oriented, short-term, objective. While community actions are often required to produce measurable change on the short-term period, the main interest for community developers is firstly the change foreseen while planning a project, and mainly to ensure autonomous and bottom-up driven measures emerging from, and adopted by, the community itself on a long-term perspective. In this sense, if a project is able to produce change in a network, without considering proper measures for the transferability of knowledge within that network, the beneficiaries of that community will always seek an external intervention to solve issues and concerns. On the contrary, whenever the stakeholders of a community are engaged from the very beginning of a project (i.e. from the planning phase to the evaluation of results), the community will not only take advantage from the new knowledge provided by a tool or a methodology, but, more importantly, will gain a new knowledge about the resources present in that network and about the possibilities that may arise by using the internal knowledge within the community. Stakeholders' engagement throughout the whole process may also increase the ecological validity of its results and represents a keystone able to ensure a significant change and upscaling of the implemented actions (Trickett 2009).

Furthermore, participation in the whole process allows to learn different competences (e.g. problem-solving, analysis of needs, etc.) which can be implemented to improve the community on a long-term perspective. Regarding this, the literature suggests that participatory processes in anti-radicalisation programmes are a fundamental premise to build trust and commitment of beneficiaries, ensuring a stable motivation during the whole project (Weilnböck 2013).

During the PROVA project (PROVA 2016–2018), stakeholders have been considered as key actors and have been involved throughout the phases of the project, to ensure results not only at the end of the project, but also to have a significant impact in the long term (i.e. after the project ended). By facilitating cooperation between stakeholders coming from different areas of expertise, and by taking into consideration their points of view, new dynamics have arisen and new shared objectives have been set, so that, while the project was coming to an end, their efforts were still focused on finding new possibilities for cooperation and on upscaling the experience of the PROVA project.

Among participatory approaches, the Participatory Action Research (PAR; Brydon-Miller 1997; Genat 2009; Hall 1981; Lewin 1951) is surely considered the main example that combines phases of research, action and education, where all participants may be able to practise their skills and knowledge, to learn and to be transformed by the process itself (Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991). For what concerns the importance of stakeholders' involvement, the first stage of PAR (i.e. action phase) is to plan a shared schedule of actions in order to collaboratively identify issues and matters to address (Kindon et al. 2007). This suggests the key role of stakeholders in increasing the success of the project outcomes. Similarly, Wolff (2001) suggested that, in the "Coalition Readiness" phase of PAR, to contact stakeholders directly

represents a first critical dimension addressed to build successful coalitions between community's groups and organisations. Coalition building is a crucial instrument for change and for an effective PAR process.

The importance to interact positively with stakeholders during the PAR is also underlined by Mead (2008), who suggested to maintain frequent contacts with them in order to build a stable relationship. Moreover, the author highlighted how relevant might be to collect stakeholders' needs and points of view involved and to address them adequately.

Other studies introduced similar participatory approaches. For instance, Mehta and colleagues (2019) described the building of a university–community partnership addressed to define a school-based service model and to encourage positive parenting in poor communities. Following the model from Brookman-Frazee and colleagues (Brookman-Frazee et al. 2012; Brookman-Frazee et al. 2016), authors developed three steps in characterising a collaboration between university and local community: formation, execution of activities and sustainability.

Community-based approach has shown to be able to meet community needs and to acknowledge community difficulties (e.g. social marginalisation; Javdani and Allen 2016), enhancing the feasibility of the actions, acceptability and sustainability, thanks to the active participation of community members who share a common aim to improve the community (Brookman-Frazee et al. 2012).

Following this, the first step to implement an effective participatory process is to identify which individuals have a "stake" in the phenomenon and what role they may have in the process. It is particularly essential to analyse who might be important in being involved, how to engage them and how their participation may enhance the project's impact at local, national and international level.

7.3   Stakeholders: Who Are They and Why Do They Count?

Stakeholders represent the main contributors to the implementation of a project and might range from citizens and specific groups of the community, regional and local authorities to members of local institutions (e.g. schools, non-profit agencies). As a consequence, different categories of stakeholders may produce different effects. Originally, in a study carried out in a corporate context, Clarkson (1995) classified stakeholders in two groups: primary and secondary stakeholders. Subsequently, such design was applied in other disciplines, psychology included, and the key stakeholders' category was added, as described by Community Tool Box (2019).

Primary stakeholders include individuals or groups who are direct beneficiaries or target of an intervention. In other words, they represent the target group who benefits from the actions and who is impacted by them. As direct beneficiaries, they may receive a service, or achieve/increase specific skills, or enhance their social network. As the target of an intervention, they might earn an advantage through the action addressed to the population (e.g. a deprived population or the whole community). Some examples of primary stakeholders might be: individuals

at risk (e.g. poverty); target groups to whom the intervention is addressed, in order to change their behaviour/attitude (e.g. deviant minors); policy decision makers who are beneficiaries of an advocacy intervention.

Secondary stakeholders consist of individuals or groups who are indirect beneficiaries of an intervention and are positively or negatively impacted by the actions implemented. They can be split into two groups: people in charge of the direct target group of the intervention, which includes individuals who take care or provide support to direct beneficiaries (e.g. psychologists, youth workers, social workers, parents); individuals whose jobs or lives may be impacted by the action carried out (e.g. the police, when a different approach to face violent radicalisation is implemented and new competences are needed; community members affected by policy change).

Finally, key stakeholders may be also included in primary and secondary categories and consist of individuals or groups who can cause a positive or negative effect to an action, or who have a relevant role in an organisation or institution that is central for the issue tackled. In other words, it may comprise any person who can be significant to a group or to a community—as an example, the director of an institution, the staff who directly work with participants or the Imam of an Islamic community. There are several typologies and are described in Table 7.1.

Diverse stakeholders may be involved in different ways, according to the interest they might have in the issue and in the goal of the project. For instance, local authorities (e.g. mayors) may benefit from an action aimed to start a social change and to ease conflict among different groups (e.g. migrants and host community), and consequently, be encouraged to contribute to the intervention. For these reasons, stakeholders' engagement should start from the beginning of the project, so that they may be able to support the whole process. In fact, thanks to their knowledge of community's needs, they may help to overcome possible barriers to the development of the project. Nevertheless, stakeholders' early involvement may ensure greater transparency to the whole process.

To sum up, primary and secondary stakeholders represent the main target of interventions, and such categories may help to understand which direct and indirect beneficiaries might be addressed or affected by a preventive action against violent radicalisation (e.g. deviant minors, police officers). Related to this, such groups are frequently a target of actions devoted to de-radicalisation strategies or security measures (Doosje et al. 2016; Porter and Kebbell 2011; Stys 2018).

On the other hand, to our knowledge, while key stakeholders were frequently an important resource in research about organisational or health contexts (Anderson et al. 2001; Flisher et al. 2007; Morgeson et al. 2013), only some studies described their importance in counteracting violent youth radicalisation, in gaining a significant impact at policy level and in upscaling at wider levels (e.g. European/international). However, these studies underlined how effective strategies to counteract radicalisation cannot exclude the involvement of key stakeholders, particularly when preventive actions were developed. As an example, Mashuri and Zaduqisti (2014) highlighted the importance of building a strategic cooperation with acknowledged key stakeholders (such as specific authorities on Islam, community leaders and academic experts), in order to implement a campaign addressed to change extremist beliefs

Table 7.1 Examples of key stakeholders (*Source* Community Tool Box (2019), Chap. 7, Sect. 8, licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-Share Alike 3.0, modified from original to express contents in a table)

Key stakeholders Different typologies	Examples
Government officials and policy makers *Individuals who have an influence on laws, policies and regulations. Following this, they are able to strengthen or reduce the effect of a preventive action*	– Legislators: national authorities (e.g. members of parliament) who introduce and supervise laws and public budgets – State or federal agencies: agencies who are able to promote or hamper an action depending on how they monitor laws and regulations – Policy makers: individuals close to officials with the power to change laws, and their perspectives are normally carefully followed – Mayors and councillors: local authorities who directly control the enforcement of laws and the management of public budget. They may have a relevant role in the achievement of an action aim – Local board members: individuals who are part of relevant boards (e.g. health). Usually, they have power to regulate laws and may represent important partners in preventive actions
Individuals who are able to have an influence on others, at a macro level	– The mass-media professionals – Individuals who may have a role that affects a specific group or a community (e.g. Imam, Clergy) – Leaders in the community, who have earned the respect of the community or who have a leading role in specific groups
Individuals who have a stake in the results of an intervention *These individuals may not be directly involved in a project; however, they may have an interest in or a link to the issue of a project, fostering its success. They may be able to influence other people to enhance the project's impact*	– Individuals with academic or research interests consistent with the project's issue: they can understand better the project's aims and they may be willing to be involved as experts to know results and outcomes of the actions – Business community (e.g. they might be interested in having better workers) – Advocates: they may be active on the issue the project is addressing – Funders: financial support is crucial to carry on a project – Activists: institutions or people who are interested—for instance, from a political perspective,—in the issue may represent a relevant ally to support the project

and conspiracy theories. For these reasons, the role of key stakeholders should not be underestimated, but, on the contrary, should be taken into consideration when preventive actions are organised. To confirm this, several European projects were already implemented by involving most relevant stakeholders in the issue of violent youth radicalisation. The following paragraph will introduce these projects, together with the experience carried out in PROVA.

7.4 Key Stakeholders in Preventing Violent Youth Radicalisation: European Best Practices

As already underlined before, violent radicalisation among minors and young adults is increasing exponentially worldwide, and, specifically in Europe, the issue is urgent (Radicalisation Awareness Network-RAN EDU 2016b). For this reason, the Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN), which joined European experts actively involved in this issue, strongly encouraged the importance of preventive projects, as a crucial action to successfully counteract the problem. In this perspective, the RAN Collection of Approaches and Practices was developed to introduce European best practices and experiences already carried out to prevent violent radicalisation, which can be exchanged among practitioners and organisations (RAN 2016a).

Within the RAN Collection, the majority of described practices follow the main effort of RAN—prevention—and are mostly targeted to youth and/or to specific populations at risk. However, some practices were also aimed at involving stakeholders, particularly key stakeholders, in the process. Such approaches are described as follows:

- A first best practice identified is "Fair Skills—youth cultural peer training", whose goal was to provide peer-learning experiences in youth cultural workshops, offering the opportunity for civic education, anti-bias and mediation, and for increased self-awareness. Key stakeholders—local and national authorities—were involved in roundtables aimed at raising awareness, where young facilitators led the discussion about the project, in order to identify opportunities for community support. By involving key stakeholders in "local development roundtables", the project's sustainability was strengthened.
- The "TERRA Toolkit" combined the contribution of practitioners, experts in the field of violent radicalisation, important stakeholders and the main scientific literature about risk factors leading to this issue. The toolkit was meant to strengthen networks among stakeholders directly and indirectly involved in preventing violent radicalisation of youth (e.g. religious leaders, local policy makers, journalists), as a way to share strategies on the issue. Moreover, an important aspect was addressed to raise awareness in journalists and policy makers about the impact they may have in the contextual background.
- The "Religion and mediation training for religious and traditional peacemakers, international organisations & practitioners in the field" provided a training aimed

at improving knowledge and understanding of the issue and at increasing professional skills. The training was aimed at main key stakeholders (e.g. policy makers, international and NGOs organisations), to strengthen a peace-making and peace-mediating perspective. The focus of the training was to enhance the role of those stakeholders and social actors (such as religious leaders), who are part of networks able to face violent radicalisation. During the process, weaknesses and concerns expressed by key stakeholders were taken into consideration and addressed.

- In the "To Prevent is Better than to Cure" project, the focus was to enhance the strengths of mosques and of Islamic communities, and to build resilience in order to prevent violent radicalisation and polarisation in youth. The role of key stakeholders—relevant members of the mosques, volunteers, advisers—was crucial in the long-term impact, in order to increase the sustainability of the project.
- "BOUNCE Resilience Tools" was a practice which consisted in training addressed to young individuals and their network (e.g. parents). By combining action and reflection, it enabled them to increase resilience and awareness, reducing early violent radicalisation. Another tool was also addressed to front-line practitioners in order to support their work with youth. The tools were mainly developed and tested by diverse stakeholders: school teachers, educators, front-line workers etc., who provided feedback in order to improve its quality.
- "THINK!" provided a residential leadership course aimed at enhancing resilience to prevent violent radicalisation in young individuals. Stakeholders were involved in the evaluation process: in fact, by means of tools for assessing critical thinking, empathy etc., stakeholders' feedback was collected.
- "Community seminars" were addressed to social actors belonging to different institutions and were aimed at promoting local preventive practices and actions. Key stakeholders were co-creators of seminars and—similarly to "THINK!"—they were involved in the evaluation procedure, by providing their feedback on the impact of seminars on participants.
- The purpose of "INSPEC2T (Inspiring CitizeNS Participation for Enhanced Community PoliCing AcTions)" project was to implement a Community Policing able to successfully sustain a stable coalition between police and the community. The Community Policing was also addressed to increase awareness activities for both parties. Stakeholders were involved along the project: preliminary surveys were submitted to diverse stakeholders to detect relevant needs and factors for the Community Policing development. Furthermore, a Stakeholder Advisory Group (SAG) and an External Experts Group (EEG) were created by putting together members of governmental organisations, citizens' active groups, etc., as a support in the development of the project. Both groups supervised the whole process and supported the communication of the project's outcomes to significant stakeholders.
- "Setting up a local network" focused on how to build a local network to tackle violent radicalisation, and on the role of stakeholders along the whole process. As a consequence, the practice described the main steps to be followed (e.g. identify stakeholders within the city), and stakeholders were described as a resource to

be engaged and to constantly interact with, in order to better reach the project's aims.

- "European Forum for Urban Security (EFUS)" is a network whose goal is to enhance the policies addressed to decrease criminality and to strengthen the role of local authorities in national and European policies. According to its knowledge of the policies and its stable interaction with inhabitants, EFUS encourages the engagement of local and regional authorities as an important resource for fostering social cohesion and activating other stakeholders.

In conclusion, the above-mentioned best practices described some effective experiences that were able to have an impact on the violent radicalisation in Europe. In particular, such practices identified possible ways in which key stakeholders might be involved as an important resource in preventive actions. In fact, they played diverse roles in different phases of the projects, obtaining various effects. Particularly, they were able to affect the long-term sustainability of projects, to support their implementation and the development of toolkits, to participate in the evaluation process and to raise awareness in the community.

7.5 Participatory Meetings with Key Stakeholders in the PROVA Project

In the European PROVA project (PROVA 2016–2018), the local representatives were one of the main targets, who were involved in various phases of the project, from the beginning—during the needs analysis[1]—to the peak, until the conclusion of PROVA, where key stakeholders were the main contributors of final guidelines for best practices. In particular, the involvement of social actors engaged in prevention and social reintegration policies was aimed at providing policy makers with recommendations to prevent and counteract conflict and violent radicalisation in minors and young adults.

In all European countries involved in the project, participatory meetings were organised to discuss about possible risks of violent radicalisation in their specific communities and preventive actions, in order to use urban spaces for fostering social inclusion in minors at risk. Key stakeholders were selected among the main institutions interested in violent youth radicalisation such as the Juvenile Justice System, educational institutions, NGOs, together with academic and professional experts (e.g. psychologists, social workers).

A specific participatory technique—the World Café (Aldred 2009)[2]—was implemented to foster the dialogue among key stakeholders, so that each of them contributed to the collective knowledge and to the development of different creative solutions. Each meeting addressed specific themes, and participants were encouraged

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[1]See Chap. 3 in this book.

[2]See Chap. 9 in this book.

to discuss them in small groups and in plenary sessions. The World Café technique generated a large number of elements to discuss; the main outcomes are reported in Table 7.2.

A relevant strength of PROVA emerged from such participatory meetings: they represented an opportunity for establishing new collaborations between different institutions engaged in violent radicalisation. In particular, discussions among stakeholders coming from different institutions were conceived as a tool to strengthen and expand their network and to identify new shared strategies to tackle violent radicalisation among young people. The strengthening of the network among such institutions was an important outcome of the project, since it was able to produce an impact on the issue at a macro-level. In fact, in addition to the first draft of PROVA guidelines to prevent radicalisation among young people, the main result of this phase was the possibility for social actors, such as policy makers, local representatives and ombudsmen, to gain a greater awareness about this issue and to discuss about the main existing policies and on the next steps to be implemented.

7.6   The Consensus Conference

Involvement of stakeholders is, as said before, really important since the planning phase of a project nevertheless their engagement can be strengthened and better exploited during the implementation of crucial methodologies such as participatory meetings. One of the most effective methodologies for participatory meetings with stakeholders is the consensus conference (Geurts and Joldersma 2001; Mayer 1997; Scheufele 2011).

The consensus conference is a method in which a group of participants is asked to reach a certain degree of agreement around some topics. Participants of a consensus conference can be any category of stakeholders, depending on the aims of the programme in which they are involved. With a proper project design, considering the aims of the research in which consensus conference is adopted and the category of involved stakeholders, it can be used to address several topics, from public engagement to the agreement between experts on diagnosis criteria.

The parliamentary agency who firstly adopted it in the 80s, the Danish Board of Technology, affirms that consensus conference are designed

> to enrich and expand the scope of traditional debate between experts, politicians and interested parties by communicating citizens' views and attitudes on potentially controversial technologies… The conference creates the framework for a debate in which citizens' thoughts and recommendations come face to face with the arguments and attitudes of politicians and interested parties. In this way, the debate is enriched and developed (Danish Board of Technology 2010 in Scheufele 2011, p. 11).

Moreover, beyond its versatility, consensus conference can provide important contributions for the debate around complex and potentially controversial topics, thanks to its ability to support participants in reaching agreement by means of well-defined and pre-agreed steps (De Marchi and Ravetz 2001). The single consensus

Table 7.2 Themes emerged from the participatory meetings with key stakeholders (*Source* PROVA (2016–2018) https://www.provaproject.org/dissemination/book-youth-violent-radicalisation-preventive-strategies-and-community-based-practices-in-europe/)

Inclusive culture	Public spaces	Networks and partnerships	Communication
Improve social cohesion and knowledge, in order to share and overcome the feelings of fear Inclusion by means of activities fostering group membership, social support, networking Promoting a social identity beyond the individual and social labels	Restore and remodel negative environments (including total institutions)	Increase the partnerships among public authorities and NGOs, especially at the local level Universities, schools and justice system institutions should have a network for preventing violent radicalisation and conflicts; NGOs should be more present in schools – University students as an important volunteering resource	Create a counter-narrative, against the political manipulation of information
Spreading a different and inclusive culture, for migrants and for future citizens in schools	Rediscovering and reactivating public spaces	Improve unaware networks (making them aware) and strengthen informal networks	*"Telling successful histories"* *"Good news"* to counteract *"fake news"*
Promote a culture of the *"otherness"*, so as to *"integrate ourselves with migrants rather than migrants with us"*, through facilitators/mediators (teachers, volunteers, social workers, psychologists, *"role models"* in the local communities)	Creating more friendly urban spaces in some neighbourhoods, increasing civic engagement	Foster shared training (and methods) among services	Reflect on social responsibility to face stereotypes of "young-emigrant-delinquent" forged by mass media

(continued)

Table 7.2 (continued)

Inclusive culture	Public spaces	Networks and partnerships	Communication
Justice system needs enlightenment and training in the use and sense of intercultural integration work	Using unexploited spaces and resources for projects of integration Sports and exercise as promotion of self-development and relational skills (related to the Romanian experience)	Networking allows professionals to add value on good practices that they are already adopting, empowering them and building more complete and effective interventions A multidisciplinary analysis and the coordination of the actors involved in the prevention of radicalisation are necessary Importance of workshops and professional/community meetings to interact with different professionals, exchanging points of view, tools and practices	
Intensive cooperation in mixed intercultural groups creates new networks and synergies Cultural integration and participation reduces radicalisation tendencies Theatre as an important learning opportunity (related to the German experience)	"Living lab" experiences, for promoting participation and inclusion Workshops with stakeholders, involving inhabitants in restoring urban—private and public—spaces	Networking with community public and private organisations would allow future community and professional sensitisation and awareness campaigns regarding the use and the effects of stereotyping, personal, and professional labelling	

report usually requested at the end of a session is in fact the last of several steps in order to obtain a degree of consensus between participants.

Due to these features, the consensus conference is able to increase levels of trust, efficacy and learning among all participants (Powell and Lee Kleinman 2008), making it an important tool for bottom-up inputs to the policy-making process. Following this theme, some authors also suggest its adoption for a more direct exchange among key stakeholders about policy making, to increase awareness of important issues and to maximise levels of knowledge, enabling citizens to make informed decisions (Luskin and Fishkin 1998).

7.6.1 Planning a Consensus Conference

An example of implementation of a consensus conference is the one adopted by the Danish Board of Technology, a parliamentary agency designated to assess technologies and their possible implementation in Denmark. The use of consensus conference was chosen to gather from and stimulate an extensive debate on technological issues: a carefully planned programme of reading and discussion with experts, culminating in a forum open to the public, ensures that participants become well-informed before expressing their opinion (Jensen 2005). Their judgements are, of course, not binding for policy makers, as they provide legislators with recommendations or, more generally, with a sense of where the people might stand on important questions (Sclove 2000). In a modern society, in which new technologies are constantly introduced in both private and public lives of everyone, the discussion on the possible risks related to technologies is crucial to ensure the respect of citizens' rights and their need to be better informed about them. In fact, the Danish Board of Technologies selects salient topics, involving upcoming political debates and requiring complex decisions around matters as ethics or disputed scientific claims. A committee, generally composed by academic scientists, researchers, representatives of the citizens and a member of the board, is then chosen by the board to support the conference (Jensen 2005). Participation in the consensus conference is then advertised publicly, and a selection of a group of around 15 participants is made, on the basis of their representativeness of the Danish population, their reasons to participate and, when possible, their societal role in the implementation of the debated technology (Goven 2003).

Members of the committee provide participants with extensive documents about the addressed topic, and after an in-depth review of said materials, discussions among citizens are facilitated by experts on the topic and policy makers. When the discussions have addressed all the main aspects of interest, involved citizens are asked to elaborate a final document in which they describe participants' stance on that given topic. Participants must agree about the contents of the final document so that it may represent the consensus they were able to achieve with regard to the given topic (Danish Board of Technology 2010 in Scheufele 2011).

Questions about the representativeness of the consensus reached with the approach of the Danish Board of Technology, and about the possible extension of the collected

participants' stance to the general population's view on said topic are still under discussion (Scheufele 2011). On the other hand, the experience of the Danish Board of Technology represents a pioneering approach to the use of consensus conference, as a way to engage citizens around complex and specific themes.

To overcome some of the limitations of the described approach, consensus conference for the engagement of stakeholders can be applied by means of other tools such as Delphi method, as found in Jason and Glenwick (2016), where a different and interesting approach to engage participants has been described. While in the Danish experience participants have been reached by means of an open call to citizens, and then selected by the board itself, in this project a community-based approach has been chosen. Since, in this case researchers aimed at collecting the consensus among community members, a careful and in-depth definition of the selected community and context has been found. Once this task has been fulfilled, community leaders have been traced and engaged to both participate in the session and include further community members from the selected community. The criteria for the inclusion were the expertise on said topic, the time and willingness to participate in the process and the representativeness of people involved on behalf of the community. It is important to highlight that in this case, the experience of community leaders is crucial to identify those community members that can better represent the community in the debate with other groups of stakeholders, ensuring a higher value of the emerging contents of the debate, but at the same time introducing further questions towards the representativeness of involved participants because of possible personal bias coming from community members.

In order to reduce the impact of these limitations to the procedure, researchers can, as in the case of this study, provide a more structured approach to debate by structuring the process in several rounds, and by using the Delphi method for the decision-making process (Jason and Glenwick 2016). At the beginning, answers to open-ended questions are collected to obtain insights and directions about community needs that should be prioritised, by means of emails sent to participants. For this first round, in order to prevent possible bias, answers are collected anonymously and merged into a single document that is then sent again to participants for an initial revision of the contents. Participants are then asked to send back the document with additional reflections and integrations. Researchers can then collect said integrations and trace an initial consensus around the main areas. At the end of this round, researchers elaborate further questions addressed to participants, introducing possible insights to stimulate the discussion and facilitate consensus. Answers are then collected and analysed by means of a thematic analysis approach (Clarke and Braun 2013), in order to identify the consensus around the main areas of interest, the categories and the resulting themes (Jason and Glenwick 2016). Since, during this phase, a selection of the contents is made by researchers, it is crucial that the outputs of the analysis are sent back to participants to ensure accuracy in capturing their points of view. Researchers are finally asked to organise the final outputs to better disseminate the resulting contents to future readers, that is, depending on the aims of the program, a categorisation of the main areas in relation to, for instance, tangible vs. intangible

outcomes or long-term versus short-term aims. This final document is then shared with participants in order to validate it before the final editing and dissemination.

This approach can provide more control by researchers on the emerging contents, so that they actually respond to the opinion of participants, as well as on the selection process of participants, which is made by means of a bottom-up community-based approach. As in the case of the Danish Board of Technology experience, and particularly in all those cases in which the consensus is to be reached among such a wide category of stakeholders (i.e. "citizens", "members of the community"), especially in the case of complex and potentially controversial topics as policies, several limits to its application can be traced.

Public deliberation of political issues among citizens is the foundation for representative institutions and democracy; however, organising such a task on small-scale sessions and still maintaining a certain degree of representativeness of the whole community or of the entire population is not an easily controllable process. Habermas and Habermas (1991) established two criteria for a properly functioning citizens' engagement in the public sphere: (I) a large number of citizens needs to participate in the consensus processes and (II) the quality of the debate needs to be rational. As a review study on these aspects shows (Scheufele 2011), empirical experience indeed deviates from Habermas's criteria: attendance in public meetings is often low and characterised by significant self-selection biases, affecting the expression of some of the participants. Different studies have identified a series of demographic, cognitive and contextual variables that make some groups in society more likely than others to attend public meetings (McLeod et al. 1999a, b).

Well conducted consensus conference are moderated and monitored to minimise imbalances in the conversation based on gender, socioeconomic status and other characteristics of participants (Danish Board of Technology 2010 in Scheufele 2011; Hamlett and Cobb 2006). However, there are very few empirical studies that analysed the dynamics during consensus public meetings. Group dynamics and personality features of participants play, in fact, an important role on the dynamics of the discussions. As an example, as found in Merkle (1996), a minority of well-motivated and outspoken participants can provide more than half of the comments recorded during a discussion. Such participants who dominate the discussion may decide to be involved in the session just to persuade and not to listen to the others, violating the principles of a consensus conference. In a study by Binder and colleagues (2011; in Scheufele 2011), it has been shown that discussion among stakeholders about controversial scientific topics is in fact often polarised around a-priori stances and do little to promote debate. Levels of education may also interfere in this process since highly educated participants may discuss issues in a way that is hardly accessible for people with lower levels of education (Sanders 1997).

The involvement of secondary and key stakeholders, especially experts in the fields, may be effective in overcoming some of the limits and biases described above, particularly when consensus among participants should be obtained with respect to extremely specific topics, technical and controversial issues with a strong impact on the lives of people, such as the prevention of youth radicalisation.

Consensus conference with this approach to participants' recruitment have shown to be particularly effective to facilitate the agreement among experts in different fields, especially experts in medicine and health sciences. Indeed this methodology has been successfully applied for establishing consensus about diverse and extremely specific topics, such as diagnosis criteria (Barosi et al. 1999; Haynes et al. 1993), recommendations about diagnosis and management of heart failure (Arnold et al. 2007), preventive strategies for consequences of cancer treatment (Roila et al. 1998). The same approach has revealed to be effective also to obtain consensus over priorities for academic applied research (Horowitz et al. 2001).

The efficacy of the consensus conference with said features led to a renewed interest towards the methodology that has been effectively adopted also to facilitate the involvement and the agreement within secondary and key stakeholders on research with psychosocial aims both in clinical studies (e.g. Seidel et al. 1999) and psychosocial projects, as the PROVA project (PROVA 2016–2018). As explained before, secondary and key stakeholders have been constantly engaged throughout the duration of PROVA project for several activities, but the consensus conference scheduled at the end of the project can been seen as particularly effective in showing their commitment to the project, beyond the specific planned meetings. The participatory process in which they were involved by means of a consensus conference foresaw indeed several steps in which they were asked to contribute with in-depth reflections around important findings of the previous project activities and crucial aspects of their professions and experience. The aim of this consensus conference was to collect reflections coming from the different stakeholders involved (following the specificities of each country involved in the project and the results emerged locally from the previous project activities) and to provide them in the form of guidelines to local policy makers in order to prevent violent youth radicalisation and violent acts with a community-based approach.

The process for the consensus conference with stakeholders, implemented during the PROVA project, consisted of three steps: (I) individual reflections from each stakeholder on the guidelines, (II) group discussions with stakeholders by means of the methodology of the panel of experts (Landeta 2006), (III) participatory meetings with stakeholders. Moreover, in each step of the project, and for each country involved, researchers ensured a direct involvement of participants by providing stimuli for their reflections in order to collect suggestions for best practices that could be proposed to national policy makers.

An initial draft for the guidelines, including suggestions and reflections emerged from the previous activities of the project (i.e. training and workshop sessions), has been shared with the stakeholders already involved in the previous steps of the project to guarantee that they were appropriately transcribed. Stakeholders were then asked to individually collect integrations and suggestions to the draft and to score each guideline on four dimensions: urgency, upscaling, feasibility and linked Actions (Table 7.3).

During the first phase of the panel of expert session, participants have been divided into two groups to discuss their suggestions and evaluations of guidelines. The task assigned to each group was to establish a consensus to be then shared in the plenary

Table 7.3 Scoring guidelines with stakeholders

Guidelines	Urgency A 4-point scale (urgent; strongly recommended; recommended; proposed)	Upscaling (national level vs. EU level)	Feasibility (the possibility for the specific guideline to be implemented on a 5-point scale, minimum 1, maximum 5)	Linked actions (description of existing or planned activities by local institutions linked to each specific guideline: 2 = institutional norms and operational rules; 1 = proposals; 0 = neither actions or proposals)
Guideline 1				
Guideline 2				
…				
…				

session, including both groups of stakeholders and researchers. In order to obtain a high-quality output with participatory methods, after the consensus reached during the plenary session, the document has been sent to stakeholders already involved in the project who could not attend the panel of expert session. They were also asked to provide suggestions and integrations to the guidelines, coming from their experience in the previous phases, to better represent the whole network involved during the project. This process has been applied in each country involved in the project, with small differences regarding the tools adopted to facilitate the process (in some countries, for example, the use of tablets for immediate feedback to the plenary session was adopted, in others the discussion was tracked directly by researchers).

Local guidelines were then shared within the partnership in order to detect commonalities and peculiarities to be enhanced on a European level. Guidelines were discussed in small groups of researchers, to identify the main shared themes and facilitate the dissemination of the document. At the end of the process, a common document for European guidelines was produced, which highlighted important best practices to be spread at local, national and European level. Both this output and the local guidelines produced in each country were then spread to the public (by means of Websites and social media) and sent to national policy makers and public bodies.

The process adopted for this consensus conference is the result of the combination of tools and procedures developed to overcome possible limits arising from scientific literature with the use of this method. The adoption of this rigorous procedure allowed to obtain recommendations for guidelines coming from a participatory process in which the secondary and key stakeholders, already involved during the duration of the whole process, were able to compare their suggestions and insights with the ones coming from the experience of others. The result is an effective and clear list of recommendations, representing the consensus emerged from experts in the field,

addressing possible solutions for the prevention of violent radicalisation both at a local and European level, easily and at the same time extensively summarised to policy makers.

Finally, it is a clear example of how the consensus conference, with careful and adequate planning, can represent an appropriate and customisable methodology to obtain valuable outcomes with participatory meetings, with the involvement of all local stakeholders.

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Chapter 8
Rethinking Spaces for an Inclusive City

Corrado Marcetti, Alessandro Masetti, and Saverio Migliori

Abstract The chapter introduces the promotion of inclusion as a catalyser for the reimagination and transformation of urban and architectural spaces. In specific, it focuses on contexts featured by intense socio-cultural discrimination, where individuals at risk of violent radicalisation live. After a survey on the European contemporary metropolitan scenarios in which the economic and cultural inequalities favour contrasts, the authors review a series of virtuous actions against socio-cultural discrimination. Study cases include participatory projects promoted by several Municipal Authorities with citizens, migrant associations, and NGOs, where the joint actions of coexistence had a positive impact on urban life. The chapter ends with the description of the experience related to the reimagination of the detention space carried out by minor detainees in the Juvenile Prison of Florence, Italy, during the PROVA project.

Keyword Re-imagination of urban spaces · Metropolitan scenarios · PROVA project experience · Re-imagination of detention space · Participatory planning

8.1 Introduction

The PROVA project (PROVA 2016–2018) provided an opportunity to reflect on the role that space—the organisation of urban space and the policies that determine its structure—plays in the processes of social inclusion for that group of the population exposed to social vulnerability or the risk of marginalisation.

The project, having as its focus the complexity of the phenomena of political-religious radicalisation, has allowed highlighting the existing relationship between

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the development of radicalised behaviours and the conditions of life in which these behaviours develop, often exposed to discomfort, poverty, and ghettoisation.

The examples concerning the organisation of European cities, presented in this chapter, highlight the need to rethink spaces through a cultural, political, and social effort aimed at the inclusion of all those people experiencing a condition of vulnerability and social exclusion.

The quality of urban spaces and neighbourhood relations, as well as a renewed sense of community, seem to represent the basis in which fostering the idea of social participation, involving all the components of society in political choices, and a different concept of security, according to which people can live well without fearing that their rights may be violated.

The Italian experience of the PROVA project provided a valuable opportunity for an in-depth analysis that, on the one hand, allowed a thematic comparison of choices and practices at European level and, on the other hand, allowed to experiment a workshop aimed at the participatory redesign of the space. The choice fell on the "Gian Paolo Meucci" Juvenile Justice Institute in Florence, proposing to the young adult inmates to "play" with the space available to them. An urban area that was closed and restricted, but potentially open to being redesigned according to the needs and differences of its inhabitants. Our work was based, for this reason, on the hypothesis that caring urban spaces, including those inside the closed institutions, was a fruitful way to develop a sense of belonging in the local community.

The results have, therefore, inductively—and also symbolically—connected the perspective of young people with complex issues, also allowing to accredit the hypothesis of a transferability of certain practices in other contexts, where the comparison and active participation of citizens can represent the key to the redesign of space able to include.

8.2 Urban Drifts: Social Confinement and Contended Space

Cities are the scenario in which the changes of the socio-demographic and global economic structures are reflected and where the unfairness distribution of wealth predominates.

In a world of an oasis of comfort in a sea of poverty, the concentration of wealth takes place in large cities by becoming a hub that attracts immigrants. The urban space is left entirely to the animal spirits of the market.

European cities are facing an increase in the social fragmentation of urban space with the concentration of services and decision-making centres in central areas and the gentrification processes that lead to the appropriation of these areas by the elites. This polarisation inevitably arouses resentment and revolt by districts where there are tensions due to the contention over scarce commodities such as social services and social housing.

The organisation of areas intended for immigrants has assumed the characteristics of structural discrimination that manifests itself in the urban planning of separation and differentiated inclusion.

These areas were officially named according to terminology that expresses the prerogatives of insecurity and uncontrollability: *Sensitive urban areas, Neighbourhoods in crisis, Socially vulnerable areas, Priority safety zones, No-go areas, Off-limit areas, War zones*, or more traditionally *Ghetto districts.* Urban slang has coined more expressive terms, but we must ask ourselves why these neighbourhoods are described as problematic, dangerous, and extreme and not try instead to look at things from the point of view of their inhabitants.

8.2.1 What is Urban Safety?

Urban safety is a polysemic expression which entered the political scenario recently to accompany statistics on crime and delinquency often related to immigration. The term safety is associated with the composition of the population, the integration issues, and the ethnic cohabitation of a certain district. This paves the way not only to the repression of radicalised groups but also to the normalisation of lifestyles and practices considered to be anti-urban.

In the view of the inhabitants of marginal, stigmatised districts, the issue of safety is not only related to the risk of suffering from crime directly but also to that of seeing their living conditions destroyed by eviction or losing their work. From this perspective, the desire is to combine safety with the right to health, home, job, services, free movement, and to the possibility of changing your own life. If this is not possible, forms of self-organisation of the community, the informal, and also the illegal economy take root.

Pressure by police on a district with strict, active, and widespread control can in certain contexts be considered as creating insecurity. From a bottom-up perspective, no human being, even if not living by the administrative rules, is considered to be unlawful, and all people have the right to try and have a better future.

Safety is the condition in which people can live well without fearing that their rights may be violated. The quality of neighbourly relations, community assistance, and life on the streets work much better than remote-control cameras, as a neighbourhood that is lived leads to a safe neighbourhood.

Not taking this reality into account with appropriate policies and concrete interventions can bring groups of young second- and third-generation immigrants to structure their existence in opposition to a world which they do not feel they belong to.

In the complexity of the phenomena of political-religious radicalisation, besides focusing on its reasons, the point of view of the condition of marginalisation and spatial exclusion also deserves to be critically analysed. To this end, it is interesting to explore the diverse high-intensity realities of immigration of several European cities.

8.3   A Journey to the Immigration Neighbourhoods of European Cities

8.3.1   Sweden

In several North-European cities, immigrants have often found housing in low-cost housing neighbourhoods, originally built to cope with the needs of the Ford mass production model with adequate housing logistics. The advent of globalisation and the processes of industrial relocation have emptied many residential complexes.

In Stockholm, in the districts of Rinkeby, Tensta, Husby, and Akulla, the Miljon-programmet took off in the sixties, a ten-year programme to build a million dwellings intended for the Swedish working class. Rinkeby is now nicknamed Mogadishu because 95% of the 16,000 inhabitants are first- and second-generation immigrants, many of whom come from Somalia. Husby, with its 12,000 inhabitants, is considered one of the 15 neighbourhoods most at risk in the capital, where second-generation immigrants are rediscovering their own culture in opposition to a world, and they do not feel accepted by. As if being born, growing up and living in Sweden does not mean you are fully part of Swedish society.

In the city of Malmö, where 30% of the population is Muslim, the district of Rosengård is located about 4 km away from the urban centre. Created in the 1960s, it is now inhabited by many migrants, whose children have developed such a sense of belonging, which they prefer to identify themselves as citizens of Rosengård instead of Malmö. It is not by chance that there have been frequent aggregations of young men of foreign origin into gangs who headed to Syria to join ISIS.

According to some Swedish university research on conflicting insurgencies against foreigners, greater hostility develops in districts neighbouring those populated by immigrants, between communities that live "sufficiently close to foreigners to feel threatened, but still too far away to live together" (Rydgren and Ruth 2013).

The possibility of interacting in everyday life and cultural conflict is, however, the true added value that should be sought in rethinking the organisation of cities, even in countries such as Sweden which has recorded an increasing occurrence of outbreaks of fascism and racism. In this context, learning how to create a common urban future is fundamental, and attempts in this direction are always of great interest.

There is a project underway in Rosengård to involve the population in terms of social development and the creation of new jobs, which includes constructing houses and services with alternative energies. The developers, in agreement with the City, will even build a professional school to allow unemployed immigrant residents to acquire a vocational qualification on self-building techniques: the ambition of the initiative is to create two new jobs for each house (Testoni 2016, p. 55).

Other initiatives aimed at encouraging new business opportunities for immigrants. In the district of Husby in Stockholm, there is an ongoing activity of *Urban feminist design* (Offeddu 2017), which is redesigning an entire urban area to make it become a place where women feel at home without having to undergo forms of cultural oppression or harassment. In a district where it was not usual to see groups of women

on the street, awareness has grown that architecture and town planning can affect the type of relations that determine urban coexistence and may encourage the re-appropriation of spaces that are not lived in. The Svenska Bostader, the company in charge of town planning, in collaboration with the Royal Institute of Technology, is operating by consulting women's associations and groups on interventions relating to lighting, relocation of services and public places to create conditions of respect and welcome. As the project managers explain it: We have to change the social puzzle, we need a public space where anyone can and wants to say: "I feel good here". Another aspect is also trying to attract female entrepreneurship, followed by the opening of a library and the start of courses on cultural mediation aimed at all communities (Felici 2019).

8.3.2 United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, whose immigration history is longer compared to Scandinavian countries**,** the debate on the multicultural Anglo-Saxon model of integration has been rekindled. The guiding principle of diversification is implemented through measures that allow the cultural specificities of each ethnic group to be protected.

New migration flows, the phenomena of political-religious radicalisation and jihadist attacks have sorely tested this integration model. London, the cosmopolitan city that absorbs and metabolises heterogeneity, has been rediscovered as a constellation of unrelated socio-spatial fragments. The failure to respond to social impoverishment has exacerbated the resentment towards places where wealth is concentrated, producing the deconcentration of huge degraded urban conglomerations.

The established failure of suburban settlements without adequate services and connections is the basis of the debate that has led to the demolition of residential complexes from the 1960s and 1970s throughout Europe. Great Britain started to intervene in 1994 with the destruction of the zig-zagging Hulme Crescents in Manchester, 5000 homes characterised by the "huge and irreparable physical and social degradation due to the experiment" (Del Mese 2014).

8.3.3 Netherlands

The Netherlands, as a former colonial country, has a long history of immigration, and today, around 20% of the residents are immigrants. However, its traditional multicultural model, albeit shaken by the perceived Islamist fundamentalist threat and the propaganda of ultraconservative political groups, shows signs of resilience and dynamism.

In some areas of big cities, because of unemployment and early school leavers, the main social emergency is that of the so-called *hangjongeren*, youngsters who hang around. However, there are also integration efforts, as demonstrated by the "Urban

2" regeneration programme in Rotterdam that out of a total of 5000 inhabitants, involves 1200 of Moroccan origin.

The *Het Klooster* project is a cultural centre whose recreational and training initiative is intended to integrate young Moroccans within the Dutch community, intertwining relationships between host and immigrant populations. Moreover, to facilitate relations between the different communities, the Venligboeme Association proposes cultural exchange through shared dinners held in the homes of the participants.

8.3.4 Belgium

In Belgium, immigrants live mainly in urban suburbs, in particular in the belt of the districts of Brussels called "banane pauvre", where condominiums and detached houses alternate. It is an urban situation in which immigrant groups of the same culture, religion, and geographical origin are concentrated. Molenbeek-Saint Jean, considered a cradle of radicalism and jihadist terrorism, is one of the municipalities of Brussels, with 100,000 inhabitants, of which approximately 40% are Muslim. Here, the economic selection has determined ethnic selection creating a border with the capital city, powered by a high rate of unemployment, and political-religious radicalism has involved many young second-generation Belgians, several of whom have been perpetrators of Isis attacks in Europe or have headed to Syria as foreign fighters.

Concerning this reality, Belgian society has been building bridges, such as the laboratory of the Foyer Association called "Molengeek", which holds computer science and digital entrepreneurship courses. Furthermore, in the centre of Brussels, there is a cohousing project supported by the Josefa Foundation, intended for 80 people, including refugees, EU migrants, and other citizens in difficulty.

8.3.5 France

France, like England, has a very long history of immigration, but a different reception model, founded on the concept of assimilation and approval. Some of the causes resulted in the increasing phenomenon of violent radicalisation in many French towns, until reaching the highest peaks of jihadist terrorism in Europe, lie in the authoritarianism of this recipe for disaster.

France has a social housing heritage comprising large complexes designed to house immigrants from former colonies, which began to arrive for the post-war reconstruction of the country. Their concentration in the peripheral belt produced an explosive situation as soon as the crisis of the production line and manufacturing system deepened. Cuts in public spending and social interventions have further worsened living conditions.

About 8 million people live in the outskirts of Paris, and 2 million of them live in 40 sites that are part of Seine-Saint Denis. In this department, located beyond the *Périferique* ring road, 80 nationalities coexist who speak the slang of the *banlieusards*. It is the suburb where taxis do not venture, well described in the film *La Haine (1995)* by Mathieu Kassovitz, where many families survive on *Revenue minimum d'insertion.*

These areas include Clichy-sous-Bois, a settlement a few km away from Paris, where the friction between young people and law enforcement can lead to tragic events. Such as on 27 October 2005, when two young men without a criminal record, whose attitude and clothing (black hoodies) had aroused suspicion, after having eluded a police check, died from electrocution, trapped in an electricity transformer.

Ten years after the revolt that spread from here to all the big French suburbs, and in the absence of interventions to counteract the harshness of life in the suburbs, we find Saint Denis in the geography of the Isis terrorist attacks Paris suffered on 13 November 2015. From that night violent clashes with the police went on for about a month throughout France, with over 800 people arrested, 10,000 vehicles burnt and more than €200 million of damages caused.

The revolt was attributed, with an unhappy term used by the then Minister of the Interior, Nicolas Sarkozy, to *racaille*, "scum". The series of attacks that led to 130 people being killed and about 360 wounded also concerned Saint Denis, with bombs at the Stade de France. In the subsequent police raid in Saint Denis, which took place on 18 November 2015, to capture the alleged organisers, three people died, and ten people were wounded, as well as eight arrests. On 16 March 2016, four people ready for an imminent attack were detained by the French counter-terrorism police in the 18th *arrondissement* of Paris and the nearby *banlieue* of Saint Denis.

In the French *banlieues*, a form of radical antagonism has rooted itself, which has found fertile ground in the frustration of young second- and third-generation male immigrants, in any case, considered foreign. No cohesion is established with other social groups of the city, with whom there is no daily contact or dialogue, but rather a hostility, which feeds racism.

This reflection is also true for the most deprived districts and suburbs of Toulouse, such as Bagatelle, Reynerie, Empalot, Mirail, indicated by the new terminology as PSZs (Priority Security Zones), where the first jihadist attacks took place in March 2012.

In some areas, forms of association have increased with controlling elements of the community and a mix of radicalism and illegal economy. Bringing these urban areas under control through police and demolitions (the French government has demolished more than 150 thousand buildings in urban regeneration operations in Sensitive Urban Areas—SUAs), without acting on the contributing factors, is fatally delusional. As is equally, any statement calling for a different local distribution of social housing without turning away from the imperative reasons for the costs, which have caused the systematic concentration of people in remote areas. Moreover, looking for a new aesthetic expression of the suburbs seems unrealistic, if this is not the final result of a clear interpretation of the real needs of inhabitants. Without a

programme of actions in this direction, only the already occurred acceptance of the polarisation remains.

8.3.6 Spain

In Madrid, Spain, the largest settlement of immigrants, is located in Lavapiés, an urban centre for travelling between the historic centre and the suburbs. Despite the location, the district has suffered a progressive decline caused by administrative neglect, building degradation, and population ageing. In the 1980s, it began to receive the first Cuban and Argentine migrants in exile and the first wave of Moroccan immigration: today, 88 different nationalities coexist there. The immigrant population, which represents 31% of about 40,000 inhabitants, predominantly comprises Ecuadorians, Moroccans, Colombians, Chinese, Bengalis, and Senegalese who have found accommodation in the old Jewish quarter in apartments arranged around the traditional *corrala* (courtyard), which, due to low rents and the characteristics of the district have also attracted many young Spaniards.

Considered unsafe and for this reason guarded by police forces, Lavapiés has a dual reality: on the one hand, document checks in squares to try and "catch" immigrants without a residence permit, and on the other hand, a dynamic and culturally intense life with libraries, theatres, concert halls, and a rich community of associations that mixes Spanish and migrants also in political meetings.

Lavapiés was defined in 1997 as an *Area de rehabilitación preferente* and was provided with a multidimensional strategy: housing and architectural interventions, a social intervention plan and the introduction of a series of services for the district, the modernisation of infrastructure, the architectural development of certain public spaces, with particular attention to squares.

Lavapiés, described as a multi-ethnic district, vibrant but also with petty crime and an informal economy, manifests the intolerance of many inhabitants to the attributions of being dangerous and unsafe. Through its mixed-race associations, the Assembly of inhabitants subjects the *urban safety plans* to severe criticism and the process of gentrification that is tripling house prices, as already happened in other districts such as Chueca and Malasaña. The *Plan Integral de Mejora de la Seguridad y la Convivencia del Barrio de Lavapiés*, signed in 2012 and in force until 2015, was conceived as a strategic plan to control and manage safety in the district.

The associations of Lavapiés, the integration between cultures, the common defence of rights and the horizontal dimension of the self-organisation of society have certainly facilitated coexistence between communities of different origins.

8.4   A Special Focus on Italy

In Italy, immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon that has developed mainly since the 1990s, immediately classified in emergency terms and framed as a security and public order problem, until it assumed the shape of a security obsession.

As Italy does not have a public housing heritage comparable to that of the countries in northern Europe, foreign immigration in big cities is concentrated in areas that had already received immigrants from the south of Italy and which have quickly acquired the definitions of "run-down" and "dangerous". Here are a few examples: San Salvario and Porta Palazzo in Turin, Via Padova, and Piazzale Loreto in Milan which are emblematic districts labelled in the translation: "multi-ethnicity = urban disorder".

In the Italian legislative framework on immigration and security, increasingly more restrictive policies followed one another with specific local orders. Despite gentrification processes having led to significant changes, the bottom-up security perspective created by the collaboration between various groups of inhabitants should not be underestimated, even if the spreading of "social district" experiences, i.e. the community of people who live in the same streets and mutually help and care for the place is still a limited phenomenon.

The disintegrating force of economic transformations on regional specificities and social fabrics has been devastating. Cities like Rome consist of non-communicating biases in which there is no real integration. Many outlying districts have seen immigrant families housed without a process aimed at improving quality of life, and it is often precisely in these poorer suburbs that social conflict has grown between indigenous and foreign workers. Thus, while there have been a few manifestations of political-religious radicalisation, phenomena of intolerance and racism, which emerged especially in the case of the allocation of social housing to immigrants and Roma families, have increased.

In order to overcome these problems of social conflict for social housing, different regions have amended the allocation criteria by increasing the years of residence required in order to be able to apply and by introducing the obligation to provide documentation relating to the possession of assets in the country of origin.

In Rome, in July 2019, 82 buildings were illegally occupied by over 11,000 people including about 3500 migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, and Roma people. The living conditions in the buildings occupied are often very difficult, and there is always the risk of an eviction plan. The participation of immigrants in movements for the right to housing with Italians who have the same need, the creation of collective residences albeit informal, the practice of transforming abandoned buildings, and the collective management of common spaces have undoubtedly aided mutual recognition behaviour between Italians and migrants.

The demolishing bulldozers, on which the rhetoric of some political forces has been based, have worked mainly on dismantling Roma settlements, while there have been very few interventions on buildings.

However, the most striking demolition case in Italy was that of the "*Sails*" housing estate in Scampia in Naples: the district created between the 1960s and 1970s, featuring seven buildings of 16 floors and considered as territory whose control had been removed from the State by criminal organisations as a result of illegal trafficking managed by the *Camorra* (the Neapolitan mafia). This representation bias chosen to represent the whole has overshadowed the many families outside of illegal channels and the role of counteracting this problem played by schools and initiatives seeking to shake the foundations of the reality of the area. Three of the "*Sails*" were demolished between 1993 and 2005, while the other three are now part of the regeneration project "*Restart Scampia*".

The regeneration project, approved by the municipality in 2017, provides for a financial commitment of €27 million, in part NOP funds allocated by the European Union, and has now opened the site for the demolition of the green *Sail*, one of the buildings vacated in recent years. Thanks to a programme agreed with them; the inhabitants have been placed in new homes in the district. After having demolished the *Sail*, the same company will rebuild the entire road system and create two outdoor sports fields. Pedestrian walkways, recreational areas, benches, footpaths, and car parks are also planned. According to the programme, only one Sail will remain to stand and will house public offices of the Metropolitan City. At the moment, more than 300 families still live in the remaining *Sails*.

Another important thread of immigrant settlement in Italy was that of the camps and groupings of self-built shacks in various rural areas in the South.

Immigrants who work on the fringes of slavery on seasonal agricultural harvests have only had a few emergency solutions in response to their housing needs. Several of these settlements, such as those of Borgo Mezzanone (Foggia), Rosarno (Reggio Calabria), San Ferdinando (Reggio Calabria), are real hellholes because of the inhuman living conditions.

By contrast, the Municipal Administrations of some areas have promoted inclusive actions by revitalising villages and engaging citizens in dialogue in a shared coexistence project.

In Calabria, the various municipalities of Locride have opened their doors to refugees starting from the town of Badolato, which in 2006, with a project involving the renovation of eighteen abandoned homes to be allocated to refugees, was included in the four finalists at the International World Habitat Awards.

Twelve Calabrian municipalities have signed up to the SPRAR (protection system for asylum seekers and refugees), coordinated by the *Città futura a Riace* association, with a model that has succeeded in combining the insertion of immigrant families in the context of the socio-economic recovery of areas characterised by depopulation and the abandonment of historical buildings. This program has been implemented in other southern regions like Campania, Molise, Apulia and Sicily, and in the north of Italy.

The real utopia of combining migrant pathways to the integration with the recovery of tangible and intangible cultural assets in small Italian towns (many small towns, equal to about 70% of total Italian towns, suffer from a demographic decrease following economic hardship), therefore, remains a possible road. Especially if the

decline of these regions is not regarded as unstoppable, and if policies to combat social and economic marginalisation are implemented by working on all physical and digital connection networks, on alternative energy production plants, on quality agri-food products and tax exemptions in support of relevant interventions.

The conspicuous presence of immigrant groups in small areas in the industrial north and in prestigious agricultural and animal farming areas provides indirect confirmation of the inclusive potential of this reality. In such northern areas, a high percentage of the population consists of immigrants (f.i. 26.4% in Telgate, in Lombardy, or 32.8% in Baranzate or 41.3% in Rocca de' Giorgi).

8.5 The PROVA Project Experience

We conclude our journey with the recent Italian experience of the Erasmus+ PROVA Project (2016–2018) that in 2018 proposed a workshop for the redesign of space at the reduced scale of the Juvenile Justice Institute of Florence. The work was inspired by the successful European case studies in which participatory planning is a fundamental element of aggregation and social inclusion.

The workshop was coordinated by the Department of Education and Psychology of the University of Florence and Fondazione Giovanni Michelucci, in collaboration with the director and staff of the "Gian Paolo Meucci" Juvenile Justice Institute in Florence.

It saw as protagonists 20 young people who took part in the redesign of a large room located in the common areas of the prison, usually used as a meeting room and library.

8.5.1 The Workshop in Prison: Aims, Methods, and Outcomes

The main goal from a social perspective was to develop a peer-to-peer experience, based on positive relations and intercultural dialogue, between young people undergoing criminal proceedings and university students, exploiting the methodology of participatory planning as a means to facilitate relations. Through the exchange of ideas, cultures, and needs, a new identity of the spaces has been created in order to make them more suitable for living together and less exposed to conflict risk.

The workshop consisted of eight weekly meetings over three months that allowed building a social and creative path leading to the development of three collective design proposals. Like the components of a structure, element after element, each meeting served to build and consolidate new and unexpected human relationships, destroying prejudices and barriers between the participants.

The planning methodology started with a series of group discussions, and from the first meetings, it took advantage of each individuality. In fact, the young adults undergoing criminal proceedings had an average age of 18 years and came from European and non-European countries, while the university students had an average age of 24 years, were mainly Italian and undertook psychological and social assistance studies. Altogether, students and inmates were invited to exchange ideas and experiences through a series of "activation games." In specific, they had to share personal stories linked to places which had positive connotations and then translate them into a set of ideal features that would give identity to a place (for psychological aspects of workshops, see also Meringolo et al. 2019).

The distinguishing feature of the Juvenile Justice Institute of Florence lays in its location, within an ancient ecclesiastical complex of the historic centre, just a few steps from the busy railway station of Florence Santa Maria Novella, including a cloister and a garden with sports facilities. However, everything is hidden from the outside.

The meetings were held in the multi-purpose room that the participants had to redesign: an independent rectangular space of about 80 m^2, equipped with toilets and overlooking the playgrounds of the courtyard.

The research process, started with the meetings, proceeded by investigating the perception of the room in its current state, basing on the feelings and emotions felt both by frequent users and the temporary guests like the students. Although set in a prestigious historical context, the room was a modern functional building with a simple concrete and masonry structure that did not have any unique architectural qualities but rather housed disqualifying elements such as the barriers on the windows (as expected in prison).

Moreover, among the first comments, it emerged how the minimum equipment of the furniture and the temporary storage of books and objects in boxes along the walls reflected the state of a permanent transition. The lack of identity of this space was therefore revealed in the compilation of a list of ideal facilities mainly connected to recreational, creative, and recreational activities that expressed the common desires and needs that could give a new life to that place.

The transition from theoretical activity to practice took place with the survey of the space. The participants, through the comparison of different methods of measurement, began to become aware of the physical reality that surrounded them and the unexpressed potentials of the place. They did it in all the way possible, like using their feet as a reference, counting the tiles, as well as by learning to use the tape measure and the precision laser. The aim was to obtain a precise survey of the room, which would serve both functionally and symbolically as a new starting point for the collective design experience where aspirations and needs emerged in previous meetings would be conveyed.

Once the room was reproduced on the paper, a new identity able to respect the differences and common features of the participants was designed. Sketch by sketch, collective stations for listening to music, playing video games, and watching movies started to appear, as well as more intimate corners for reading, studying, and meditating next to a new bookcase.

The three resulting project proposals also showed the need for vibrant colours for both the furniture and the walls. In some cases, were also featured large panels with graffiti made by the inmates, to transform the room into a welcoming and friendly place.

Prison professionals involved in the monitoring of the activity assessed the workshop positively, considering it as an innovative way to reduce conflicts between detainees and increase the sense of civic engagement. In some cases, participation also allowed the acquisition of technical skills—such as architectural graphics representation—producing positive effects on the lives of young people, particularly about future orientation and new perspectives of life outside the prison.

Through their involvement in this experience, also university students gained new relational skills (useful for their future profession) to deal with the emotions caused by total institutions and became aware of the knowledge and competences needed to work with minors under criminal proceedings and at risk.

Moreover, at the end of the experience, the board of directors of the Juvenile Justice Institute decided to involve the promoters of the PROVA project to evaluate further developments of the three proposals.
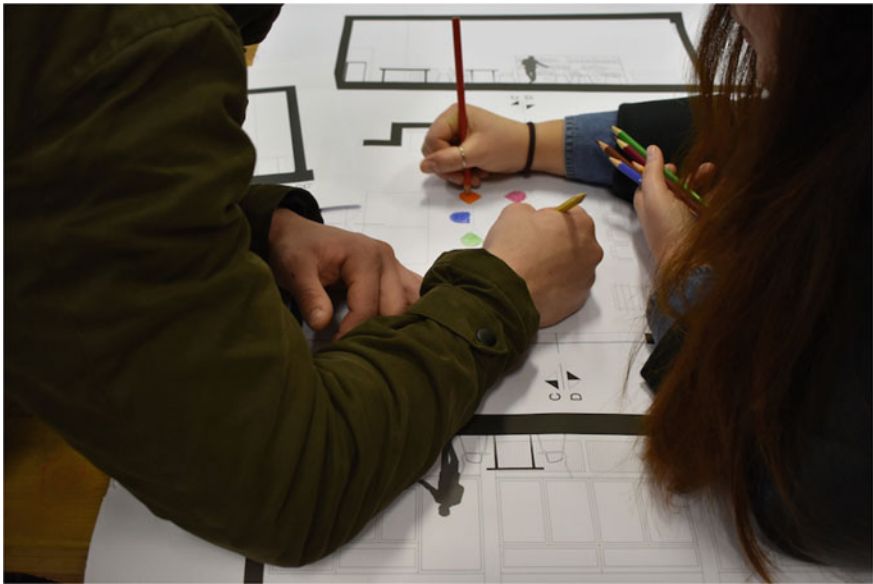
Photo 8.1 PROVA Project (2016–2018), Workshop in the Juvenile Prison of Florence, Italy, where young adult detainees worked together with university students to reimagine and redesign the multifunctional room within the building (Source: Photo by Cristina Cecchini)

Photo 8.2 PROVA Project (2016–2018), Workshop in the Juvenile Prison of Florence, Italy, where young adult detainees worked together with university students to reimagine and redesign the multifunctional room within the building (Source: Photo by Cristina Cecchini)

8.6 Final Considerations

Although different, all the experiences analysed so far—related to the prevention of violent intergroup relations—suggest a continuous research about the choices that should be made on the issue of social inequalities.

Architecture and urban planning can make an active contribution to the creation of more advanced forms of cohabitation if they can count on public investments for the construction of relational structures between isolated urban areas and the most vital places of the cities.

It is necessary to dismantle the prejudice of non-integrability of any neighbourhood and minority by promoting inclusive and engaging actions, able to make different social groups dialogue in a joint project of coexistence. This means promoting a policy of empowerment by acting on social inequalities, enhancing the individuality of people and groups from different cultural backgrounds.

There are also structural interventions that cannot be postponed, such as the investment in school facilities in the most disadvantaged districts and strengthening of public housing in the context of active living.

The first step towards building a greater sense of urban belonging lies in the creation of a widespread network of initiatives at local level promoted by institutional representatives, immigrant associations, and third sector organisations, aimed at fighting socio-cultural discrimination. From this process, it is possible to improve the

quality of the environment and housing, with the renovation of residential buildings and public spaces.

As seen in various experiences, it is possible to create workshops, forms of female self-employment, platforms for youth involvement, even when they are marginalised, under proceedings or in prison, social enterprises aimed at regenerating the local socio-economic network and triggering employment paths.

We need to create space and, above all, not make anyone feel excluded.

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Chapter 9
Participatory Evaluation: Methods and Tools

Moira Chiodini

Abstract Introduces the overall approach of participatory evaluation (PE) and the community impact (CI) evaluation model, which evaluate interventions in terms of their social actors, such as professionals, stakeholders, and beneficiaries. Both PE and the CI model provide methodological guides and suggestions, offering an evaluation strategy as well as instruments for monitoring the quality of projects. A number of these quantitative and qualitative tools are described, such as the SWOT analysis, the Community Empowerment Scale and the World Café technique; all of these have been revised and adapted to incorporate a community-based approach, so as to align with the aim of preventing the violent radicalisation of young people. These tools have been conceived to be flexible, in order to account for individual differences between social actors, and are cognisant of the need to capture information for evaluation—through sharing and comparing—the quality of the intervention.

Keywords Participatory evaluation · Community impact evaluation · SWOT analysis · Community empowerment scale · World café technique

9.1 Introduction

The chapter will introduce the overall approach of participatory evaluation and the community impact evaluation model. Both provide methodological guides and suggestions, offering an evaluation strategy and instruments for monitoring project quality. A number of quantitative and qualitative tools will be described, such as the SWOT analysis, the Community Empowerment Scale and the World Café technique. All of these were used during the PROVA project (PROVA 2016–2018).

These instruments were conceived to be flexible, in order to embrace individual differences between the social actors involved, and are cognisant of the need to capture information for assessing the quality of the intervention.

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Community-based evaluation is a systemic approach aimed at improving the participation and accountability of policy makers and stakeholders in defining, monitoring, evaluating, and improving a programme or a project. The emphasis is on practical, ongoing evaluation strategies that involve all programme stakeholders, not just evaluation experts (Milstein and Wetterhall 1999). The procedures of the evaluation process are feasible, ethical, and accountable and, at the same time, detailed and accurate.

In a traditional approach, experts define issues, aims, and topics. They also determine times and decide how to use results. In contrast, community-based evaluation highlights the importance of mutual ownership of the research and evaluation process and the common decision about outcomes that have to be managed by the community and disseminated within the community. Power is and remains in the hands of the target groups and communities. Researchers and evaluators are part of the system and create a strong, durable, long-term relationship with all stakeholders and participants.

In a review of 185 articles, Viswanathan et al. (2004) found a broad variation in methods, results, and quality of research. Research was carried out through random and controlled trials, as well as qualitative and non-experimental testing.

In the variability of the research and evaluation designs, we can find some key issues. Community-based research promotes cooperation between partners with diverse competence, knowledge, and expertise. It also encourages critical thinking and relativises the role and the power of the researcher. In addition, the researcher shares knowledge with all stakeholders, promotes the diffusion of power, and overcomes the potential gap between decision-makers and target groups. We also see that such perspective improves the well-being of communities, guaranteeing the involvement of the target groups particularly those at risk of marginalisation. (Faridi et al. 2007).

Milstein and Wetterhall (1999) defined a community-based and participatory framework for programme evaluation in public health.

Their proposed framework is composed of six interdependent steps: 1. Engage stakeholders: Stakeholders must be involved in the assessment process in order to ensure that their perspectives have been considered and to avoid the risk of ignoring important elements regarding the programme or the project. 2. Describe the programme: A detailed and shared description of the project is necessary to define goals and strategies and to develop actions that effect changes. 3. Focus the evaluation design: The evaluation process must be based on a clear and selective method drawn from scientific literature. Currently, the use of mixed methods is suggested which will be explained in the discussion of the community impact model. 4. Gather credible evidence: Define and clarify the method for collecting and analysing data. This is important in order to guarantee the validity and credibility of the data and results. Milestein and Wetterhall (1999) suggest using multiple procedures for gathering, analysing, and interpreting data, considering that all types of data have limitations. 5. Justify conclusions: Evaluation conclusions are linked to both the evidence resulting from data, and the values and standards set by the stakeholders. 6. Ensure

use and share lessons learned: The evaluation process needs to increase awareness and support a decision-making process based on the evaluation results.

This framework highlights the importance of involving all the people interested in the problem, but it does not specify the potential obstacles. Less influential people, or groups with different cultural backgrounds, could be mistrustful. In order to recognise and address their real needs (versus their needs as defined by professionals), the expert must support mutual trust, emphasising and embracing their knowledge, skills, resources, and needs.

Using a participatory method in the evaluation process allows to consider the perspective of beneficiaries in the identification of needs, more correctly determining the aims and actions of the project. Designing an action plan and defining objectives with those who are directly affected by the problem ensures the appropriate issues are addressed, while using effective tools and realising desirable outcomes.

The participatory method pays great attention to the involvement of those who usually have no voice on policies and programmes. In this way, the empowerment of beneficiaries is increased, and critical thinking, civic engagement, problem-solving capabilities, and cooperation networking are encouraged. Taking into account the perspectives of the different people involved requires more time, responsibility, and diligence than in the case of external evaluation. To create trust and cooperation, it is essential to have time to connect.

Cousins and Whitmore (1998) distinguish between two main participatory evaluations: practical participatory evaluation and transformative participatory evaluation.

The first approach points out the active role of all stakeholders. The second approach outlines the transformative role of evaluating through support systems and community change.

The authors propose also an assessment tool in order to differentiate the levels of participation in the evaluating process. The tool considers three domains: researcher control, stakeholder participation, and depth of participation. The scale runs from low participation, which is characterised by researchers that manage the work, to high participation, which is defined by practitioner control. It also measures low participation of stakeholder restricted groups and high participation of inclusive groups formed by all social actors interested in the project. The third scale of very low participation is defined by a mere consultation measure to high level participation characterised by an active role in the project.

Jackson and Kassam (1998) state that participatory evaluation is a process of self-assessment, which then creates collective knowledge resulting in cooperative action.

All beneficiaries are involved in the identification of evaluation issues. They also decide the design of the evaluation and the collection and analysis of the data. In conclusion, they resolve on any future action necessary based on the evaluation findings.

The importance of an evaluation based on participatory methods results from its capability to measure the change within a system or a community. This method allows an understanding of the perspectives of all the social actors to capture and encourage changes.

A participatory approach is more responsive to community needs, capturing the different culturally relevant perspectives. Nevertheless, it is criticised because of the lack of impartiality and objectivity (Chouinard 2013).

Referring to an epistemological point of view, participatory and collaborative evaluation has a background in a qualitative and constructivist methodology. It differs from a quantitative method in the role of the evaluator, the use of a circular causal connection, and the method of data collecting.

To summarise the principal characteristics of these approaches, they include the engagement of participants, the focus on giving voice to people especially those who are powerless, and the selection of methods based on exigencies of the target group.

Because of the uniqueness of the evaluation programme, appropriate training is necessary. The evaluator needs specific competencies to support the community in addressing the problem by building an effective partnership and implementing the use of the results in an ethical manner. With attention to quality of reports, effective language and communication is also necessary in order to realise functional dissemination.

9.2 Impact Evaluation

Khandker and colleagues (2009) highlight that impact evaluation can be distinguished from other approaches to evaluation. "Impact evaluation provides a framework sufficient to understand whether the beneficiaries are truly benefiting from the programme—and not from other factors." (p. 4).

Adopting one approach as opposed to another depends on the needs of a community or a programme or on the interests and motivation of policy makers.

Community impact (Meringolo et al. 2019) is a new and specific evaluation programme aimed at understanding and promoting change within human systems. It differs from other impact assessment approaches because of the relevance of the involvement of participants and the use of qualitative methods in order to capture the perspectives and the narratives of all involved actors. It shares with other methods, such as collective impact, the commitment of a group of different actors, and the attention to continuous communication. Community impact (CI) promotes the building of a common vision of the desired change. It facilitates a common definition of the problem and the design of actions based on clear indicators. Social actors coordinate a set of differentiated activities within a common plan of action and use effective communication necessary to build trust and engagement. The final characteristic of this evaluation approach is the presence of an independent staff that supports the process by, for example, building public will, advancing policy, and mobilising resources.

The community impact evaluation identifies six specific actions (Fig. 9.1) that are phases of an iterative process. In each step, the community and stakeholders are directly involved in the process.

Local Community and Stakeholders	Forming accountable groups and leadership
	Transferring knowledge and creating innovation
	Transforming "bad data" into useful data for evaluation
	"Telling a stronger story": creating a more effective narrative
	Providing added value to the interventions
	Increasing the partnerships and coalitions

Fig. 9.1 Phases of community impact (*Source* Meringolo et al. 2019, pp. 98–99)

Forming accountable groups and leadership

In this phase, tools to improve awareness of intra-group relationships are provided, and strategies for sustainable changes are developed. CI evaluation allows groups to understand their dynamic and activate their own resources. This process is simultaneously an evaluation and a powerful form of training. The CI model defines a procedure including questions, expected outcomes, and tools that increase awareness and knowledge. Examples of question are: How does the project fit with other interventions already realised? How does your organisation intend to use the evaluation results? What are the goals that your organisation intends to achieve?

Transferring knowledge and creating innovation

Working in groups, using a participatory methodology, increases awareness and knowledge of community issues, resources, and outcomes. Participants will acquire competencies and skills developed through experience.

Transforming "bad data" into useful data for evaluation

Programmes and projects usually collect massive amounts of data, but more attention in selecting the more relevant is usually needed. Community impact provides a way to give more importance to gathered information that may appear less relevant. This means intercepting useful data and transforming incoherent or weak information into applicable evidence for the objective of the project.

"Telling a stronger story": creating a more effective narrative

Rappaport (2000) states that narratives are important to tell members relevant things about themselves. CI contributes to the development of a more effective narrative, designing reports focused on the presentation of the system of values of the partnership. Particular attention is paid to "intangible results" such as goals that are achieved, changes that have occurred, positive climates, and trusting relationships.

Providing added value to the interventions

Tailor-made tools and specific strategies are developed to draw out strong points and identify resources and positive outcomes achieved. The follow-up is the crucial phase in which the outcomes achieved and what should be considered in the future are

Table 9.1 Define data collection

Questions	Outcomes
What are the main data required?	Individuation of good/useful data
How do you select data to be collected?	Awareness of the process of data selection
How do you collect data?	Awareness of the process of data collection
What are the perspectives of professionals and target groups regarding the main issues?	Individuation of second-level data
What are the perspectives of other stakeholders?	Identification of indirect effects

(*Source* Meringolo et al. 2019, p. 100)

discussed. Reframing results and actions implemented allows participants to create knowledge and enhance their competencies.

Increasing the partnerships and coalitions

In this phase, the partnership is supported in sharing information, resources, and risks (Albanesi 2012; Himmelman 2002) Discussing results and outcomes develops the capability of the partnership to work as a whole. Experts can provide operational tools useful for stimulating the analysis.

The tools and questions proposed for transforming bad data into good data, strengthening the partnership, and developing a more effective narrative have been used for the impact evaluation of the CLES (creativity, language, education, sociality) project. CLES is a local project, hosted in a residential community in Florence, to promote the well-being and health of minors at risk through cultural, educational, and social opportunities.

Meetings with stakeholders were conducted using the following guide useful to define data collection tools (Table 9.1).

Two observational tools were developed to identify relevant information related to the main aims of the project.

The first tool was aimed at detecting youth behaviours consistent with the aims of the activities, and the second tool was aimed at observing and revealing the dynamics within the team of professionals. The methods were dynamic, flexible, and adaptable to the changes occurring during the project.

An example of an observational tool used during the project is presented in Table 9.2, referred to the youth participation in circus art and drama activities. It uses a four-point Likert scale to induce users to polarise their opinion. Avoiding a safe, intermediate option was crucial to supporting discussion within the group.

Evaluation increases the effectiveness of the project making partnerships robust and acting as a backbone that sustains the coalition.

Himmelman (2016) distinguishes four shared elements that are helpful for effective collaboration: shared risk, shared responsibility, shared resources, and shared rewards.

A mutual understanding of risk that partners are willing or not willing to take is necessary to create a minimum level of trust to develop a collaborative process. A non-homogeneous sharing of responsibility can occur resulting in some partners

Table 9.2 Observational tool

How do you personally evaluate the presence of the following behaviours in the participants at circus art and drama workshops?				
1. Well-being and social skills	*Never*	*rarely*	*A moderate amount*	*A great deal*
They are relaxed				
Smile				
Talk to each other				
Are interested in relationships				
2. Openness and participation	*Never*	*rarely*	*A moderate amount*	*A great deal*
They are interested in new activities				
Listen actively to new proposals				
Ask questions about activities				
Experiment with new activities				
Participate actively at CLES workshops				
Attend other workshops				
3. Emotional competence	*Never*	*rarely*	*A moderate amount*	*A great deal*
They express emotions				
Recognise emotions				
Reflect on emotions				

taking too much responsibility and increasing, consequently, their power in decision-making.

A clear formulation of responsibilities approved by all the partners allows a more equitable distribution of responsibilities. Documenting decisions with a shared approach allows participants to get to know what actions each partner is taking and what strategies each partner is employing.

Shared resources imply a sufficient level of trust, which is facilitated by previous experiences of cooperation.

Sharing rewards develops a culture based on "not a zero-sum game". Working collaboratively includes, for example, various kinds of recognition that can enhance the reputation and credibility of partners.

In order to promote active participation, cooperation, and effective partnership, several tools are available. In the section below, some of these are presented, giving different examples of application and intervention.

9.3   The Community Empowerment Scale

The Community Empowerment Scale (Laverack 2005; Labonté and Laverack 2008) is based on nine community domains described by Laverack (2005).

This instrument explores nine spheres of community capacity. The Women's Crisis Centre in Fiji, a programme for empowering the victims of domestic violence, engaged participants in the nine areas. The participants were asked to express their opinions regarding the nine domains, in order for the researcher to assess how the project evolved (Laverack 2005).

The specific areas were identified as follows (Table 9.3).

Impact evaluation model and the Community Empowerment Scale allowed participants to strengthen the partnership, create a more effective narrative, improve participation, and promote critical awareness. The participative evaluation of professionals' training supported the local partnerships in implementing good practices.

Table 9.3   Community domains

(1) *Improves participation*: The Women's Crisis Centre supported the participation of victims in mutual support groups. People affected by health problems related to the trauma of domestic violence were given the support for both with similar experiences and professionals
(2) *Develops local leadership*: The programme used local women volunteers with specific skills. As a consequence of the training and support received, the volunteers assumed the role of leaders
(3) *Improves problem assessments*: In order to plan activities and activate the necessary resources, it was important to identify the short-term difficulties and prioritise the needs
(4) *Improves ability to "ask why" (critical awareness)*: Group discussion was useful to increase critical awareness of the necessity of a change in the legislation to counteract domestic violence
(5) *Empowers organisational structures*: The mutual support groups helped strengthen the centre's activities, enhancing the existing organisation
(6) *Improves resource mobilisation*: Even though the programme started with limited resources, people working at and frequenting the centre were able to work together in order to obtain external funding
(7) *Strengthens links to other organisations and people*: The centre invested in useful equipment (PC, internet …) to establish contacts with other groups
(8) *Creates an equitable relationship with outside agents*: The practitioner helped the centre to raise resources, develop participants' skills, and build relationships with local policy makers
(9) *Increases control over programme management*: Control of the programme at the centre was gradually assumed by the volunteer women, including management, decision-making, administration, and fund-raising. The role of the professionals was important to support the team

Source (Adapted from Laverack 2005)

The following key questions, based on the Lavarack's scale, were used to promote a critical discussion within the group and its empowerment.

1. Why do the dimensions have to be improved?
2. How is it possible to improve the dimensions?
3. What is the practical description of the strategy?
4. What are the needed resources?

By means of participatory methods, training and evaluation provided support to local partnerships and institutions in facing societal crises and violence, providing more effective interventions.

9.4   SWOT Analysis

The acronym SWOT stands for strength, weakness, opportunity, threat. It is a tool that guides groups and people to identify an organisation's strengths and weaknesses, as well as determine opportunities and threats. Through group meetings, facilitated by an expert, awareness of a situation is increased, which contributes to an enhanced decision-making process and defining a strategic plan.

The SWOT method, even though developed for business and industrial purposes, can be effectively used in community health programmes, in the education system, and even for personal growth. The tool can be applied for several and different purposes, such as exploring new possibilities and identifying opportunities and priorities.

This tool supports the development of effective communication and organised information, guiding stakeholders in identifying resources. They can be human resources (volunteers, beneficiaries…); activities (actions implemented) and experiences (past projects completed, past collaborations).

Paying attention to weaknesses as well as strengths allows the creation of a more realistic picture of the situation and the identification of elements of the system that need to be improved.

External factors can always interact with a programme of an organisation. They can create more difficulties because they can be perceived as less controllable by the group. For this reason, the group must acquire competencies to manage these events. The first step to control (even if only in part) an event is to recognise and analyse it clearly. Some of the more common external events are the local and national economy, the physical environment, and laws and regulations at local, national, and international levels.

According to participative evaluation, it is recommended that the SWOT analysis process involves different stakeholders. Each person offers a different perspective and can contribute his/her experience and knowledge. In other words, a plurality of perspectives is the main resource for the development of the project.

SWOT is realised by specific steps that, in our experience, can be easily adapted to the circumstances and targets. Its effectiveness is related to the capability to consider changes in a situation and update the analysis.

Turankar and colleagues (2014) give an example of SWOT analysis use within a healthcare system.

> Infrastructure and resources are an integral part of the healthcare system, and their maintenance is as important as their initiation. SWOT analysis has been tried by various healthcare societies and organisations, and for the development of a hospital or any department, as it provides the exact details and necessary steps to be taken to achieve the goals. To enumerate a few more, bacterial resistance monitoring, applicability of new intervention, and sanitation campaign are the instances where SWOT matrix has provided definite directions for improvement. (Turankar et al. 2014, p. 41)

Inspired by community-based action research, the process consists of six main characteristics: the presence of a group facilitator that leads the process; recording the analysis and discussion points; dividing stakeholders into smaller groups (from three to ten); preparing a format to support the analysis (a chart, matrix, or page for each quality); giving clear indications and a time frame; giving time for discussion of the results. It is crucial that groups have the time to create a consensus about the most relevant aspects and define an action plan based on the results. This allows groups to counter weaknesses and threats and enhance strengths and opportunities. The action plans are based on small and achievable goals, enhancing the possibility of change of a system. The implemented actions are subsequently monitored and evaluated.

Combining SWOT analysis with evaluation tools guarantees the monitoring of actions implemented.

An application of SWOT analysis is given by Dyson (2004) related to the preparation of the annual planning round by the University of Warwick. Its mission was first discussed in order to set the context for the SWOT analysis, identifying characteristics such as internationally competitiveness, experience in education, and level of research led.

A selected group addressed opportunities and then threats, strengths and weaknesses. Each issue was discussed in smaller groups of two or three people. This discussion identified a cluster of factors and specifically generated 16 opportunities, 22 threats, 22 strengths, and 21 weaknesses. Items were evaluated by a questionnaire on a scale of 1–5.

Some of the most relevant factors are presented below:

Opportunities consisted in demanding for continuing professional development, entrepreneurial climate, strategic alliances, and fund-raising prospects.

Threats comprised of declining government funding, competition, decline in media profile, career prospect in higher education, targeted government funding.

Strengths were related to income generating capacity, student quality, staff morale, and loyalty.

Weaknesses consisted in few endowments, lack of external clout, strains of expansion, complacency.

9.5 The *World Café* Technique

The participatory technique named *World Café* was developed in 2005 (Brown and Isaacs 2005) with the aim of combining the informality of the discussion to be achieved (inspired, in its first form, by the atmosphere of a bar or pub and represented by the term "Café") and the importance of the topics dealt with, which may be potentially infinite ("World"). It is based on the idea that active participation in a discussion or debate is maximised by an informal setting. The setting is the safe space allowing people the opportunity of free speech.

World Café method is designed to involve participants in several rounds of small-group conversations by connecting people and sharing ideas. These conversations will produce a collective knowledge about a topic through the expression of different points of view. It has been used successfully as a participatory evaluation method both in organisational and educational contexts (Aldred 2009; Partridge 2015; Vacik et al. 2014; World Café Community Foundation 2019) to assess quality of changes produced with an intervention by means of a process including inquiry and action (Winter and Munn-Giddings 2001).

The World Café method is essentially an "interaction technique" for work groups, a system of rules that allows participants to interact effectively and achieve their goals in a reasonably short time. Most World Cafés last no longer than 3–4 h. It facilitates the involvement of a large number of people to promote critical thinking and reach a common understanding. The last phase of the Café, often called the "harvest", is focused on individual reflection. Individuals are invited to share opinions and outcomes of small-group conversations with the larger group.

From our perspective, this technique, like all the other tools associated with community-based evaluation, needs fixed characteristics (time, setting, and equipment) and variable aspects (the number of discussion tables, the role of a facilitator, the results). The technique emphasises the importance of an environment that creates a safe and welcoming space. When people are comfortable, they become more creative, supportive, and curious.

The World Café can be used with a training purpose, and both professionals and volunteers can experiment with it in order to familiarise themselves with a method that can be modified to meet a wide variety of needs. In the projects aimed at supporting the capacity building of volunteer organisations, the World Café technique can be used to promote skills in working with youngsters and increase their engagement, involving them in designing the action plan.

9.6 Creating a New Vision and Planning Strategic Actions

In this section, we will present some models designed to promote change within communities. The type of change to which we refer was defined and described by the Palo Alto group at the Mental Research Institute (Watzlawick et al. 2011). The

group distinguished two logical orders of change: first order change and second order change. First order change refers to a change obtained by an incremental improvement in the existing modes of practice, for example, a programme for health promotion based on giving more information about services, disease, and healthy habits. In contrast, second order change modifies the structure of the system. Second order change is transformative and involves new ways of doing things, changing values and goals. For example, create a "school on the green" means developing a new learning environment to provide quality emotional, academic, and physical experiences for children.

When the solution requires a modification of the system, or of some fundamental premises, a second order change allows for the creation of more comprehensive and long-term change, shifting the status quo. When the problem is related to an episodic difficulty, a first order change turns out to be more appropriate. It is important that researchers assess the situation correctly in order to select the appropriate level of change.

VMOSA (vision, mission, objectives, strategies, and action plans) is a practical planning process used to help community groups to define a vision and develop practical ways to enact change. VMOSA helps organisations to set and achieve short-term goals while keeping long-term goals in sight. This process supports developing a clear mission and building consensus. The community maintains ownership of the vision and mission, focusing on the realisation of short-term goals related to the long-term vision. The method is particularly useful when a new organisation or project starts, when the group is moving into a new phase, and when an older initiative must be invigorated (Community Tool Box 2019).

The long-term vision has to communicate the fundamental and ideal beliefs of the organisation, of the group, or of the community. It should be communicated in a narrative way and using visual images in order to be more effective and shared by members of the community.

Defining a clear and shared mission means describing *what* the organisation is going to do and *why* it is going to do that. Vision is related to mission, which represents the operative action of the vision. The mission suggests *how* the organisation might reach its objectives.

According to the vision and to the mission, specific objectives must be defined. Objectives could be behavioural changes, community-level outcomes, and/or process objectives. The first cluster of objectives looks at changing the behaviours of people and the results of their behaviours. For example, a health service might have the aim of countering risky behaviours among young people or violence (the behaviour) or increasing cultural efforts (the result). Community-level outcomes are less focused on individual change. As in the PROVA project experience, the development of public spaces could be an example (PROVA 2016–2018).

Process objectives refer to the implementation of activities necessary to achieve other objectives. For example, the project could promote an educational programme implemented by educators and teachers.

Creative problem-solving is a useful tool to define and develop strategies. Strategic problem-solving (Nardone 2009) has been used to define a strategic plan for some of the most important non-profit organisations at the regional level.

This problem-solving model uses out of ordinary logic (including paradox and self-fulfilling prophecy), in order to interrupt the vicious circle between problem and attempted solution and create a new virtuous circle. The "attempted solutions", as defined by Watzlawick et al. (2011), are the repeated attempts to solve a problem that actually keeps the problem going or makes it worse.

A rigorous method for finding solutions, according to the scientific method defined by Popper (1972), can be considered the foundation of a strategic problem-solving approach. This approach can be considered a technology rather than a science because it focuses on finding solutions instead of explaining phenomena.

The strategic problem-solving model defines several crucial steps in a sequential way, starting from the definition of the problem, the agreement on the goal and the attempted solutions analysis. Using a systemic point of view, it is possible to consider the problematic situation as an interaction between the original difficulty and the efforts to solve it.

The construct of an attempted solution is an important complexity reduction. Whether a problem occurs within or between people, the problem and attempted solution(s) become intertwined in a vicious cycle in which more solutions lead to more of the problem (Fisch et al. 1982).

Attempted solutions provide information for understanding what maintains the problem and suggestions about solutions:

> The Palo Alto group's central observation, in fact, is that problem maintenance revolves precisely around what people currently and persistently do (or do not do) in order to control, prevent, or eliminate a complaint. A "problem," then, consists of a vicious cycle, or positive feedback loop linking a behaviour someone considers undesirable (the complaint) to some other behaviour(s) intended to modify or eliminate it (the attempted solution)—and this process, of course, is fundamentally ironic. (Rohrbaugh and Shoham 2001, p. 4)

In order to define effective strategies for change, this problem-solving model has developed some specific techniques, as "How to worsen" technique, aimed at focusing attention on the mechanism that further aggravates the problem; "Scenario beyond the problem", for imagining the situation once the goal is fully achieved, for observing the characteristics of the "desired reality" and so identifying new elements such as resources, solutions, and opportunities; and finally "Mountain climber technique". The last technique is inspired by the mountain guides that trace the most suitable route to reach a summit starting from the top and building backwards the trajectory of their climb. In a psychological context, this strategy is used in order to clearly identify the final objective and the sub-objectives related to it. The route is traced starting from the end point and going backwards step by step to the starting point, defining the smallest steps to take in order to start the change process.

To summarise, the strategic problem-solving model allows organisations, groups, and communities to define a strategic plan paying attention to details, resources, and resistance to change. This process is particularly significant when we have to intervene with target groups at risk and to handle controversial issues.

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Part III
Further Developments

Chapter 10
Further Examples of Violent Attitudes: The Online Radicalisation

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Andrea Guazzini, Federica Stefanelli, and Enrico Imbimbo

Abstract Psycho-social dynamics affecting online radicalisation represent a field of studies currently attracting the main attention of psychological research. In particular, the role played by the Internet in persuading people to join extremist groups, as well as the usage of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) as information tool, can be considered as the most important factors for this complex scenario. The last chapter of the current work will focus on the phenomenon of radicalisation in virtual contexts, exploring the main social dynamics occurring within and between online groups able to affect users' thoughts, beliefs, and behaviours. Thus, after the presentation of the most up to date online radicalisation models, fundamental social-dynamics, such as the group polarisation and conformism effects, will be analysed, focussing on their manifestation in online radical groups and Web communities. Furthermore, the role that may be played by fundamental online factors, such as the anonymity or the physical isolation, will be taken into account. In particular, it will be analysed how radicalised people may exploit the features of the online environments to be more effective in persuading people to adhere with the radical norms.

Keywords Virtual environments · Online radicalisation · Group polarisation · Information communication technology · Online behaviours

The study of group phenomena has been the aim of many scientific research domains, and particular attention has been placed on the processes that determine the antinormative collective behaviours. In more recent years, a group process that attracted the interest of the scholars, as well as by policy makers, is the radicalisation, especially after the spread of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), which led

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to a particular manifestation of the phenomenon. The term radicalisation presents a variety of meanings, and an unequivocal definition is not yet available in the scientific literature (Borum 2011a, b). Veldhuis and Staun, two researchers from the Clingendael Institute, by discussing the absence of a universally accepted definition for the radicalisation process argue.

Definitions of radicalisation most often centre around two different foci: (1) on violent radicalisation, where emphasis is put on the active pursuit or acceptance of the use of violence to attain the stated goal, and (2) on a broader sense of radicalisation, where emphasis is placed on the active pursuit or acceptance of far reaching changes in society, which may or may not constitute a danger to democracy and may or may not involve the threat of or use of violence to attain the stated goals (Veldhuis and Staun 2009, p. 4).

Reading the definition of radicalisation provided by Veldhuis and Staun, appears that there exists an essential difference between the violent manifestation of the phenomenon and the non-violent one. Despite that, the authors suggested that the process underlying the two types of radicalisation is the same. Then, the interesting question is what makes some radicals turn to violent methods and others to non-violent methods to achieve their goals? Alimi et al. (2012) proposed a definition of the phenomenon that emphasises how it can—or not—outcome in violent actions. According to the authors, the radicalisation is the development of extreme ideologies that lead to collective adoption of selfish behaviours, including the merely aggressive ones, implemented by a specific group of people against an outgroup. Thus, not all the people that develop extremist beliefs engage themselves in radical and violent behaviours (Borum 2011a, b). Indeed, the phenomenon under consideration is a process that can stop at every stage, without necessarily resulting in the implementation of violent actions that, actually, is the last stage in most of the proposed models' of radicalisation, such as the Staircase to Terrorism proposed by Moghaddam (2005), or the Precht's model of a "Typical" Radicalization Pattern (2007). In this regard, the U.K.'s Home Office, in its CONTEST counterterrorism strategy, reported a definition of radicalisation that underlined precisely this aspect of the phenomenon. According to the U.K.'s Home Office definition, the radicalisation is "the process by which people come to support terrorism and violent extremism and, in some cases, then to join terrorist groups" (U.K.'s Home Office 2011, p. 36). The research repeatedly tried to identify the factors involved in determining the outcomes of the such process, by focusing mainly on what brings some specific individuals to engage in violent actions and others to block themselves before to implement such radical behaviours, but this challenging goal remains still unreached (Crossett and Spitaletta 2010; Torok 2013). To improve the discussion about the way to model the radicalisation dynamics at the time of the Web, below in this chapter, some processes that lead people to accept radical beliefs and violent behaviours will be deeply analysed with reference, in particular, to the role that online environments have in promoting the spread of radical principles and, as a consequence, in favouring the engage of some people in extreme actions.

A more in-depth definition of radicalisation is the one proposed by Crossett and Spitaletta (2010). The two authors, in their recent volume about the phenomenon at

issue, focus the reader's attention on the fact that the radicalisation is not just a cognitive process that leads people to change their beliefs, but is something more, appearing as a comprehensive transformation that concerns both the feelings, thoughts, and behaviours of a person or a group of people. Furthermore, Crossett and Spitaletta made as explicit some of the factors that are involved in the process of subjective attitudes transformation towards a radical dogma. Specifically, the authors wrote.

Radicalisation is the process by which an individual, group, or mass of people undergo a transformation from participating in the political process via legal means to the use or support of violence for political purposes (radicalism). Although the decision to move from one side of legality to another may seem a simple cognitive choice, the impact of psychological factors, social networks, information availability, and the physical environmental have all been seen to impinge upon that decision (p. 10).

This definition of radicalisation is noteworthy because it includes the environment among the factors affecting such process, with specific reference to the role that the individual's involvement in social networks could have—or not—in determining the radicalisation outcome. Although the authors have not specified which types of social networks they referred to, if only to the offline ones or even to the online ones, it is currently clear how radicalised groups can harness the power of the Internet to recruit new foreign members and reinforce their armies (Bayerl et al. 2014; Torok 2013).

Wilner and Dubouloz (2010) considered radicalisation from a social point of view. In particular, the authors looked at the process as a locally transformative learning that occurs in specific communities or groups of insurgents. This way to consider radicalisation is interesting because it resumes one of the two fundamental assumptions of the approach adopted by the Yale University scholars in the study of persuasive communication. According to Yale researchers, indeed, when a person changes his attitude, he does a learning experience. The named learning can take place, for example, thanks to the exposure of the individual to persuasive communication (Hovland et al. 1953; Perse and Lambe 2016). Today, the Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) are more and more exploited by rebel groups to spread persuasive messages aimed at persuading people (i.e. modify the internalised norms and social schemes), even the ones very far from the conflict zones (Torok 2013).

In this regard, for example, it is remarkable that Al-Qaeda seems to have recruited among its ranks a very large number of university graduates in computer science and information technology. A study proposed by the University of Oxford on Islamic radicals indicates that computer engineers are over-represented among members of militant jihadist groups (Gambetta and Hertog 2017).

Analysing and summarising all the definitions of the phenomenon so far presented it seems possible to conclude that radicalisation is a process that leads people to acquire new beliefs and change their attitudes, and, consequently, to adopt very different behaviours from those they had before. The radicalisation is a dynamical process since the cognitive and behavioural changes it produces can be considered

as the result of persuasive forces that often act beyond the people's awareness, especially during social interactions (Coleschi et al. 2019). The radicalisation process, generally, regards the development of extreme ideologies and the adoption of absolute normative-based modalities (Alimi et al. 2012). Even though this way to consider the phenomenon at issue is interesting, Borum (2011a, b) underlined how to consider the radicalisation a process only driven by the development of radical beliefs would be a reduction of the process that leads people to commit violent behaviour and terrorism. In other words, to define radicalisation as the proxy, or at least a necessary precursor for terrorism, is not correct. Indeed, from one hand, a lot of people who hold radical ideas do not engage in terrorism, from the other, many terrorists, including those who lay claim to a "cause", are not very ideological and maybe they are not radicalised in the traditional sense. With the words of the author: Regarding the radicalisation process, "different pathways and mechanisms operate in different ways for different people at different points in time and perhaps in different contexts" (Borum 2011a, b, p. 8). Thus, radicalisation appears as a complex dynamics that springs from the interaction among several variables, giving rise to different variations of the same phenomena.

10.1   Online Radicalisation: The Problem of Definition

One of the most impacting factors considered by psycho-social research in the current study of radicalisation phenomenon is the role played by the Internet in spreading radical contents and in persuading some of the people came from all over the world to join the extremist groups. With the ICT revolution and with the spread of smart tools, people are more connected and more exposed to the effect of the extremists' propaganda. It is then born, in this way, another type of radicalisation, labelled as online radicalisation, which refers to the process by which people consider the violence as a right method to solve social and political conflicts, by means of online interactions, and by the introduction of different contents and spaces on the Web platforms (Bermingham et al. 2009).

In more details, it is well known how political extremists use the Internet for a lot of reasons, many of which are attributable to the need to reach a large number of people not yet involved in radicalisation to persuade them to support their causes (Farwell 2014). On the other hand, the sympathisers can find in the Web the perfect medium to access more content in line with their new thinking and, thus, radicalise themselves more thanks to the usage of online tools and platforms (Torok 2013). It may be useful, therefore, to look at the principal ways in which the Internet has revolutionised the world of communication. It has made the exchange and dissemination of information virtually free; it has permitted unlimited access to much of the world's knowledge; it has made it easier to meet people and build networks; it has lowered the threshold for engaging in risky behaviour because it allows concealing users' identities (Stevens and Neumann 2013). Nevertheless, more important is the opportunity offered by the ICT regarding the two-way interaction through forums, chat rooms, email, and texts

that may occur both in synchronous and asynchronous modality. Specifically, people can be easily, efficiently, directly, and on-demand connected with a wide variety of audiences, and, in turn, those audiences can become active participants in an ongoing interaction with them. Having regard to the power of the Web, it is not surprising that the political extremists and the insurgents' organisations have held to exploit this opportunity to spread their ideologies.

Thus, with the spread of ICT, the online radicalisation attracted the interest of several researchers because of the aggressive events are more and more frequently shared on online platforms or applications. In this regard, it is appealing to note the massive increases in the number of published scientific papers about online radicalisation. In 2000, the works in this field were almost zero. Today, writing the two terms "online" and "radicalisation" on Google Scholar, it is possible to find nearly 1000 publications about that topic. The interest of the researchers has been attracted in particular by the usage that the self-organised groups of insurgents make of the Web tools. For example, is without precedents the hardness they use in the online shared content that they handle to intimidate a particular audience or, sometimes, multiple audiences, identified as responsible for the injustice they are living (Farwell 2014; Klausen 2015).

Thus, through the strategic use of the Web, the radicalised groups can persuade people to join their cause. Indeed, a particular migration is occurring in our world: The conflicts in Syria, Iraq, Libya, and other countries have attracted thousands of foreign fighters, who travelled to those areas of conflict to join the ranks of the so-called Islamic State (IS) and other armed groups. A causal question inevitably follows events such as the one just exposed (Crenshaw 1981). How important is the role of the Internet in this process? In the past, it has often been argued that deviant psychological features mainly characterised people taking part in insurgents' movements and sometimes affected by psychopathologies (Kruglanski and Fishman 2009). However, nowadays, it is known that often the presence of deviant psychological traits and mental disorders are not sufficient to develop violent radicalisation. Every person under certain conditions—although at different levels—can get to act behaviours that never would have thought, mainly when such conduct occurs in a group context (Spears et al. 1990). Cases where individuals act alone rather than as a part of a group, namely individual radicalisation instances, appear quite rare since most of the radicalised people reported affiliation with large movements (McCauley and Moskalenko 2008). Thus, one of the most critical challenges is to identify and study the factors that determine the people sensitivity to the online radicalisation process, as well as it appears crucial to understand why some people may be more vulnerable compared to others to online propaganda, and what society can do to stem this influence. Finally distinguishing between radicalised individuals, who may pose an actual/acute threat, from mere sympathisers (Bayerl et al. 2014). Of course, also the transition from sympathiser to the active terrorist is a step that can be boosted by virtual environments (Moskalenko and McCauley 2009).

Bayerl and colleagues (2014) proposed a definition of online radicalisation that included three main criteria as factors to hold into consideration in identifying

the online radicalised individuals: the single behavioural indicators, the combinations of behavioural indicators, and the intensity of one or more behaviours. With "behavioural indicators", the authors referred to the concrete behaviours implemented by a person, which indicate if she or he is already involved in the radicalisation process. Regarding the single behavioural indicators, some of them evidently can indicate radicalisation by themselves, such as online behaviours that cross the legal threshold. In other words, if an individual has online committed criminal acts of inciting violence, encouraged terrorist activity, or is directly involved in the commission, preparation, or instigation of terrorist acts, of course, radicalisation process has occurred about him.

On the other hand, some single behavioural indicators are not unambiguous enough to surely indicate online radicalisation. For instance, reading radical blogs could be an indicator of online radicalisation, but also, it can be due to different motivations, as studying the topic for the school homework. In these cases, it is possible to consider the combination of individual unusual behaviours to judge if a radicalisation process is taking or has taken place. In addition to the types of behaviours, their intensity, namely how often and how rapidly they occur, can provide important indications for the degree of individual online radicalisation (Bayerl et al. 2014).

10.2 The Persuasive Strategies Set up to Promote the Online Radicalisation

The violent actions we today identify as terrorism existed long before the Internet; however, the spread of the latter changed the manifestation of this phenomenon. The radicalised groups have exploited the potential of the Internet for its capacity to expand their reach and influence (Macdonald and Mair 2015). If we look at terrorism as a form of communicative violence, we can understand the central role played by the online propaganda to attract the attention of a wide court of possible supporters, and recent studies identified thousands of jihadi Websites operating nowadays (Denning 2010).

From a psychological point of view, the Internet does not represent just a tool for extremists' propaganda, organisation, or recruitment, but it is actually a place where identities can be changed by the exposure to the virtual community, beyond the subjects' awareness (Aly et al. 2017).

US Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs report on violent Islamist extremism and its usage of Internet suggested that the Al-Qaeda online propaganda affected the audience in various ways across the different stages of the radicalisation process (Lieberman and Collins 2008). During the first phase of the radicalisation, namely self-identification stage, a person may be interested in collecting more information about the ideologies drivers of insurgents' movements. Thus, this person might decide to search more information on the Websites directly managed by the insurgents, and this could lead him to the group's enlistment

pages that are filled with articles and brief post about radicalised religious beliefs and fundamental ideologies. The research of more information usually brings the sympathisers to interact with sites and Web platforms directly managed by the insurgents. Becoming a member of an insurgents' online, social network constitutes a risk for the single since it exposes him to some in-group effects that can strengthen his radical beliefs. Some of these effects may be the majority influence, normative influence, incurrence of the majority opinion, risky shift, obedience and conformism (Kumar and Mandal 2012).

The following stage is the one of indoctrination, and occurs when, after accepting the extremists' core ideologies, the individual tries to participate and promote the objectives of the radicalised organisation. In the subsequent stage, the one of jihadisation, thanks to the Internet, the newly recruited can interact with the other members of the jihadist groups to plan and carry out his personal terrorist attack (Aly et al. 2017).

It is possible to suppose that the movement towards what is labelled as Al-Qaeda 2.0 (Post 2007) not really depend on the Internet for the recruitment of the new fighters (White 2012). Indeed, as discussed above, the tendencies to seek insurgents' Websites are natural and spring from the individual need to look for new knowledge about the jihadists' dogma. For this reason, the online radicalisation appears to start from a self-persuasion stage (Aly et al. 2017). This agrees with the argumentation carried out by the scholar Marc Sageman, who argues that: "for the type of allegiance that the jihad demands, there is no evidence that the Internet is persuasive enough by itself" (Sageman 2004, p. 163). According to Stevens and Neumann (2013), indeed, since the radicalisation is strongly anchored to the real world, if all the attention is focused on the proportion of the radicalisation events that occur online, it is unlikely that the phenomenon would be well understood.

Thus, the Al-Qaeda online recruitment followed a bottom-up strategy in which the sympathisers, who were predisposed to be influenced by the insurgents' propaganda, might indoctrinate themselves by repeatedly exposing to extremist sites and contents (Aly et al. 2017). It is believed that Islamic State (IS) operated one of the most sophisticated social media campaigns. It was well organised and visible for most people thanks to the exploit of popular social networks such as Twitter, Tumblr, YouTube, and Facebook. The social media campaigns implemented by the IS aimed to encourage the foreign to follow their suit (Farwell 2014). Both the propaganda and the extremist narratives shared online to attract the interest of man foreign fighters now have been adapted for the females' audience. Furthermore, a particular dynamic is present online, the so-called filter Bubble Effect, that involuntary facilitates the work of information spreading that the radicalised group carry on for the new recruits. This effect is caused by the algorithms of the online search services, that, to provide every user with a tailored experience, tend to favour the presentation of content coherent at the ones already encountered by the person (Pariser 2011). This kind of phenomenon, increasing the probability that a sympathiser has to find contents shared by the insurgents, and, consequently, mere exposing (Zajonc 2001) the same to the extremist beliefs, increases the probability of new recruits' persuasion according to the radical dogma (Yardi and Boyd 2010).

The strategy used by IS for its social media campaigns appears as very innovative. Seems that IS learned such strategies from the precedent violent terrorist groups that ended up alienating their supporters. However, the IS, improving the old strategies through the use of modern social networks, created a brand new kind of social media campaign that mix narrations of brutal violence and utopian idealism. Moreover, the recruitment strategy used by IS is very different from the Al-Qaeda one, who first attracted fighters and later radicalised them. The IS, indeed, focused its campaigns on the sympathiser people, namely those already ahead in the ideological radicalisation process or the ones with a personal disposition towards violence.

In the scientific literature, a lot of works about IS recruitment are present (Gates and Podder 2015). For example, recent research has carried out a content analysis of the last ten messages published on Twitter by the jihadists. Most of these posts were made on the same day and thus concerned a narrow time period around mid-March 2014. The posts content was less graphic than the image stream of beheadings and crucifixions that followed the declaration of the IS in June because of they were shared before the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant established a foothold in Iraq. It is interesting to note how most of the posted tweets were about the jihadist dogma, which usually is transmitted in a straightforward way through the usage of meaningful pictures (Klausen 2015). The custom of share strikingly, on the social network, the principles that drive the self-organised groups of insurgents, it is a practice that is effective both to loyalty the supporters and to scare the enemies. Indeed, according to Hovland et al. (1949), the exposure to one-sided argument messages triggers the strengthening of beliefs in people already agree with the topic of persuasive communication.

The Centre for Social Cohesion, a British institute of research, identified three essential functions, based on the Internet, performed by the jihadist Websites, chat room, and social media (Brandon 2007). First of all, they played a crucial role as online libraries where were stored the jihadist e-newspapers, like Al-Qaeda's Inspire, and all the texts were written by the significant characters of the jihadist pantheon, like Abdullah Azzam, founder of Al-Qaeda; secondly, the jihadist Websites offered the opportunity to assist to sermons carry out by outstanding radical presenters of the jihadism like Anwar al-Awlaki easily accessible through the Internet; thirdly, the jihadist Websites usually guested forum for the radical speeches and newsgroup useful to facilitate online interactions. These Websites were exploited to address critical issues, plan and coordinate the activities, and promote different kinds of group dynamics (Rudner 2017).

The jihadist efforts on the Internet may be classified by the measure to which they incite, promote, or implement activities that directly or indirectly facilitate terrorist acts. Jihadist messaging across the Internet can be assessed in ascending order of severity, according to the impact that it has on: the promotion of attitudes that support the terrorist attacks; the spread of technical instructions and operative guidelines for the implementation of terrorist attacks; the advertising of direct involvement in preparatory works that accelerate the terrorist operations; the encouragement of personal engagement in implementing terrorist attacks (Taylor and Ramsay 2010).

According to a recent analysis, it is possible to individuate six major online activities carried out by Al-Qaeda and its affiliated networks: inciting belligerence, jihadist recruitment, militant training, terrorism financing, terror operations, and cyber-warfare (Nuraniyah 2014).

Inciting: The terrorist groups, like the jihadist ones, use the Internet to incite and motivate their activities (Rudner 2013). Their aim may be didactic, namely designed to inform, attract, or indoctrinate the new supporters; disciplinarian, when they use the threats to have obedience; promotional, in trying to attract new foreign fighters; bombastic, when the scope is to scare the local authorities through the use of violence. Furthermore, the terrorist groups exploit the possibilities offered by the Websites to fidelity the loyal and keep high their morale (Hoffman 2006).

Recruitment: The cyber-forums were effectively used for the recruitment of jihadist agents. Before the eleventh September attacks, the formal Al-Qaeda recruitment took place in the training military camps of Afghanistan. Following the removal of Al-Qaeda's groups from the territory of Afghanistan, their recruitment took a more structured, interactive, and distributed shape (Rudner 2017).

Training: The teaching of Al-Qaeda aims to prepare the recruits to be right activists and agents (Lia 2008). The spectrum of the competence required by Al-Qaeda to its fighters is very wide, from flying aircraft to computer technology, to biological and chemical sciences, to finance; from the making of explosives to sabotage and assassination. The jihadist Websites provide operative learnings and specific instruction to build weapons and explosives. For example, the online newspaper of Al-Qaeda, *Inspire*, opened summer 2010 with the instructions on "How to Make a Bomb in the Kitchen of your Mom" (Chef 2010).

Terrorism financing: Both Al-Qaeda and its affiliated network and the terrorist jihadist groups are systematically engaged in fundraising and money-laundering with the aims to finance their complex network system and their other activities (Rudner 2013, 200). These organisations usually gain money thanks to private donations coming from charities, religious institutions or organisations who are sympathisers of jihadism (Levitt 2004).

Terror operations: Al-Qaeda also implemented their Web platforms to use them to tactical move the terrorist attacks on the selected targets (Rudner 2017).

Cyber-terrorism: The cyber-terrorism refers to the use of ICT to scared and threatens an audience recognised as responsible for the politic injustice lived by the insurgents (Brickey 2012).

10.3   Models of Online Radicalisation

While the use of the Internet and social media as terrorists' medium is well documented, the question about how the persuasive strategies, set up by the insurgents' groups, work on the recruits remains still elusive (Torok 2013). Empirical research identified a wide variety of potential factors that could trigger or inhibit the individual's process of radicalisation. There is a general agreement in the scientific

community about the fact that radicalised groups can satisfy some fundamental individual needs: They grant the person with a strong sense of community, answering to the needs to belong and affiliation; they make the supporters feel part of something significant and essential; they provide all their members with a sense of danger and excitement (Silke 2003). For some individuals and, in particular, for the youngest, the above mentioned are factors of great appeal. Indeed, it is well documented that people at risk of radicalisation have in common a widespread and strong sense of injustice (Borum 2011a, b; Moghaddam 2005; Silke 2003). The exact nature of this injustice perception changes according to the motivation behind violent behaviour, but the effects are almost the same (Bayerl et al. 2014). Thus, personal attitudes such as having a strong negative opinion against the foreign policies implemented by governments, for example, regarding the international conflicts, may play an essential role in creating the initial vulnerabilities (Borum 2011a, b; Moghaddam 2005; Silke 2003).

Generally, seeking to find the variables involved in explaining the variance of the radicalisation process, a lot of scholars have proposed their models. In particular, different theoretical frameworks were proposed such as the rational choice theory (Sandler 2003), the strategic choice theory (Goodwin 2006), relational frame theory (Dixon et al. 2003), and the social network theory (Pedahzur and Perliger 2006). Despite no one of those resulted describing adequately the process under scrutiny in all of its manifestations (Crossett and Spitaletta 2010; Hutson et al. 2009), all significantly contributed to the debate about the issue.

In the same way, the idea the extremist insurgents have a specific psychological profile has been dropped, as well as the opinion that precise personality profiles would be to draw to predict who of the sympathisers are going to reach the end of the radicalisation process (Schmid 2011). Recently, also the factors usually accepted as determinants for the violent radicalisation process, such as the economic poverty, poor education, and the relative deprivation, have been questioned by scholars (Krueger and Malečková 2003). Consequently, the consensus about the fact that there are no specific psychological paths for the radicalisation process is increasing. On the other hand, the agreement regarding the idea that the radicalisation is a process thanks to which an individual gradually changes his attitudes as a consequence of his exposure to multiple social, psychological, and ecological dynamics is growing too (Bakker 2006).

Currently, in the specific study of the online radicalisation, different traditional models are adopted. Those models include, among their factors, construct such as psychological warfare, propaganda, indoctrination, and data mining (Von Knop 2007). In this regard, Bayerl and colleagues (2014), trying to identify the causal factors involved in the online radicalisation phenomenon, and using the empirical findings in this topic, developed a comprehensive and theoretical framework. This framework has been labelled by the authors Radicalisation-Factor Model (RFM), and it consists of four linked causal factors.

The first factor is represented by the individual characteristics of people who make them more likely to become radicalised, such as personal weaknesses, particular opinions or specific radical behaviours adopted online. The sense of grave injustice

suffered by the sympathisers documented by the research can be considered one of the personal risk factors more diffused among the new radical recruits (Borum 2011a, b; Moghaddam 2005; Silke 2003).

The second factor in the RFM is represented by the environmental characteristics where the person is inserted and the ideological groups behave. In this perspective, the environments should be analysed as multilevel systems considering all the aspects that contribute to forming it, such as political, economic, social, and technological features.

The third factor considered by the RFM model regards the specific characteristics of the radical ideology. Indeed, violent actions may be driven by different ideas, such as the social, political, or religious ones (Hudson 1999). It appears that the proper identification of the type and the reasons for the violent actions is a crucial element that should be understood to find useful countermeasures against the online manifestation of the radicalisation phenomenon.

Finally, the characteristics of the technologies are the fourth factor componing the model. Modern ICT (hardware and software) differ widely from one another, in particular taking into consideration the online it is possible to distinguish some relevant characteristics such as the speed with which it is possible to manage information or the number of users that can be reached simultaneously. Among these features, of particular interest appears the possibility in the online networks to remain anonymous during the interactions (Sullivan and Bongar 2007). The research has repeatedly demonstrated as anonymity, which is a contextual factor, shall be seen like the trigger variable that prompts the adoption of group-based modalities behaviours, almost independently from the subjective features (Postmes et al. 2002; Reicher et al. 1995).

Concluding, the RFM is a theoretical framework adapted, by Bayerl and colleagues (2014), to study the online radicalisation. Such a framework is very noteworthy because of the emphasis on all the variety of factors that could be involved in the explanation of the variance of the process under scrutiny. Of course, a fitting model able to predict the risk of radicalisation should take into account all the factors mentioned in the theoretical framework so far exposed.

Among other factors, is increasing the attention of psychologists towards the "narrative dynamics" characterising the Web as important aspects of seduction for radicalisation process (Mbakwe et al. 2007; Von Knop 2007). In this regard, and specifically, for what concerns the online manifestation of this phenomenon, Torok (2013) developed a suited and explicative model. Such model considered the Michel Foucault's concepts about the use of persuasive communication and power relationship that occurs in social networks in order to modify and normalise others' beliefs and behaviours (Foucault 2008). Many studies have confirmed the role of violent extremist narratives as a highly important element that can impact on the processes of online radicalisation (Torok 2013).

Torok, in his model, conceptualises the Internet as a kind of institution in which the power frameworks operate to radicalise and recruit both local and foreign fighters (Torok 2013). To set up his model, the author used a qualitative data collection and analysis. Specifically, the researcher used the Grounded Theory model of cyclic

development to generate the hypothesis and to test and refine them (David and Sutton 2011). According to the Torok model, five main features make the Internet a real institution able to favour the beginning of radicalisation process:

Social isolation: Each institution has a degree of social isolation that characterises its social network (Foucault 2008). It is not a type of loneliness but isolation from pervasive outside influence, such as alternative beliefs and ideas or competing rationalities. Indeed, thanks to the use of the Web platforms, the insurgents' group can isolate the recruits from other sources of information or socialisation points. Furthermore, the filter Bubble Effect, increasing the probability that a sympathiser has to find contents similar to the ones just encountered on the Internet, grows the likelihood of visualisation of the posts shared by the insurgents and decreases the probability to visualise alternative contents. It is well documented how the mere exposition to a content gradually increases the degree of agreeability perceived towards the same (Zajonc 2001). Consequently, the filter Bubble Effect, probably unintentionally, facilitates the work of isolation implemented by the insurgents' groups to reach and persuade a wide range of people.

Discipline regularity: An institution is a regulated and disciplined environment. The research shows how the terrorists' use of the Internet, in fact, is extremely disciplined because of the application that the insurgents' groups make of the same (Weimann 2010). Indeed, they use the Web platform to organise terrorist attacks and to recruit and form the new fighters. All these activities, to be effective, must have a certain degree of regulatory and planning. Furthermore, after the individuation and recruitment of sympathisers, the insurgents' group has to obtain their absolute loyalty normalising how they should think and act. Discipline and regularity are essential elements to normalise violent behaviours.

Access to normalising discourses: The research has demonstrated how usually online users actively seek to interact with people who support their opinions and beliefs. Furthermore, is shared notion that people tend to judge the situations according to their previously convictions, expectations, and mental schemes (Yardi and Boyd 2010). The tendency of people to look for evidence coherent with their awareness and, even more, the orientation to prefer the conversation with people who share their view of things, can promote the joining of the Web users in platforms where the problems are discussed only from one point of view. As the study about persuasive communication has demonstrated, to address arguments with people who give information consistent with the ones already stored promotes the enhancing of the attitudes and distances the person to the probability of changing his opinions about the topic of dialogue (Yardi and Boyd 2010). Thus, it is possible to consider online institutions as suited means thanks to which it is possible to enhance and normalise the extremist beliefs and attitudes of some people.

Online environment as a castle: The Internet can be seen as a virtual castle because of the isolated nature of the interactions that usually occur in it. Indeed, the architecture of the Internet, instead of favouring the exposure to different opinions, promotes grouping similar users in the same Web platforms. This favouring the implementation of discussions that usually has one-side argumentation. Chatting with people in agreement with our previous beliefs, on the one hand, contributes to enhance such

opinions, on the other, promotes the group polarisation phenomenon (Yardi and Boyd 2010). According to the literature, group polarisation refers to the group members' tendency to increase the extremity of their position following discussion of a relevant issue (see Baron and Kerr 2003, for review). Group polarisation leads members to hardening their opinion and adopts a more extreme point of view through the interactions within the group. The cause of group polarisation may be found in the process according to which the perceived similarity brings teammates to seek the presence of each other. Over time, this behaviour results in opinions mutual reinforcement (Yardi and Boyd 2010). Therefore, the phenomenon of group polarisation appears of particular interest in the context of recruitment and mobilisation of individuals involved in the radicalisation process.

Access to online "castles" of radicalisation: The Internet provides not only the perfect environments exploitable to constitute castles suited to promote the online radicalisation process but also offers access to other kinds of social networks, more distributed among the population, that can be tapped by the insurgents to get in touch for the first time with a lot of potential recruits (e.g. Twitter, Facebook, YouTube). So, such most populated online social networks are used by the insurgents as the bridge linking the sympathisers to the Web platforms used to spread the radical dogma.

Although the Torok's model provides noteworthy insight for the psychological analysis of the role of the Internet in the study of the radicalisation process, it does not consider some crucial elements, such as the possibility to remain anonymous during the online group interactions and the influence of the group identity salience. Nevertheless, with the scientific demonstration of the deindividuation effects, the research has proven several years ago how the people in a group usually tend to follow the teammates shared norms, also when they do not fit with their mental schemes. The anonymity related to the perceived group identity salience is promotion factors of the deindividuation effects that lead people to adopt the group modalities of behaviours (Reicher et al. 1995). Furthermore, psychological research has well documented how the degree of physical isolation is positively related to the probability of behaving according to the group's norms (Spears 1995). In more details, the Social Identity Model of Deindividuation (SIDE) (Reicher et al. 1995) has produced another key to understanding the behaviour of individuals within the crowd (and in the group), integrating the concept of social identity and self-categorisation into the construct of deindividuation. According to this model, in some circumstances, people automatically realise a categorisation of the self as group' members, and, in doing so, they infer their social identity from this process. When this process (of depersonalisation) takes place, people act according to what the group's standards are, which therefore determines a greater adherence to the norms and standards that group has established (Reicher et al. 1995). This happens even when, in the contexts, the amount of information is relatively poor, for instance, when they interact anonymously (Lee 2007; Postmes et al. 2001). The scarcity of information is, in fact, able to elicit greater attention to the social cues of the environment, thus determining a greater susceptibility to the standards that regulate social interactions (and group dynamics) (Postmes et al. 1998). The anonymity, therefore, in interaction with the salience of social identity would seem able to amplify the process of depersonalisation (Spears et al. 1990).

Furthermore, surprisingly, this process can be observed not only when people interact in group, but also when they are alone. In fact, the representation of the group (i.e. the result of the categorisation process) exists inside the individuals even when they are physically isolated from the other (Lea and Spears 1992), and this, in turn, could produce a decrease of the interpersonal differences (Beran et al. 2015). Therefore, when the contextual variables enhance the salience of social identity, anonymity and physical isolation can increase the social influence exerted by the group on his members (Spears 1995).

Thus, the online insurgents' platforms, such as social environments where the interactions never occur face to face, can favour the spread of the norms that usually regulate the terrorist behaviours also thanks to the physical isolation that characterises the networks members' real environment. To induce the recruits to uphold the insurgents' social norms, of course, means favour the engagement of them in violent actions. Thus, the Web platforms are exploitable to get people to join in planned group actions also thanks to the possibility that they offer to the users to feel a high group identity salience, remaining anonymous and physically isolated during the interactions. For this reason, to deeply understand the online radicalisation, including such factors in its modelisation, may be interested. Thus, the online insurgents' platforms, such as social environments where the interactions never occur face to face, can favour the spread of the norms that usually regulate the terrorist behaviours also thanks to the physical isolation that characterises the networks members' real environment. To induce the recruits to uphold the insurgents' social norms, of course, means favour the engagement of them in violent actions.

Concluding, the Web platforms are exploitable to get people to join in planned group actions also thanks to the possibility that they offer to the users to feel a high group identity salience, remaining anonymous and physically isolated during the interactions.

For this reason, to deeply understand the online radicalisation, include such factors in its modelisation it may be interesting in the future research.

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Annex: Suggestions for Further Readings: An Annotated Bibliography

Eleonora Coleschi

The annotated bibliography briefly describes the main contributions (books, papers, or documents) related to the violent radicalisation, its definition, the prevention experiences and the actions addressed to de-radicalisation.

Providing this instrument may be—in our opinion—a useful contribution addressed to a better understanding of the radicalisation phenomena.

Amin, M., Naseer, R., & Abro, A. A. (2019). Sports as an Agent of De-radicalization: Pakistan And The World. *The Shield-Research Journal of Physical Education & Sports Science, 13.*
In this article, the authors investigate the relationship between sport and radicalisation, with a particular focus on the beneficial effect that sport has in promoting de-radicalisation among youth. As a matter of fact, there is a correlation between sport and good health and sport and positive attitudes towards society. Moreover, to be committed with sport may keep young people away from criminality and violence. Together with other activities, sport has become a fundamental part in the rehabilitation process for radical individuals in many States. This paper focuses on the Pakistan situation in particular, because of the religious, political, ideological, and ethnic heterogeneity of this State.

Agarwal, S., & Sureka, A. (2015). Applying social media intelligence for predicting and identifying on-line radicalization and civil unrest oriented threats. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1511.06858.*
The possibility to use social media intelligence in order to predict and identify online radicalisation, involved in recent years several researchers and scholars. Moreover, researchers from various disciplines has been developing tools and techniques to combat this problem. The article consists of a systematic literature review of those techniques and of a comprehensive investigation, in order to understand the state of the art about the topic. The paper is divided in six parts:

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In the first part (i.e. introduction), authors define the problems connected to radicalisation and social media, while in Sect. 2, they discuss the aim of the research. In Sect. 3, we can find a description of the processes they used to collect relevant articles, and in Sect. 4, the authors illustrate the characteristics of the literature they found. Section 5 consists of the characterisation and classification of articles based upon metanalysis. Finally, concluding remarks can be found in Sect. 6.

Awan, A. N., Hoskins, A., & O'Loughlin, B. (2011). *Radicalization and media: Connectivity and terrorism in the new media ecology.* Abingdon, UK: Routledge. This book examines the role that mass media, Internet, and television play in radicalisation and the effect of radical talks in the kind of forum which is supporting violence against Western countries. In the second part of the book, authors analyse discourses contained in different media platforms, Internet, and TV. In the final part, authors present a "new media ecology model" which is characterised by the connection between individuals or groups and informational infrastructures. In short, the new media ecology may amplify media and public effects and accelerate the process of the diffusion of radicalisation.

Baaken, T., & Schlegel, L. (2017). Fishermen or swarm dynamics? Should we understand jihadist online radicalization as a top-down or bottom-up process? *Journal for Deradicalization*, (13), 178–212.
This article is a theoretical application of theories in order to examine the type of mechanisms lying behind Internet's facilitation of radicalisation dynamic. In particular, Baaken and Schlegel focus on "Hoffman–Sagemann" debate that concerns top-down and bottom-up processes, which are both facilitated by Internet and used by jihadist groups.

Bertram, L. (2015). How Could a Terrorist be De-Radicalised? *Journal for Deradicalization*, (5), 120–149.
A great deal of researches and studies has been conducted about radicalisation dynamic, but the process of de-radicalisation is still fairly unknown. Therefore, the main questions to which this article tries to provide an answer are if it is possible to de-radicalise a terrorist and how this could be achieved. The author claims that the first step to fully comprehend the potential of de-radicalisation mechanism is a necessary examination of those factors which can lead to an initial radicalisation. Moreover, Bertram shows that there is not a unique guideline to de-radicalise terrorists, on the contrary, de-radicalisation programs shall be tailored on individuals (or groups). The article underlines the importance to distinguish among de-radicalisation, disengagement, and counter-radicalisation because without this differentiation it is impossible to implement effective programmes and actions. Finally, the author shows how States should manage the return of terrorists in their home-countries and the potential effect of incarceration on such individuals.

Bloom, M. (2011). Bombshells: Women and terror. *Gender Issues*, *28*(1–2), 1–21. doi: 10.1007/s12147-011-9098-z.

According to common sense, terrorism and radicalisation are considered to be predominantly male phenomena. However, it is necessary to take into account that the individuals who are recruited and radicalised are very often the "weakest" members of society (as children or women in certain societies). Author claims that the recruitment of women is increasing, and this insures a double advantage to a terrorist: On one hand, it increases the element of surprise, on the other hand, this can confuse those soldiers which have been trained to fight against adult men. The article investigates the roles that women play in terrorism, the mechanisms lying behind their recruitment and the unequal treatment that they receive if compared to men's, even in a tragic dynamic as radicalisation is.

Borum, R. (2011). Radicalization into violent extremism I: A review of social science theories. *Journal of strategic security*, *4*(4), 7–36. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.4.4.1.
The first part of this article is about to explain the difference between the terms "radicalism" and "extremism", suggesting that radicalisation might be considered to be a set of different processes. In the second part, those social theories (e.g. Social Movement Theory) and those social-cognitive mechanisms which can facilitate the implementation of violent actions are presented. Finally, the author underlines the importance of social psychology to understand radicalisation and violent extremism.

Burns, J. (2017). Biopolitics, toxic masculinities, disavowed histories, and youth radicalization. *Peace Review*, *29*(2), 176–183.
In this essay, the author analyses the American scenario starting from two tragic events (i.e. the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, and the assassination of nine Afro-Americans in South Carolina in June 2015) in order to describe the radicalisation of youth. Burns identifies three conditions which may contribute to youth radicalisation: Foucault's notion of *biopower*, toxic masculinities, and disavowed history. Biopower derives from institutional power that controls and disciplines individual characteristics (e.g. bodies, gender, ideas), and therefore, *machos* can be considered to be results of biopower. Violent masculinity is related to misogyny, homophobia, and heteropatriarchy. Finally, disavowed history appears associated to the lack of historical perspective and historical memory.

Correa, D., & Sureka, A. (2013). Solutions to detect and analyse online radicalization: a survey. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1301.4916*.
Online radicalisation is certainly a growing problem: Different researches show that many different platforms on Internet (e.g. YouTube, Twitter, online forums) are potential tools for the dissemination of radicalisation. In this paper, authors reviewed the state of the art in the area of solutions to detect online radicalisation. Authors selected 40 papers from June 2003 to November 2011 and categorised such studies on various dimensions (e.g. social media Websites, employed techniques, modalities). The main goal of the article is to offer a map of literature about online radicalisation detection and analysis techniques, for this reason, the

survey is divided in two parts (i.e. "Techniques for online radicalisation detection" and "Automated techniques for online radicalisation analysis").

Decker, S., & Pyrooz, D. (2011). Gangs, terrorism, and radicalization. *Journal of Strategic Security*, *4*(4), 151–166. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.4.4.7.
The main purpose of the authors is to identify differences and similarities in deviant, criminal, and extremist groups. The emphasis is primarily put on the organisational structure of gangs and the differences with other groups involved in crime. The authors, moreover, aim to show how a group can be dangerous even without being radicalised. Finally, the focus is given to the role of the Internet in the recruitment and the transmission of gang symbols and practices.

Della Porta, D. (2006). *Social movements, political violence, and the state: A comparative analysis of Italy and Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Radicalisation is a complex dynamic which can be influenced not only by individual and group factors but also by politics society and historical periods. For this reason, radicalisation cannot be completely understood without a sociological framework. Starting from the World War II, Della Porta presents an empirical research on the nature of political violence, focusing on movements in Italy and Germany from 1960 to 1990s. The description of political violence is divided in three levels: the interactions between social movements and the state (i.e. macro level), the development of radical organisations (i.e. meso level), and the construction of "militant's identity" (i.e. micro level).

Doosje, B., Moghaddam, F. M., Kruglanski, A. W., De Wolf, A., Mann, L., & Feddes, A. R. (2016). Terrorism, radicalization and de-radicalization. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 11, 79–84. doi: 10.1016/j.copsyc.2016.06.008.
Group dynamics play a crucial role in the radicalisation of individual, and although the existence of different types of radical groups (e.g. religious, nationalist, separatist, extreme right or left), all of them share common elements. In this article, authors identify five of these elements and present a model of radicalisation and de-radicalisation. The model concerned is divided in three phases (e.g. sensitivity, group membership, and action) and the probability that individuals will follow these phases depends on factors at three levels (i.e. individual, group, and society). In the last part of the article, authors introduce the concept of de-radicalisation as a process in which people reject the ideology and the beliefs that they once supported.

Ehrkamp, P., & Leitner, H. (2006). Rethinking immigration and citizenship: new spaces of migrant transnationalism and belonging. *Environment and Planning*, *38*, 1591–1597. doi:10.1068/a38349.
Migratory phenomena are highly influenced by the historical periods, the geographical areas, and the culture of immigrants and of their country of adoption. In order to better understand the problems of immigration and citizenship,

this article focuses on the concept of migrant "transnationalism" (i.e. the ability to maintain ties and create new social spaces that go beyond national borders in both home and host countries). Moreover, the authors evidence the differences in the management of immigration and the practices of citizenship in different countries: Canada and USA—that are declared countries of immigration—and Germany and Switzerland that, on the contrary and despite their statements, are reluctant countries of immigration.

El-Said, H. (2015). *New approaches to countering terrorism: designing and evaluating counter radicalization and de-radicalization programs.* Springer.
In this book, the author investigates de-radicalisation programs in Muslim majority and Muslim minority states. The introduction (i.e. Chap. 1) explains the problem of terrorism in many countries. In Chap. 2, El-Said sets the framework of the study focusing on Somalia and Yemen situations, considering in particular the economic status of individuals and groups. In short, the author shows that there are several ways in which radicalisation takes place. Chaps. 3 and 4 focus on radicalisation and de-radicalisation in the Australian panorama, and Chap. 5 describes Mauritania's situation with violent Islam. In Chap. 6, we can find the description of the Singaporean government's response to radicalisation, while de-radicalisation programs are evaluated in Chap. 7. Violent extremism in Turkey is analysed in Chap. 8, and concluding remarks can be found in Chap. 9.

Geeraerts, S. B. (2012). Digital radicalization radicalisation of youth. *Social cosmos, 3*(1), 25–32.
Nowadays, young people have more familiarity and experience of Internet than adults and old generations. The use of technology has got many positive aspects, but at the same time, Internet may be a fertile ground for radicalisation and group polarisation.
In this article, authors define radicalisation focusing on the influence of Internet on this process, in particular on the pitfalls of virtual environment for Millennials. Moreover, it is underlined the fundamental role of parents to monitor and control children's use of Internet.

Ghosh, R., Chan, W. A., Manuel, A., & Dilimulati, M. (2017). Can education counter violent religious extremism? *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal, 23*(2), 117–133. doi: 10.1080/11926422.2016.1165713.
After 9/11, Islam has become a key topic because of its connections with terrorism and radicalisation. This paper focuses on religious extremism with respect to Canadian counterterrorism policy and educational system. In the first part of this paper, authors clarify the differences among several terms (i.e. fundamentalism, extremism, radicalism, and terrorism) and identify on youth the category that is most at risk of being radicalised.
The key role of education is described and analysed in the last part of the article, in fact, education is considered to be a preventive and rehabilitative measure. Finally, authors illustrate the possible causes for engaging in extremism behaviour, and

the possible ways education can restore resilient communities, with particular attention to "critical pedagogy".

Guadagno, R. E., Muscanell, N. L., Rice, L. M., & Roberts, N. (2013). Social influence online: The impact of social validation and likability on compliance. *Psychology of Popular Media Cultur*e, 2(1), 51. doi: 10.1037/a0030592.
After the Information and Communication Technologies revolution (ICT), the group dynamics which were typical in real environments, have become common in virtual contexts too. This article is not directly related to radicalisation process, but the purpose of the authors is to examine—through an experiment—the effect of two types of social influence (i.e. social validation and likability) in an online setting. In fact, the comprehension of specific group dynamics is essential to better understand the radicalisation phenomenon.

Harris, K., Gringart, E., & Drake, D. (2014). Understanding the role of social groups in radicalisation. https://ro.ecu.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article= 1034&context=asi. doi: 10.4225/75/57a83235c833d.
Starting from the role of social groups mechanisms in fundamental ideologies, this paper offers a possible explanation for the complex phenomenon of radicalisation. In particular, authors focus on several psycho-social group dynamics (e.g. entitativity, social group identification, self and social categorisation) which can make group members more "radicalised".

Hofmann, D. C., & Dawson, L. L. (2014). The neglected role of charismatic authority in the study of terrorist groups and radicalization. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *37*(4), 348–368. doi: 10.1080/1057610X.2014.879436.
For a long time, scholars debated about the role of charismatic authority in terrorist groups, and the process of radicalisation. The first question to which the article tries to answer is what a charismatic authority is, stressing the differences with other forms of authority (i.e. traditional and rational-legal) and analysing the conditions that promote it. In the second instance, authors underline how the term "charismatic authority" has been used in existing radicalisation literature (i.e. adjectival, tautological and flirtatious).

Horgan, J. (2008). From profiles to pathways and roots to routes: Perspectives from psychology on radicalization into terrorism. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Soci*al Science, 618(1), 80–94. doi: 10.1177/0002716208317539.
This article underlines the difficulties to define a univocal and specific profile for people who can easily become a victim of radicalisation process. The author, in fact, explains that there are several risk factors of involvement in terrorism (e.g. alienation, dissatisfaction, identification with the victim, the power of the group), but on the other hand, the counterterrorism initiatives must be more specific and tailored, depending on the target. The final purpose of the article is to show the dangers of overgeneralisation, which can lead to the creation of stereotypes and to the implementation of ineffective interventions.

Horgan, J. G. (2017). *Psychology of terrorism: Introduction to the special issue* (Vol. 72, No. 3, p. 199). American Psychological Association. doi:10.1037/amp0000148.
The main purpose of the author is to offer to the reader a set of useful and specific articles about terrorism and related factors (e.g. recruitment and selection process, mental illness, the role of humiliation, torture, resilience and counterterrorism measures). The articles quoted in this paper may be a first reading about psychological research on terrorism, but, at the same time, they may be used as insights for reflection.
One of the quoted theorists underlines, in particular, that the involvement of psychologists in such research is marginal, despite the importance of studies and of professional interventions in this field.

Jasko, K., LaFree, G., & Kruglanski, A. (2017). Quest for significance and violent extremism: The case of domestic radicalization. *Political Psychology*, *38*(5), 815–831. doi: 10.1111/pops.12376.
Many researches show the existence of different links between violence and the frustration of important psychological needs (e.g. need to belong, social identity, needs for meaning and control), and the role of need for personal significance in the implementation of extreme and violent behaviours. In this article, authors tested this last hypothesis by using a sample of individuals who committed ideologically motivated crimes in the USA (i.e. 1496 individuals selected from far left, far right, and radical Islamic motivated groups), confirming that experiences of economic and social loss are predictors for the use of violence and crimes. Finally, the article shows the role of social networks and other significant (i.e. friends) in legitimising violence.

Jones, C. R. (2014). Are prisons really schools for terrorism? Challenging the rhetoric on prison radicalization. *Punishment & Society*, *16*(1), 74–103. doi: 10.1177/1462474513506482.
Prisons are often considered to be breeding ground for the growth of crime and violence, and for this reason, many countries developed isolation strategies for terrorist offenders. This comparative study illustrates how some prison regimes are more ineffective and dangerous than others, by focusing on USA, Pakistan, UK, Australia, Indonesia, and Philippines prison systems. According to the author, there are several factors that may have an impact on the inmates' radicalisation (e.g. prison regime and culture, machos, patriotism, cultural and political characteristics), but prison radicalisation and recruitment seem more rare than people use to think.

Koehler, D. (2014). The radical online: Individual radicalization processes and the role of the Internet. *Journal for Deradicalization*, (1), 116–134.
This paper is divided in two different parts. In the first part, it is underlined the importance of Internet after the Information and Communication Technologies revolution (ICT), with a particular focus on the role of the Internet in the radicalisation of German Neo-Nazis. The participants—six males and two females—have

been interviewed following the approach of Grounded Theory methodology. In the second part of the article, the findings are integrated with theories coming from existing scientific literature.

Koomen, W., & Van Der Pligt, J. (2015). *The psychology of radicalization and terrorism.* Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
This book presents a systematic framework in which some different types of radicalisation and terrorism have been examined. It is divided in ten chapters, each one concerning a specific argument. In the introduction (the first chapter), several definitions of radicalisation, his effects, and consequences, and a brief summary of the following chapters are given. Chap. 2 analyses several social factors (stereotypes, prejudice, discrimination) which influence radicalisation process, while in Chap. 3, authors investigate some of the connected threats and their consequences. Catalysing events (like economic and social climate, culture) are discussed in Chap. 4, while in Chap. 5, there is a look at the role of individual factors (like personality aspects and demographics). Chap. 6 discusses the roles of social identity, polarisation, and collective actions, and Chap. 7 focuses on the roles of religion and ideologies. Chap. 8 explores small group processes and social support which can lead to terrorism, and in Chap. 9, authors explain why some groups turn into violence and others do not. Finally, Chap. 10 discusses and summarises the findings of the previous chapters.

Kruglanski, A. W., Gelfand, M. J., Bélanger, J. J., Sheveland, A., Hetiarachchi, M., & Gunaratna, R. (2014). The psychology of radicalization and de-radicalization: How significance quest impacts violent extremism. *Political Psychology*, *35*, 69–93. doi: 10.1111/pops.12163.
The main hypothesis of the authors is that the search of personal significance constitutes a great thrust in the direction of violent extremism. In other words, the loss of significance leads the individuals towards collectivism in order to restore values. In this article, authors define radicalisation as a continuum in which people may be influenced at different degrees and levels by proposing a model containing three components (i.e. motivational, ideological, and social). Lastly, in the concluding discussion, there is a consideration of different variables and factors (personality and culture), which can contribute to the increase of radicalisation.

Kundnani, A. (2012). Radicalisation: the journey of a concept. *Race & Class*, *54*(2), 3–25. doi: 10.1177/0306396812454984.
The term radicalisation is used very often, both by scholars and in academic literature. However, this term contains limitations and biases. For example, Kundnani stresses that before 2011, "radicalisation" did not necessarily refer to Muslims, but since 2004 this word acquired a new meaning that is the process by which Muslims result dangerous and extremist. In this article, the author analyses and criticises works from other scholars by highlighting those biases and prejudices resulting in discrimination and stereotypes.

McCauley, C., & Moskalenko, S. (2008). Mechanisms of political radicalization: Pathways toward terrorism. *Terrorism and political violence*, *20*(3), 415–433. doi: 10.1080/09546550802073367.
This article describes the radicalisation process, fundamental to understand the origins of terrorism. The authors illustrate radicalisation as a "Pyramid Model" by identifying twelve basic mechanisms, acting at three levels: individual, group, and mass.

McCauley, C., & Moskalenko, S. (2011). *Friction: How radicalization happens to them and us*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
This book proposes an historical analysis of radicalisation, covering the period starting in the last decade of '800, until our days. By using explicative cases studies, the authors identify twelve mechanisms of political radicalisation which could be placed in three categories (i.e. individual, group, and mass). The radicalisation process is explained as a neutral mechanism, not necessarily positive or negative; moreover, it is emphasised that radicalised persons are not necessarily deviant or evil individuals, on the contrary, they are normal people who—because of a set of circumstances—have been dragged towards extreme positions, attitudes, and beliefs.

Meringolo, P., Bosco, N., Cecchini, C., & Guidi, E. (2019). Preventing violent radicalisation in Italy: The actions of EU project PROVA. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *25*(2), 165–169. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pac 0000375.
This contribution exposes the main results of the European Union Project PROVA (*Prevention of Violent Radicalisation and of Violent Actions in intergroup relations*), and it is divided in two parts. In the first one, the authors explore the perceptions of 16 professionals and two stakeholders working with minors at risk in Juvenile Justice System. The second part of the project focuses on peer-to-peer interactions between 15 young adults in detections and four university students, underlining how the participation in the workshop reduces students' prejudices and stereotypes, improves their knowledge and competencies, and helps to acquire new social skills. Finally, authors suggest several helpful strategies in order to prevent violent radicalisation by applying them to different levels (i.e. individual, contextual and societal).

Moghaddam, F. M. (2005). The staircase to terrorism: A psychological exploration. *American psychologist*, *60*(2), 161.
In this article, Moghaddam uses the metaphor of "The Staircase to Terrorism" in order to explain the various steps which can lead people to develop radical attitudes and behaviours. The metaphor does not constitute a formal model to explain causes and factors about terrorism; however, it provides a general framework which could help future researches and policies. The staircase to terrorism is divided into a ground floor and five higher floors, being each floor characterised by several psychological processes. On the ground floor, we can find the

psychological perception of fairness, perceived injustice and feelings of frustration and shame. The first floor hosts individuals who perceive to receive an unfair treatment and want to improve their situation, while individuals who reach the second floor, will develop a readiness to physical aggression. The third floor is considered to be the step in which individuals engage with the morality of terrorist organisations, and in the fourth floor, potential terrorists start to see terrorist organisation as legitimate and to categorise the reality into "us versus them". Finally, in the last floor, people are trained to act to commit acts of terrorism. The author concludes by claiming that the best way to fight terrorism is prevention, in particular by promoting democracy and justice and by educating against a rigid style of categorisation.

Moghaddam, F. M. (2018). *Mutual radicalization: How groups and nations drive each other to extremes*. American Psychological Association.
The author defines *mutual radicalization* the relation which occurs when two groups take extreme positions opposing one another, reacting against real or imagined threats, mobilising their resources to launch attacks, and finally attempting to weaken and destroy each other. Mutual radicalisation is a process that can emerge through interactions *between* groups and nations, nevertheless, its dynamic process can involve individuals competing against other individuals, or two people who become increasingly hardened, with actions of aggression against one another. In the book, Moghaddam focuses on the most destructive form of mutual radicalisation, which involves large groups, on the basis of religion and ethnicity, or countries animated by nationalist attitudes. The author examines several case studies involving two nations, or a nation-state and a non-state actor, or Islamist terrorism and nation-states.

Moscovici, S., & Zavalloni, M. (1969). The group as a polariser of attitudes.*Journal of personality and social psychology*, *2*(2), 125.
The polarisation dynamic is one of the fundamental group processes which lead to radicalisation. The authors, inspired by Wallach and Kogan (1965) experiments, demonstrate the relevance of polarisation in groups' decision making and of the normative influence: for the members the consensus of the group is more important than individual judgments and opinions.

Mulcahy, E., Merrington, S., & Bell, P. J. (2013). The radicalisation of prison inmates: A review of the literature on recruitment, religion and prisoner vulnerability. *Journal of Human Security*, *9*(1), 4–14. doi: 10.12924/ johs2013.09010004.
Although many scholars believe that the prison environment can promote radicalisation and terrorism, there are still considerable gaps in the understanding of this dynamic. The aim of this article is to explore the role that religion plays in prison: This research assumes that many inmates enter in prison without any religious vocation, but it is possible that some of them will adopt a faith during the stay in prison. Authors dwell on factors and dynamics that can be found in prison and can make individuals more vulnerable to radicalisation (e.g. stress, sleep disorders, loss of identity). Their focus is on Transformative Learning Theory: When the

individual cannot comprehend the situation and habitual cognitions fail to help them handling the event, he could suffer a "distortion". As a result, the individual reacts by exploring new experiences. Finally, authors four different models of recruitment (e.g. "the net", "the funnel", "the infection", and "the seed crystal") and the role of Social Movement Theory in recruitment and radicalisation.

Rahimullah, R. H., Larmar, S., & Abdalla, M. (2013). Understanding violent radicalization amongst Muslims: A review of the literature. *Journal of Psychology and Behavioral Science*, *1*(1), 19–35.
Although terrorism is a global phenomenon, terrorism perpetrated by Muslims has had a major impact in public opinion all over the world. Authors define radicalisation as the process leading to violent ideologies, and terrorists as the individuals who are at the end of the radicalisation process. In this review, authors highlight several risk factors of radicalism amongst Muslims, precipitating elements, theories and models of radicalisation.

Rousseau, C., Ellis, B. H., & Lantos, J. D. (2017). The dilemma of predicting violent radicalization. *Pediatrics*, *140*(4), e20170685.
This critical article starts with the case of a 12 years old Muslim boy, who was born and lives in Canada and who has been accused of being a potentially radicalised individual. In this essay, the authors severely criticise the way in which the case has been addressed by extending the critique to social and health services, schools, professionals, and society in general. The story of Mohamed shows how sometimes the problem is not located in the individual, but in the social environment, and how stereotypes and bias affect no less than professionals and reference figures.

Schmid, A. P. (2016). Links between terrorism and migration. *International Centre For Counter Terrorism (ICCT) ICCT Research Paper*. https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Alex-P.-Schmid-Links-between-Terrorism-and-Migration.pdf. doi: 10.19165/2016.1.04
There are multiple causal relations between irregular migration and terrorism, but these are generally complex. In wider terms, immigrants usually have a disadvantaged position in their countries, and terrorist groups can abuse this situation. This paper explores links between terrorism and irregular migration, and at the same time, the author wants to highlight Europe's erratic and uncoordinated immigration policies that contributed to the refugees' crisis. Moreover, the article illustrates how refugee camps are sometimes used by terrorists for radicalisation and recruitment, and how radicalisation becomes more likely when refugee camps are in contact with ongoing fighters.

Simcox, R. (2018). *The Asylum-Terror Nexus: How Europe Should Respond*. Washington DC: Heritage Foundation.
This article analyses terrorist attacks which were planned in the period between January 2014 and December 2017, by taking into account the cases of 44 individuals involved in terrorism. The author describes several characteristics of this

sample (e.g. age, gender, legal status, weapons used and target, the connection with terrorist organisations), concluding that there is not a unique profile for terrorists and their supporters; however, the data collected during many years of research may give useful indications.

In the last part, the author proposes some recommendations that European governments should adopt in order to decrease the possibility of terrorist attack, emphasising the need for collaboration in order to prevent radicalisation.

Sikkens, E., van San, M. R. P. J. R. S., Sieckelinck, S. M. A., & de Winter, M. (2017). Parental Influence on Radicalization and De-radicalization according to the Lived Experiences of Former Extremists and their Families. *Journal for Deradicalization*, *12*, 192–226.
Parents have a key role not only in the growth of their children, but also in radicalisation and de-radicalisation processes. This article, referring in particular to the parental influence, is a qualitative study which consists in 21 interviews with 11 Dutch radical formers and with their families (i.e. eight parents and three siblings). In particular, authors define "formers" as persons who distanced themselves from their extremist thinking or behaviour.

Results show the absence of a direct link between the family influence and the development of extreme attitudes towards the violence. However, a more indirect influence seems exists because on one hand, a problematic family situation may influence the radicalisation process, and, on the other hand, the family support can play an important role in de-radicalisation. For this reason, future research will have to identify tools and programs for parents to respond to their children's radicalisation.

Sikkens, E., Sieckelinck, S., van San, M., & de Winter, M. (2017). Parental reaction towards radicalization in young people. *Child & Family Social Work*, *22*(2), 1044–1053. doi:10.1111/cfs.12324.
Parents, as it is well known, take on a key role during all the phases of their children's lives also and especially when they come across risky situations. This paper, differently from the previous study, focuses on radicalisation from the parents' point of view, and it is based on qualitative research. In the first part, authors discuss some previous research on parenting styles and reactions towards problems, in particular the radicalisation. In the second part of the article, the authors describe their experiment (i.e. participants, methods, procedure, results, and discussion). The data were collected by means of 55 interviews with adolescents and their parents, and afterwards, parents' reactions were categorised in two dimensions (control and support). Finally, results show that parents did not always react towards the extreme ideals of their children in a way that corresponded with their general parenting styles.

Thompson, R. (2011). Radicalization and the use of social media. *Journal of strategic security*, *4*(4), 167–190. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.4.4.8.

Social media are useful tools to socialise, expand knowledge, and create an additional social network. However, at the same time, technologies and virtual environments represent a possible danger for unsuspecting users. In this article, authors claim that social media are effective tools that can be used to radicalise and recruit members into a cause and examine the characteristics which make virtual environments so effective. In the first part of the paper, it is possible to find the description of both the power and reach of social media and the addiction of the youngest to technologies. In the second part, it is explained why social media may perfect platforms for radicalisation. Authors conclude by illustrating the effect of the use of social media—and the resulting radicalisation—in Northern Africa and in the Middle East.

Van der Valk, I., & Wagenaar, W. (2010). *The extreme right: entry and exit.* Leiden: Anne Frank House Leiden University.
The aim of this report is to study the processes of radicalisation and de-radicalisation in Dutch youths and young adults who have been part of right-wing extremist movements. The sample consists of twelve persons interviewed in November and December 2009. Ten people were interviewed with a face-to-face method in public locations, while two respondents were interviewed via Internet, by means of MSN chat program. Specifically, the report is composed by eight chapters. The first one is the introduction, while Chap. 2 focuses on factors involved in radicalisation, de-radicalisation, and disengagement. In Chap. 3, authors discuss about the extreme right (e.g. definition, groups, right-wing extremism on the Internet). Chap. 4 explains the preliminary phase of the research. Chapters 5 and 6 refer to factors and phases in radicalisation and de-radicalisation processes, and in Chap. 7, authors examine interventions and demonstrate the need for practitioners to cooperate with local levels that are school, parents, social services, youth worker, and police. Finally, the findings and conclusions are summarised in Chap. 8.

Von Behr, I. (2013). Radicalisation in the digital era: The use of the internet in 15 cases of terrorism and extremism. https://apo.org.au/node/36281.
It has been established that Internet can have a radicalising effect and that it acts as an "echo chamber", as an environment in which beliefs are reinforced by repetition inside a close system. Moreover, author claims that Internet increases opportunities for self-radicalisation and radicalisation even without a physical contact. The report, which is part of the RAND Corporation research report series, is divided in five chapters and an introduction. Chapter 1 defines what the author means by using the terms "Internet", "Extremism", "Terrorism", and "Radicalisation" and illustrates political responses to the radicalisation in Europe. Chapter 2 illustrates the methodological approach adopted by the research team. Chapter 3 focuses on the scientific literature about the role of Internet in radicalisation, and—at the same time—the author presents five main hypotheses from the literature about the radicalisation phenomenon. Chapter 4 aims to explore the role of the Internet in 15 cases—living in the UK—of online radicalisation and provides

a comparative analysis about the hypotheses previously presented in Chap. 3. Finally, implications and recommendations are contained in Chap. 5.

Young, H. F., Rooze, M., & Holsappel, J. (2015). Translating conceptualizations into practical suggestions: What the literature on radicalization can offer to practitioners. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *21*(2), 212. doi: https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000065.
It is well known that some categories of people are more vulnerable to radicalisation if compared to others. In this respect, the purpose of the authors is to provide additional tools to people working with groups at risk. The article is divided in two parts: In the first one, several radicalisation models are considered, in the second one, authors provide recommendations—coming from research—to practitioners. The figures to whom advice is addressed are teachers, youth workers, religious ministers, journalists, and policy makers.

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