



PREVENTING VIOLENT EXTREMISM

**WHY DOES IT HAPPEN? WHAT KINDS
OF FUTURE SHOULD WE BUILD IN
ORDER TO PREVENT IT? HOW DO
WE PREVENT VIOLENT EXTREMISM?**



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Index

0 INTRODUCTION	8
Why now?	8
Who is this manual for?	8
Theory of change in this manual	8
From macro to micro, from “why?” to “how?” and working on needs	8
How to read and use this manual	9
The limitations to this manual	9
1 WHAT IS VIOLENT EXTREMISM?	10
Summary	10
Introduction	10
1.1 Radicalism or extremism?	10
1.2 What is violence?	11
1.3 What is violent extremism?	11
1.4 What causes VE?	14
1.4.1 What do we understand by fundamental needs and satisfaction of such needs?	15
1.5 How to anticipate? Prevention means transformation: nonviolence that transforms	17
2 WHY DOES VE HAPPEN?	19
Summary	19
Introduction	19
2.1 Global crisis	19
2.1.1 Environmental crisis	21
2.1.2 Economic crisis	22
2.1.3 Social crisis	23
2.2 Pull and push factors that encourage VE	24
2.2.1 Lack of socio-economic opportunities	24
2.2.2 Marginalisation and discrimination	25
2.2.3 Political repression, violation of human rights and the rule of law	25
2.2.4 Prolonged and unresolved conflict	26
2.2.5 Indoctrination in prison	28
2.3 Conclusions	28

3 TRANSITIONS TO AN ECOSOCIAL FUTURE TO PREVENT VE	30
Summary	30
Introduction	30
3.1 Guiding principles in building synergic satisfiers in just, democratic and sustainable societies	30
3.2 Strategies for nonviolent ecosocial transitions	31
3.2.1 Building a culture of nonviolence by satisfying needs	31
3.2.2 Halting growing unease	32
3.2.3 Construction of viable ecosocial institutions in the global crisis	33
3.3 Tactics for nonviolent ecosocial transitions	36
4 WHEN “SECURITY” IS PART OF THE PROBLEM	40
Summary	40
4.1 Context keys: violence, insecurity and security	40
4.2 Understanding the hegemonic security model: Securitising territory, policing and militarising conflict	41
4.3 Exceptionality, states of emergency and fear of the “other” as a securitisation strategy	43
4.4 Synergic satisfiers of security: Towards security based on rights and bonds	44
4.4.1 Human security	44
4.4.2 Anti-securitisation discourse	45
4.4.3 De-securitizing our lives: community and feminism in building trust	45
5 IDENTITY	48
Introduction: Why work on identity?	48
5.1 Concept of Identity	48
5.1.1 What is identity and what are its components?	48
5.1.2 How is identity built? Priority identities	49
5.1.3 From threatened identity or identity crisis to VE	51
5.1.4 What threatens our identity? Threat factors and drivers	51
5.2 Satisfying the need for identity: Social identity	53

6 | CONFLICT AND POLARISATION

55

Summary

55

Introduction

55

6.1 Dealing with conflict

55

6.1.1 Conflict stages

55

6.1.2 Content of conflict

57

6.1.3 Conflict operates on three levels

58

6.1.4 Awareness and Fluidity in Conflict

58

6.2 Escalation and De-escalation

59

6.2.1 What escalates a conflict?

59

6.2.2 What de-escalates conflict

61

6.3 Polarisation

54

6.3.1 From flow on a continuum to polarisation

64

6.3.2 Polarisation as a communication process

64

6.3.3 De-escalation of conflicts between polarised groups

64

6.3.4 Tips for preventing polarisation

65

7 | A LOOK AT THE EMOTIONAL TERRITORY

66

Summary

66

Introduction

66

7.1 Emotions and social context

68

7.2 The content of emotions

69

7.3 Bonds and separation; love and hate

69

7.3.1 Love, affection, appreciation, tenderness, attachment, devotion, friendship, fondness, fervour, passion, delight and pleasure

69

7.3.2 Hate, hostility and aggressiveness: the emotional roots of violence

70

7.4 Most common emotions in vulnerable contexts

70

7.5 Management and emotional intelligence. Personal sovereignty

73

8 | UNDERSTANDING EACH OTHER

75

Summary

75

Introduction

75

8.1 Effective communication as a synergic satisfier of understanding

75

8.2 The three levels of communication

76

8.3 Communication as interaction between people

76

8.4 Inter-personal and group communication

77

8.4.1 Intentional and non-intentional: beyond words

77

8.4.2 Identification with the narratives

79

8.4.3 Person responsible or receiver: giving and receiving criticism

80

8.4.4 Metacommunication and the awareness of communication

81

8.5 Facilitating inter-personal and group communication: fostering difficult dialogue

81

8.5.1 Contexts for dialogue

82

8.5.2 Reaching an understanding with whom there is no understanding yet

83

8.5.3 Listening when listening is difficult

84

9 | MOBILIZING AND PARTICIPATING IN ORDER TO TRANSFORM

85

Introduction

85

Summary

85

9.1 Community and participation

85

9.1.1 Ecosocial communities (just, democratic and sustainable)

85

9.1.2 Participation

86

9.1.3 Diversity in the building of communities

88

9.1.4 Power and belonging: the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion

89

9.2 Mobilizing communities: important and necessary

90

9.2.1 Mobilizing, but in what direction?

90

9.2.2 Mobilize, but how? The role of dream(s) in a community

90

9.3 Examples of techniques, methods and community focus

91

9.3.1 Oasis

91

10 | BUILDING SOCIAL COHESION

94

Summary

94

10.1 Why promote social cohesion?

94

10.1.1 Social cohesion and satisfaction of needs

94

10.1.2 Social cohesion and PVE initiatives

95

10.2 Keys for social cohesion and community resilience

96

10.3 Designing processes to promote social cohesion and community resilience

97

10.3.1 Paving the way

98

10.3.2 Establishing relationships

98

10.3.3 Creating driving teams

99

10.3.4 Processes of dialogue

100

10.3.5 Creating joint projects/actions to satisfy needs and desires

100

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Introduction

Why now?

Since the end of the 20th century, we have been witnessing a period of great transformation. In the world of politics, we have gone from a world influenced by two superpowers to a more delocalized world where both political and non-political players are highly influential. Globally, some aspects of the quality of life at a social and economic level have improved. Globalisation has brought a higher intensity in the connection between different civil societies around the world. Nevertheless, the distribution of wealth has become more unequal and the gap between those who have more and those who have less has grown. From the ecological point of view, we are also going through an unprecedented environmental crisis. We have reached the limits of maximum availability of resources that have enabled fast economic growth in various parts of the world. In the current context of global crisis, there are different ways of responding to events. One such way is the rise of extremist and violent movements and ideologies that use what we shall call “violent extremism” (VE) from now on.

Who is this manual for?

This manual attempts to address the Prevention of Violent Extremism (PVE from now on) both via action and by transforming the target audience: civil society, social agents, and political and social organizations on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea. It is aimed at people who may subsequently wish to delve deeper into the topic and develop educational action plans in the field of PVE. It is supplementary to the PVE educational manual.

Theory of change in this manual

The theory of change behind this manual is that a society whose fundamental needs are all met is less prone to the appearance of VE, and that in contexts of infra-satisfaction or non-satisfaction of needs, socially united groups and communities that act together in satisfying them with the aim of building a more sustainable, just and democratic future are less susceptible to VE.

Therefore, as we are going to specify and explain in the following chapters, effective prevention implies changes in social and political structures that allow for greater social justice, a higher degree of satisfaction of people’s fundamental needs¹, and changes in the way groups and communities are organized in order to make them more socially united.

From macro to micro, from “why?” to “how?” and working on needs

This manual’s layout is based on this two-fold logic (a macro-vision in order to understand and seek profound change, and micro-vision in order to understand communities and work within them), as well as on analysing several of these fundamental needs so as to understand why things happen and how we can work on such issues.

Working on the needs in order to satisfy them in a positive way and with a positive future in mind allows us to strengthen social cohesion in communities and move forward towards two goals: a) Preventing the penetration of violence; b) Strengthening organizational and mutual support skills in order to fight injustice.

1. In chapter 1, we will see what these fundamental needs are, according to the categories established by Max-Neef: subsistence, protection, identity, affection, understanding, participation, idleness, creation and freedom.

In chapters 1 and 2, we will provide a framework to help understand what VE is and how it is related to the context where it occurs and the non-fulfilment of fundamental needs in such contexts.

In chapter 3, we will start to focus on how we can work on PVE by building a more fair, democratic and sustainable future. That must always be the underlying vision in all prevention work.

In chapters 4 and 5, we get down to work on two fundamental needs that play an important role in how VE spreads and how it can be prevented, and which are essential in building social cohesion: protection/human security² and sense of belonging/identity.

While the ideal context for prevention work is one in which levels of conflict are low (positive satisfaction of needs on a collective level), the direct recipients of this manual will often have to work in contexts of medium levels (dissatisfied or poorly satisfied needs) and high levels of conflict (a struggle in the way to satisfy needs, confrontation and opposing positions) with unorganised populations that have low levels of influence on structural and political spheres. That is why we will deal with a more micro dimension (on a community level, but always in connection with a more global level) in chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, where we will see how to tackle the needs that most help us in building community and in mobilising that community in order to transform and generate more social cohesion in contexts of conflict.

This way of organising this manual will prove useful both for the direct recipients and their work with civil society and for those with greater influence and decision-making power in designing structural transformation policies.

How to read and use this manual

Throughout this manual, we will deal not only with the “why” (understanding why things happen), but also with the “how” (on how to help satisfy needs on a collective level both in heavily polarised and mildly polarised contexts). This manual supplements the Educational Manual PVE, which includes an educational plan with teaching tips for PVE trainers for all 10 chapters of this manual.

2. As noted in General Assembly resolution 66/290, “human security is an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people.” It calls for “people-centred, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people.” For more information, check 4.4 Synergic satisfiers of security: Towards security based on rights and bonds (Chapter 4).

The limitations to this manual

This manual, along with the Educational Manual PVE, only provides tools and a certain vision of work with PVE. It has been designed to facilitate personal and group change that may foster structural change. Any action taken on an isolated level that is not integrated within a larger strategy aimed at structural change will have little effect on PVE. When facing complex issues such as PVE, there is no possibility of a simple intervention. The only chance of success is on a systemic level: involving the whole community to solve needs and developing a more fair, democratic and sustainable future. If there is no focus on structural change (building a more fair, democratic and sustainable reality) and individual and collective action, there is a risk of turning PVE work into a social “pacifier” that will lead to frustration and disappointment (“Why am I doing this training if there is no foreseeable structural change or we are not mobilising to obtain that change?”).

Figure 1: Schema of the contents of this manual.



01

What is violent extremism?

Summary

How can we identify what violent extremism is? There are different forms of violence, all of which should be prevented, but the idea of a fundamental vision of the future (extremism) that is not inclusive (excluding certain groups, the other/different) and which is backed by a group of peers who use violent methods (including structural and cultural) to impose that vision, contains some elements that are crucial to understanding the logic behind VE and what causes it.

1.1 Radicalism or extremism?

We understand “radical” to mean the position people adopt when looking for profound transformation in the system; they live in order to attain a very different system³. Radicalism does not, as such, aim to transform systems at another party’s cost and/or by harming human beings, and it is not inherently connected to violent methods.

“Extremism” refers to a political agenda or a way of existing in the world that seeks a far-reaching transformation at the expense of other social groups’ freedom, and which implies an imaginary scenario where those groups are subdued. From this perspective, extremism focuses on violence (which we will define shortly) while radicalism does not.

Extremists tend to be narrow-minded supremacists while radicals normally favour open and egalitarian visions.⁴

³ This matches the spirit of the definition by Dalgaard-Nielsen (Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen, Director of the Institute for Strategy at the Royal Danish Defence College, one of the experts on Prevention of Extremist violence (2010: 798).

⁴ MIDLARSKY; MANUS I. (2011). *Origins of Political Extremism: Mass Violence in the Twentieth Century and Beyond*. (Cambridge University Press).

Introduction

Although definitions for violent extremism are becoming more alike, there is no universal definition yet. We frequently find the words “radical” and “extremist” used as synonyms, and the concepts of “violent extremism” and “terrorism” being used as one. We must therefore first clarify what “radical”, “extremism” and “violence” mean in order to subsequently define what violent extremism is and thus be able to better understand the factors that it feeds on.

Their visions of the future and of the “other” (seen as a social group with a different identity) are vital in understanding how some forms of radicalism can sometimes be part of the solution and not the problem in PVE. We will return to this matter later.

There is a tendency to associate radicalism with so-called “Islamic” extremism. It should be emphasized that no society, ideology or religious belief is immune to violent extremism. Inspired by the Plan of Action of Euro-Mediterranean civil society to Prevent all forms of Violent Extremism⁵, this manual aims to work in the prevention of all ideologies that aspire to achieve political power opting for the use of violent means over persuasion, including, among others, right or left movements, ethnical, national, class, gender or fundamentalist religious movements.

⁵ NOVACT; CMODH (2017). *Plan of Action of Euro-Mediterranean civil society to prevent all forms of violent extremism*. (Barcelona: OPEV.) <http://opev.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/EuroMed-PVE-Plan-of-Action-ENG.pdf>

1.2 What is violence?

In order to define what we mean when we refer to violence, we shall use the definition Galtung gives when referring to social conflict: “Violence appears when human beings are being influenced in such a way that the development of their physical and mental abilities is below its potential”⁶.

Violence would, therefore, lead to a difference between potential development and actual development, between what could be and what is. Violence is what prevents the gap between the two from narrowing. Galtung then differentiates between three kinds of violence:

- **Direct violence.** Carried out by an intentional party. This violence is visible, physical or psychological. It is what we normally understand as violence.
- **Structural violence.** This kind of violence is similar to social injustice and the structures that nurture that injustice. It is a more invisible kind of violence formed by the structures that prevent satisfaction of fundamental needs.
- **Cultural or symbolic violence.** Aspects of a society’s culture that legitimise the use of the other two kinds. It refers to uses of religion, ideology, science, for instance, justifying direct or structural violence.

The three kinds of violence are interdependent; they feed off each other so action must be taken against all three if violence is to disappear. Both the focus on systemic intervention and the three levels of violence fit in perfectly in organising our work on PEV which, in the end, stems from many years’ work in the field of building peace and nonviolence as social transformation in its effort to achieve more just, democratic and sustainable societies.

The interdependence of the three kinds of violence indicates that violence cannot be totally extricated from social and political matters. In other words, it cannot exist or be conceived in a void. Violence always emerges because of politics, political change, institutional obligations or non-compliance with them. Violence is not an entirely psychological issue; it is rarely pure cruelty because it always appears in interaction with institutions that try to channel or control it (or not control it, sometimes)⁷.

6 GALTUN, J. (1969) *Violence, Peace, and Peace Research* inside Journal of Peace Research. Vol. 6, No. 3 (1969), p. 167-19. (Oslo: Sage Publications, Ltd.).

7. FERRET, J. (2016). *Crisis social, movimientos y sociedad en España hoy*. p.203 (Zaragoza: Sibirana Ediciones.). In Spanish.

1.3 What is violent extremism?

“We understand violent extremism to be the ideologies that aspire to achieve political power opting for the use of violent means over persuasion. Violent extremist ideologies are based on totalitarian, fanatic, intolerant, patriarchal, anti-democratic and anti-diverse values. They can be adopted by individuals, groups, corporations or states.”⁸

In order to delve deeper into this definition and using our definitions of violence and extremism, we put forward an equation that may help us in analysing what extremist violence is.

VIOLENT EXTREMISM =

(Subduing Others-different + with violence)
x (with Others-equals)

There are two key elements in this equation: the idea of the “other” and the idea of violence. On the one hand, we have the Other-Different who someone seeks to subdue (seen as an enemy, an inferior or disposable obstacle) and on the other hand, the Other-Equal with whom someone identifies and with whom extremism is built.

- **Subduing the Other-Different in order to reach “our” vision of the world.** This violence is exercised on an Other-Different who is seen as an enemy, an accomplice or collateral damage in the struggle to achieve power in order to reach one’s own vision of the world. Groups who use VE often have a common enemy. The existence of the group is justified by the fight against those who are Other-Different.
- **Violence:** Although according to our definition any form of violent extremism intrinsically implies cultural violence (since they are supremacist, exclusive ideologies), we may add the fact that parties that have adopted violent extremism ideologies also use direct violence when they materialise their intention of imposing their vision of the world.
- **With Other-Equal:** Violent extremism is not an isolated expression of violence randomly exercised on an isolated individual. It responds to a shared identity, an ideology that identifies a common enemy and has a vision of the world it wants to reach. It is carried out by parties that want to subdue the Other-Different in order to change the world. In the case of a solitary individual acting on their own in committing multiple murders, if their motivation is a common idea that they share with other people or another group, then there is

8. NOVACT; CMODH (2017). *Plan of Action of Euro-Mediterranean civil society to prevent all forms of violent extremism*. (Barcelona: OPEV.) <http://opev.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/EuroMed-PVE-Plan-of-Action-ENG.pdf>

a “with others” aspect even if the connection may simply exist through a shared identity as opposed to someone committing that same crime whose motivation is personal (revenge, hate or mental illness). Ideology is not the main reason for joining VE movements or groups but rather the perception of suffering the same injustice as those groups (shared identity as victim). In many cases, ideology comes afterwards.

Let us look at some examples of ideologies that may be considered as VE or not in order to see if the given formula is valid. For doing that, we will give a

short explanation of each one of the analysed ideologies, we will determine which is the shared identity among its supporters, we will analyse if the supporters are a cohesionated group or not and which kind of relations exist among them, we will determine who are the different that this ideology aims to subdue, we will analyse how and when this ideology uses direct violence to subdue others and finally we will determine if, according to our suggested formula (Violent extremism = (Subduing Others-different + with violence) x (with Others-equals), this ideology should be considered as VE or not.

Table 1.1 **What is VE and what is it not? Testing the given formula:**
Violent extremism = (Subduing Others-different + with violence) x (with Others-equals).

	DEFINITION	WITH OTHER-EQUAL	SUBDUING OTHER-DIFFERENT	USE OF DIRECT VIOLENCE	EXTREMIST VIOLENCE
TAKFIRISM/ KHAWARIJ	An ideology built around sectarian extremist Muslim individuals or groups that impose an interpretation of Islam with a particular vision of life and religion on the rest of the population. It confronts people and countries regarded as unfaithful to Islam or thought to insult Islam.	Muslim population sharing the same extremist and sectarian interpretation of Islam. The shared identity is based on the grievances and excesses committed against muslims by Western states under the complicity of the Arab leaders. It exist well-defined groups that promote this ideology. Solidarity, proximity, collective identity within the group.	Other Muslims not following this interpretation of the religion (and who are considered apostates) and the non-Muslim population.	Takfirism uses cultural, structural and direct violence in order to impose its vision of the world.	It complies with all the elements of violent extremism.
ISLAMOPHOBIA	An extremist ideology based on hate, fear and rejection of Islam and by extension Muslims and the entire population of the Maghreb and Mashriq areas (even if they are not Muslims).	Non-Muslims population in non-muslim countries. The shared identity is based on the assumption of the moral superiority and progressiveness of the West and the inherent threat of Islam and Muslims. It can be the core idea in a group’s activity. It exist some defined movements, political parties and platforms that promote this ideology (such as Stop Islamisation in Europe). But in general, most of islamophobs don’t recognise themselves as being so and they don’t belong to these structures. That’s why it is not a well-defined group.	Muslims and the whole population coming from the Maghreb and Mashriq areas (even if they are not Muslims).	Islamophobia includes the element of cultural and structural violence, specially in Europe. There are various groups and people who have used direct violence such as terrorism and hate crime under this principle (Christchurch attacks in 2019, Quebec attacks in 2017). But in general, most of the islamophobs don’t support direct violence.	The link between violent extremism and extremist ideology may be the existence of a group that exercises direct violence. Islamophobia is mostly an extremist ideology that implies cultural and structural violence. The moment a specific and target group uses it to subdue others by using violence, it becomes VE.

	DEFINITION	WITH OTHER-EQUAL	SUBDUING OTHER-DIFFERENT	USE OF DIRECT VIOLENCE	EXTREMIST VIOLENCE
APARTHEID	Political and social system that enforces racial segregation and exclusion of some groups.	This is an organised system of discrimination and submission of some groups over others. The identity that enables apartheid regimes is the extreme glorification of national identity and the belief that the part of the population that is being protected are “the elected ones”	In South Africa, the black population. In Israel, the Palestinian population.	Direct violence exists in various forms as a way of imposing its structural violence system.	Apartheid has its own identity and its own international measures, but it can be considered a totalitarian regime with violent extremist ideologies at its core.
FASCISM	Political philosophy, social movement and regime that exalts nation and often race, structured politically by an authoritarian state and a strong leadership.	The shared identity among its supporters is the extreme glorification of national identity and the deep feeling that they are “the elected ones”. It is a well-defined group. Solidarity, proximity, collective identity within the group.	Fascism is based on identifying an Other who must be subdued (a scapegoat or an enemy who gives the group its identity).	Cultural violence is present in any of its expressions and direct violence is one of the ways it imposes itself or maintains power.	It complies with all of the elements of violent extremism.
KU-KLUX-KLAN	Far-right organisation that claimed white supremacy as its main vision and emerged after the Civil War in the USA.	The shared identity among its supporters is white supremacy. A well-defined group. Solidarity, proximity, collective identity within the group.	The black population.	Direct violence is one of their strategies and tactics.	It complies with all the elements of violent extremism.
GOLDEN DAWN	Greek ultranationalist far-right political party.	A well-defined group with a neo-Nazi and fascist ideology. The shared identity among its supporters is the extreme glorification of national identity and white supremacy. It is a well-defined group. Solidarity, proximity, collective identity within the group.	It is a specific example of fascism. The “Other” who must be subdued is the immigrant population and other races.	Although they deny it, they promote violence. In fact, they have been taken to court on several occasions and some of their members have been arrested for various degrees of direct violence.	It complies with all the elements of violent extremism.
SEXISM	Prejudice and discrimination based on people’s gender. Linked to stereotypes and gender roles. It mostly affects women and girls, but also LGBTQI community.	An extremist ideology that creates a common identity although it is often a sub-conscious identity. In general, it is not a well-defined group and most of sexists don’t recognise themselves as being so.	The female population. The LGBTQI community.	Abuse, murder, harassment, workplace discrimination, rape, etc.	Sexism is an extremist ideology that permeates all of society. Hence, it could be seen as extremism but not necessarily a violent extremist ideology. The moment a specific and target group uses it to subdue others by using violence, it becomes VE.

Submitting the definition to different practices and extremist ideologies shows that the line between what violent extremism is and what it is not is often blurred, although the line is clearer between which ideologies are extremist and which are not. A key point is whether there is a more defined group that wants to reach political power or reach their vision of the world by subduing the Other, but the analysis becomes complex when ideologies such as Islamophobia or sexism are widespread over various parties, actions and attitudes.

1.4 What causes VE?

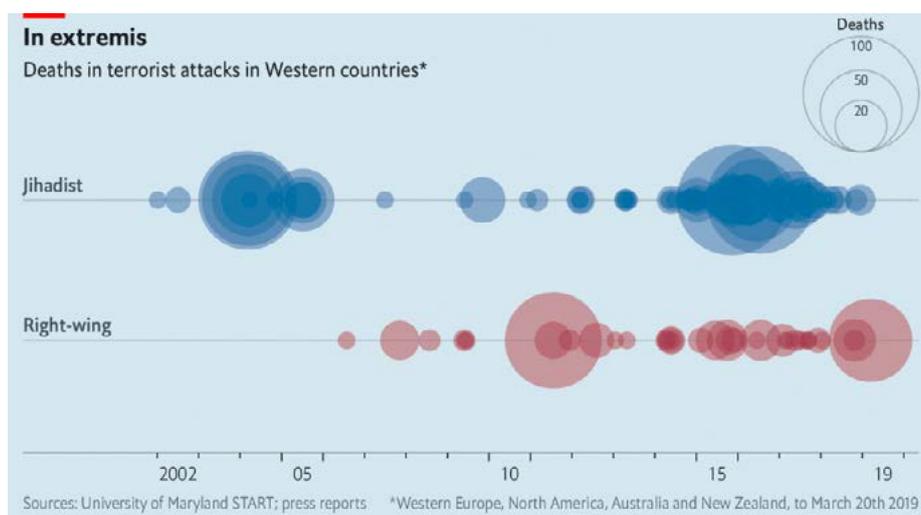
There are different ways of analysing the factors that may affect the appearance of violent extremism. Some focus on analysing the context (structural factors), others on the influence of social groups (social factors) and others on the evolution of individuals (individual factors). Some analysts focus on what pushes people to VE and what attracts people to VE (push and pull factors) while others analyse conditions of vulnerability and resilience among communities. All of these analyses are complementary. We will combine several of these approaches and our analysis will be based on the interdependence between structural, social and individual factors⁹.

The main thesis is that people who are exposed to violence (direct, structural, and cultural) are more prone to responding with violence. We must not forget that we understand structural violence to be a situation in which humans' fundamental needs are not satisfied or are negatively satisfied. If people and their social environment are exposed to vio-

In any case, what we strive for is to prevent the emergence of extremist ideologies that exercise violence (direct, cultural and/or structural) in defined groups (identity and common goals) in order to dominate (reach power through submission). In order to do so, the focus on prevention in this manual is aimed at satisfying needs in a collective, nonviolent way. This focus is valid both in clear cases of VE and in cases where VE is not so clear but where there is no doubt that violence (direct, cultural and/or structural) does exist. We will now concentrate on what phenomena affect the emergence of VE.

lence and this violence is exercised in a context of structural crisis, the chances of violent response increase. In a context of violence, becoming involved in violent extremist ideas offers recognition and security, and gives a meaning to one's existence.

Many European leaders openly point to Islamic ideology as the number one cause of violent extremism. But the fact is that there are other factors that explain radicalisation more than the religious one. As an example, the largest number of attacks in which a terrorist affiliation could be identified in Europe in 2016 were carried out by ethno-nationalist and separatist extremists (99), although jihadist attacks (13) caused much more casualties (135)¹⁰. Furthermore, according to the following graphics produced by The Economist, we can observe that in Western countries since 2002, the number of casualties due to VE attacks coming from far right movements and the ones linked with jihadism is really similar.



9. AL RAFFIE, D. (2013). "Social Identity Theory for Investigating Islamic Extremism in the Diaspora", *Journal of Strategic Security*. Vol. 6, no. 4, ISSN 1944-0472, pp. 67-91.

10. EUROPOL (2017): Terrorism situation and Trend report. (The Hague:European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation). <https://www.europol.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/tesat2017.pdf>

In conclusion, subjects who are radicalized are not simply “misinterpreting the Quran or Islam”. There is an environment that breeds violence and extremism. And that’s why it is necessary to understand the real factors that motivate individuals to adopt any form of violent extremism.

In the following two chapters, we will focus on analysing the context that causes infra-satisfaction of needs (that we will name it as Global Crises) and the possible future scenarios that may channel the satisfying elements we choose (towards scenarios preventing VE or those that promote it). Now, we will analyse which are the basic human needs, which of those needs causes each form of violence (direct, structural and cultural) and which factors are behind human needs.

1.4.1 WHAT DO WE UNDERSTAND BY FUNDAMENTAL NEEDS AND SATISFACTION OF SUCH NEEDS?

According to the Theory of Human Scale Development¹¹, people have finite fundamental needs that are common to all human beings and to all times. These fundamental needs are: subsistence, protection, affection, participation, identity, freedom, creation and idleness.

According to this concept, all of the needs we are discussing are common to anybody reading this manual. What changes is the way we satisfy those needs, that depends on context or time. In other words, which satisfiers people uses in order to fulfill their needs according to their context and their availability of time.

There are two main kinds of satisfiers:

- **Collective synergic satisfiers:** Those that satisfy a need while fostering the satisfaction of other needs and the needs of others. These factors are contrary to the dominating logic of competition or coercion.
- **Negative satisfiers¹²:** The way of satisfying the need prevents the satisfaction of other needs in the medium and long term and may even prevent satisfaction of the need it is trying to satisfy. These satisfiers also imply Others not being able to satisfy their needs.

Both prevention of VE and its proliferation operate in a context of perception of non-satisfaction of people’s and social groups’ fundamental needs, and they both offer satisfiers for those same needs. The satisfiers chosen by groups who embrace VE act as attractors (pull factors). Both the non-satisfaction of needs and negative satisfiers chosen through mistaken PVE, will also push them towards VE (push factors). Nevertheless, we should highlight that the negative satisfiers that occur in VE logics also act as push factors through PVE (in case they generate insecurity, frustration, disappointment, loss of individual identity and lack of participation). Finally, by analyzing positive or collective synergic satisfiers that take place on a community, it will help us understand its level of resilience and its ability to prevent and transform VE.

Table 1.2. **Max-Neef’s Fundamental human needs and how they can be solved through collective or negative satisfiers**

NEEDS	COLLECTIVE SYNERGIC SATISFIER	NEGATIVE SATISFIER	NEEDS THAT THE NEGATIVE SATISFIER PREVENTS
Subsistence	Self-managed production	Food supply programmes	Subsistence (medium term), identity, participation
Protection	Creation of networks, mutual support, trust, preventive medicine	Building walls, gathering weapons, isolating those who make you feel insecure	Subsistence, affection, participation, freedom, security (short and medium term)

11. MAX-NEEF, M. et. al (1991). *Human scale Development*. (New York: The Apex Press.) <http://www.wtf.tw/ref/max-neef.pdf>

12. Max-Neef refers to different types of negative satisfiers: Inhibiting satisfiers (which oversatisfy a need at the cost of another need), pseudo ones (which apparently satisfy in the short term but not in the mid and long term), and destructive ones (which prevent the satisfaction of that same need in the medium term and destroy the satisfaction of other needs).

NEEDS	COLLECTIVE SYNERGIC SATISFIER	NEGATIVE SATISFIER	NEEDS THAT THE NEGATIVE SATISFIER PREVENTS
Affection	Shared care within the community (support network in welfare)	Exclusive bonds, affection through obedience, dependent relationships	Identity (short and medium term), freedom
Participation	Participatory democracy (and some forms of representative sociocracy)	Actively taking part in a group that marginalises or excludes, taking part without knowing the people one is participating with, giving an opinion but the opinion not altering the decision significantly	Affection, freedom, security
Identity	Collectively built identity that harnesses diversity	Identity built based on a common enemy	Security, freedom
Freedom	Building respect, tolerance and mutual support	Creating freedom spaces by “sending the different ones out of those spaces” (building walls, gathering weapons, etc.)	Short and medium term: security, freedom, affection

How many needs must be unsatisfied simultaneously or at what level in order for a group or individual to become involved in VE is unclear (that analysis must be adapted to the context), but there is no doubt about their interdependence: a high degree of non-satisfaction of one of the needs will surely bring about non-satisfaction of other needs. For the time being, the analysis of VE focuses on those concerning subsistence, security, freedom, participation and affection.

Seeing the non-satisfaction of individual and collective needs as a possible scenario for the appearance of VE allows us to avoid assuming that only the more impoverished populations¹³ are vulnerable. Socio-economic status is not a crucial element in fostering the adoption of violent extremist ideas. In fact, many of the people that join terrorist movements do not come from poor backgrounds.

It also allows us to separate VE from an individual focus that sees joining VE as a process of personal

change that must be short-circuited. Even so, using generalising patterns applied to all individuals is dangerous, since not everybody responds the same way in the same situation. Violent extremism is a complex, multifactorial phenomenon. Having social characteristics or similar experiences does not mean that all people will do the same thing. It is important to point out that not everybody exposed to a violent environment will end up adopting ideologies of violent extremism as an entire population group, which would lead to a situation of self-fulfilling prophecies. In any case, positive satisfaction of people’s and communities’ needs, when carried out together with those people and communities, will minimise the appearance of VE.

In order to develop this idea, the following table explains what that generates each kind of need (factors), and which kind of violence the non-satisfaction of those needs’ causes.

13. Marc Sageman, a forensic psychiatrist and former CIA Case Officer, has reviewed and collected information from media and open-source documents (e.g., courtroom testimony) on several hundred Al-Qaeda-related cases. Thomas Hegghammer analyzed two hundred and forty biographies—including seventy “extensive” ones—by (post-2002) Saudi militants. They both refuted this false assumption.

Table 1.3. **Types of violence and their link with under-fulfilment of needs**

	NEEDS	FACTORS
Direct violence	...	Political repression, human rights violations ¹⁴
Structural violence	Subsistence	Lack of economic opportunities and access to basic goods (housing, food, water, etc.)
	Protection	Physical or psychological insecurity
	Affection	Social fracture, individualism, isolation
	Understanding	Lack of critical skills, little research, faulty communication, low educational level
	Participation	Lack of democracy, hierarchical or authoritarian systems
	Identity	Lack of self-esteem, endangered customs, marginalised language
	Freedom	Inability to dissent or give one's opinion, autocracy
	Creation	Not open to new ideas, scarce curiosity for new things, limited expression
	Leisure	High stress levels, restlessness
Cultural violence	...	Marginalization and discrimination, justification of violence

1.5 How to anticipate? Prevention means transformation: nonviolence that transforms

Any intervention in the field of prevention must be aimed at changing the situation of injustice that is causing it and not only at the people within that context. It must bear in mind the relationship between individual, group and structural levels of transformation and take action on each one of them. The intention of changing the context must be sincere and have a local and global scale. It must satisfy current needs and at the same time change the structure that causes under-fulfilment. If not, we

would generate a negative satisfier that would produce frustration in the medium term. In this vein, certain movements seen as radical may contribute to PVE strategies provided that they are nonviolent and favour transformation, seeking to change an unfair system for a fair one (e.g. the Arab Uprisings, environmentalist movements, feminist movements,...). In the following table, we will analyse which are the characteristics that nonviolent interventions operating at the field of PVE must accomplish.

Table 1.4. **Prevention of Violent Extremism: Nonviolent interventions.**

<p>Nonviolence that transforms = (Without violence + against violence) × with Others Nonviolence that transforms = Nonviolent resistance + Nonviolent construction</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Against violence Be it direct, structural or cultural.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With Others: Building with Others and not wishing to eliminate those who are different.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resistance: Protest, fight and claim rights in a nonviolent way.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction: Satisfies needs in a synergic way, not just demanding satisfiers.

14. Human rights violations may appear in most categories depending on which human right was violated.

In the context where we are going to act (Chapter 2) both on a local and a global level, the choice of non-violent transformation is a key element. The logic of domination used by violent strategies is coherent in its means and ends, and that makes it very powerful (end: domination; means: violence). When working on transformative prevention, we need that same coherence: the means justify the ends (what we do must be geared towards the end we are seeking, and the way of satisfying fundamental needs must be a part of that end -a just, democratic and sustainable society-). Otherwise, it would be impossible to differentiate them clearly since the ends would become means to other ends. The further the distance between the means and the ends, the easier it will be for the objectives to be corrupted.

A strategy that uses transformative prevention (non-violent) has more chances of success (by leading changes in the situations of injustice) than those which confront VE with its same strategies (domination). This higher percentage of success is due to several factors:

- Generally, nonviolent transformative prevention of VE obtains more legitimacy at local, national, regional and international level.
- It motivates higher levels of participation in its implementation and isolates the groups that spread extremist violence ideologies.
- For those who prone VE, it is more difficult to demonize the enemy if it is a peaceful group rather than a violent one.
- Moral arguments are vital when there are confronting sides, and nonviolence usually has higher moral legitimacy.
- It is easier to come to negotiations since the other side does not feel physically threatened and it does not have any casualties.
- Nonviolence places the battlefield into a completely different scenario: it disarms violent strategies, which expect a mimetic response. It is also capable of dispersing and having multiple objectives.
- It solves people's fundamental needs and is thus coherent with the future it seeks.

However, nonviolent transformative prevention strategies also have their flaws. In order to be successful, they require more widespread participation, they make it harder to control strategic resources, and the perception of them as efficient is weaker in contexts of violence because in those contexts people demand a blunt response with an immediate effect. Thus, nonviolent transformative prevention are not seen as mechanisms of response to attacks. Nevertheless, strategies that are aimed at transform-

ing contexts of injustice through nonviolent means are more successful than security-based measures only, which do not act on the contexts that lead to VE and can worsen the situation by restricting citizens' freedom and profiling certain social groups.

In that search for nonviolent transformation to prevent the appearance of VE, we are going to focus on understanding the fundamental needs of identity, participation, affection and understanding (focusing on communication) and on how to satisfy them in a synergic way so as to move towards more just, democratic and sustainable future scenarios.

We will concentrate on those needs because:

1. We believe they are the best suited in terms of the level of intervention that stems from this manual, which is designed for short training sessions for social parties engaged in social change in communities at different levels.
2. They are the most frequently cited in the field of VE and PVE.
3. They help us build up social cohesion in groups so we can empower them to fight and build a more just future.

We will talk about the need for subsistence in the second and third chapters related to the influence on the reasons why VE can happen. The underfulfilment of this need is very important in generating vulnerable contexts. Subsistence is a need that should be addressed in any PVE strategy but not alone. In this manual we give some ideas on how to address the community work in order to satisfy this need. But the satisfaction of this need is part of the community work and strategies that are supplementary to this manual.

02

Why does VE happen?

Summary

We are going through a multidimensional global crisis in environmental, economic and social terms. One of its main consequences is greater non-fulfilment of fundamental needs which, in turn, leads to an increase in the factors that foster VE.

2.1 Global crisis

Today's world is characterised by an intersection of different crises that are transforming the prevailing world order.

2.1.1 ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS

The available energy and raw materials set the limits of possible human organisations. Social order requiring more than what is available is not feasible. This concept, which seems obvious, has been "forgotten" since the beginning of the fossil fuel era when there was widespread availability, and such fuel's energy density has led to access to huge and varied amounts of resources (minerals, biomass, etc.). The limits have been stretched to such an extent that societies have acted as if those limits did not exist and human beings were omnipotent. But this situation is reaching its end due to the conjunction of different environmental crises such as the energy crisis, the materials crisis, the loss of biodiversity and climate change.

Energy and materials crisis

Our capacity to extract "good" oil (for conventional petrol) is starting to drop and soon we will start running out of oil if it is not already happening¹⁵. The same thing will happen to gas¹⁶, coal and uranium in

15. MINQI, L. (2018). World Oil 2018-2050: World Energy Annual Report. Part 2. (Utah: Department of Economics, University of Utah). <<http://peakoilbarrel.com/world-oil-2018-2050-world-energy-annual-report-part-2/>>

16. MINQI, L. (2018). *World Natural Gas 2018-2050: World Energy*

Introduction

In Chapter 1, we have given a general framework to help us understand what factors foster the emergence of VE. We will now specifically analyse the characteristic elements of the current crisis and how they contribute to VE.

the coming decades.

Fossils are classified (or in some cases were classified) by: availability regardless of natural rhythms, ease of storage, easy transportation, high energy density, availability in large quantities, great versatility of use, highly profitable energy-wise (with little energy invested we can obtain large quantities of energy) and cheapness. An alternative source of energy would have to comply with all such characteristics and have little environmental impact, since our environment is already greatly deteriorated. Neither renewable energy nor nuclear energy, nor agrofuel, nor the combination of all of these can replace fossils¹⁷.

We are also close to reaching the peak of maximum extraction of many basic elements such as copper and phosphorous. Soil and water are also endangered resources, especially in Mediterranean countries.

Loss of biodiversity

We are currently going through the sixth mass extinction of species in the history of the planet. Through its ecosystemic functions (photosynthesis, adjustment of the climate, purification of air and water, pollination, edaphogenesis), biodiversity is the

Annual Report. Part 3. (Utah: Department of Economics, University of Utah). <<http://peakoilbarrel.com/world-natural-gas-2018-2050-world-energy-annual-report-part-3/>>

17. FERNÁNDEZ DURÁN, R.; GONZÁLEZ REYES, L. (2018). *En la espiral de la energía.* (Madrid: Ecologistas en Acción y Baladre). In Spanish. MILLS, M. P. (2019): *The "New Energy Economy": An Exercise in Magical Thinking.* (New York: Manhattan Institute).

main support for human existence and is irreplaceable. Therefore, the loss of these functions generates a situation of social stress.

Climate change

Due to its complexity, the climate system behaves in a non-linear way. This non-linear behaviour is based on positive feedback processes in which the effects amplify the causes once they reach a certain threshold¹⁸. These processes are about to be activated. If that happens, climate balance will change and so will the conditions of all ecosystems, regardless of what we humans may do.

crease in the frequency and intensity of extreme phenomena (droughts, hurricanes and torrential rain), oceanic water acidification and a decrease in the fertility of land on most of the planet. Climate change is already the main cause of migration worldwide, the Euro-Mediterranean region being one of the worst hit areas.

Even so, there need not be a relationship between the environmental crisis and an increase in VE. The environmental crisis increases social stress, but if this is not managed in a violent way (direct and structural violence) it does not necessarily imply an increase in VE ideologies.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS AND THE CIVIL WAR IN SYRIA

The civil war in Syria is the result of complex interrelated factors. The ultimate motives are socio-political, but social organisations suffer from tension if there are changes in their physical surroundings.

Between 2006 and 2011, Syria suffered the “worst long-term drought and most severe set of crop failures since agricultural civilizations began in the Fertile Crescent many millennia ago” [Gary Nabhan, as cited by Femia and Werrell (2013)]¹⁹. These are the kinds of droughts that scientific models predict as a consequence of climate change. Meanwhile, the regime encouraged cotton and wheat irrigation, farming which made underground aquifers and surface reservoirs dry up.

One of the consequences of the drought was that in the north-east of the country around 75% of rural workers lost their harvests and 85% of the livestock died, thus affecting around 1.3 million people, only between 2006-2009²⁰. The combination of very severe drought, persistent multiyear crop failures, and the related economic deterioration led to very significant dislocation and migration of rural communities to the cities. These factors further contributed to urban unemployment, poor settlements multiplication, economic dislocations and social unrest²¹. An estimated 800,000 people have taken part in this exodus since 2010.

Another factor was that, in 2012, Syria stopped exporting oil and began importing it since it had surpassed its oil peak. This also meant that consumption dropped dramatically, thus strengthening the crisis and weakening the country’s agricultural capacity which was largely dependent on petrol.

Impoverishment and uprooting along with a lack of freedom became unbearable while the environmental crisis (which also affected the economic crisis) worsened.

This does not diminish the importance of the role of foreign powers in the conflict. Syria is an enclave of great geopolitical importance. Even so, the scarcity of resources caused by environmental deterioration was an important factor that led to the war in Syria.

Some of the consequences of global warming are: rising sea level, disappearance of coastland, in-

18. WIKIPEDIA (2019). *Climate change feedback*. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Climate_change_feedback

19. FEMIA, F.; WERRELL, C (2013). *Syria: Climate change, drought, and social unrest*. (Washington: The Center for Climate and Security). [Available online at <http://climateandsecurity.org/2012/02/29/syria-climate-change-drought-and-social-unrest/>.]

20. GLEICK, P.H. (2014). *Water, Drought, Climate Change, and Conflict in Syria*. (Oakland, California: Pacific Institute). <https://journals.amsoc.org/doi/full/10.1175/WCAS-D-13-00059.1>

21. GLEICK, P.H. (2014). *Water, Drought, Climate Change, and Conflict in Syria*. (Oakland, California: Pacific Institute). <https://journals.amsoc.org/doi/full/10.1175/WCAS-D-13-00059.1>

CLIMATE CHANGE AND THE DAESH EMERGENCY IN SAHEL

Sahel, a semi-arid region between the Sahara Desert and the Sudanese savannah in Africa, is one of the areas worst hit by climate change. Across this region, temperature increases are forecast to be 1.5 times higher than the global average, according to the United Nations.

There is some uncertainty as to whether the Sahel is becoming wetter or drier, but some have noted that both wet and dry spells are becoming more severe²², increasing the likelihood of extreme weather events. This is causing great difficulties in satisfying the need of subsistence in an environment marked by serious inequality. About 50 million people in the Sahel are shepherds whose livelihoods depend on rearing livestock. But droughts and floods triggered by climate change are shrinking their lands, leaving over 29 million people in food insecurity.

Marginalised communities in the Western Sahel “have been left to manage the devastating impacts of climate change on their traditional livelihoods on their own [...]. This has created fertile ground for recruitment by Jihadist groups”²³. Violent extremists’ movements, including Boko Haram, al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Daesh have flourished in the last decade in the region. Evidence suggests that a combination of historical, social and political factors, exacerbated by more frequent and severe extreme weather events, are being used by extremist violent groups to grow in the region²⁴.

2.1.2 ECONOMIC CRISIS

The so called “economic crisis” of 2007/2008 led to a financial breakdown that had an impact at great scale. In order to function correctly, our socio-economic system requires a continuous increase in profit, but this is no longer possible in large quantities or continually:

- The growth in productivity is gradually slowing down²⁵ since, among other things, we are reaching the physical limits of energy and materials, thus limiting viable investment in technology.
- In recent years, there has been a gradual degradation in working conditions, which is especially evident in the Euro-Mediterranean region. This process cannot continue indefinitely without compromising consumption and social reproduction.
- The financial economy has been able to encourage economic growth, but since the 1970s the world’s GDP has been growing at a slower pace than debt. This has caused an accumulation of unpayable debt.
- Maintaining the exploitation of nature (which is indispensable in order to grow) is no longer via-

ble since we have already reached the environmental limits.

- There are no longer large regions outside the world market which may generate new profit by being incorporated into the market.
- On a worldwide level, but mainly in western countries, most of population’s needs are satisfied by resorting to the market. Although this has generated big profits, the commercialisation of life cannot grow for much longer. In other regions such as the Maghreb and the Mashriq, there is still room for profit under strategies such as “inclusive capitalism”. Nevertheless, this is probably not enough to maintain a sustainable expansion in profit.

A globalized, industrial economy is only sustainable via heavy consumption of fossil fuels. Therefore, the process of deglobalization that is already underway²⁶ can only pick up speed. As an economy becomes more local, so do politics and culture. The combination of this process with the structural crisis of the capitalist system is making room for other economic formats. New social organisations are being built through either economies of solidarity (especially in the Euro zone) or a domineering logic (locally based neocapitalism or neofeudalism). Depending on which model prevails, there will be an increase or decrease in structural violence.

22. SYLLA, M.B. et al (2016): “Climate Change over West Africa: Recent Trends and Future Projections”. In book: Joseph A. Yaro, Jan Hesselberg. *Adaptation to Climate Change and Variability in Rural West Africa*. (Springer International Publishing Editors).

23. FACTBOOK (2019): *Climate change and violent extremism in the Western Sahel*. <https://factbook.ecc-platform.org/conflicts/climate-change-and-terrorism-western-sahel>

24. FACTBOOK (2019): *Climate change and violent extremism in the Western Sahel*. <https://factbook.ecc-platform.org/conflicts/climate-change-and-terrorism-western-sahel>

25. VAN ARK, B; ERUMBAN, A. (2015). *The Conference Board Productivity Brief 2015*. (The Conference Board International.)

26. GONZÁLEZ REYES, L.; BÁRCENA, L. (2020): *¿Ha empezado el fin de la globalización?*. <https://www.elsaltodiario.com/coronavirus/tratados-comerciales-proteccionismo-china-estados-unidos-ue-petroleo-ha-empezado-fin-globalizacion>. In Spanish.

2.1.3 SOCIAL CRISIS

In the Euro-Mediterranean region, the environmental and economic crises are being managed in such a way that the social crisis is increasing²⁷. In other words, inequality and exclusion are increasing²⁸, thereby eroding people's ability to take part on a political level and eventually increasing the unfulfilment of basic needs. The shock waves of this structural crisis on several social levels caused severe damages and created a fertile ground for VE ideologies.

In the context of the global crisis, states as a form of social organisation are being weakened. In the case of strong states, the trend is for them to become weaker (as seen in the EU or Ukraine). States which are already weak can obviously only get weaker, too.

On one hand, states are becoming more economically fragile. Their capacity to generate income is limited (difficulty in generating income through taxes due to increasing unemployment and lower salaries, greater difficulty in taxing companies, growth of an underground economy), costs are growing (management of migration and natural disasters caused by climate change, wars for resources such as the wars in Libya and Iraq, bailout of bankrupt companies and banks), there are overheads that will be difficult to cut back on (maintenance of infrastructures, paying off debt) and the financial capacity is decreasing at least in "less trustworthy" states (the so-called PIGS and MENA).

On the other hand, the middle classes have been a key element in the development of states. Their mass consumption has upheld growth and by voting for "centrist/liberal" parties and supporting the regimes in power they have ensured political stability. A reasonable degree of physical, psychological and financial security is a key feature of the middle classes, but these elements are now endangered due to the predominance of precarious employment and the reduction in social services.

Furthermore, states are gradually losing legitimacy, especially in the Maghreb and Mashriq region due to the following factors:

- The population is experiencing decreasing spending power while the state is less able to provide aid for social needs. The social state, which was built on profits made by growing productivity thanks to an enormous flow of energy, is no longer sustainable.

- The dilution of the social state and the crisis is leading to greater social self-organization. This, in turn, leads to greater disaffection towards a state that is seen as useless.
- States are less capable of maintaining social peace.
- Corruption is increasing because with legal methods of obtaining profits becoming more difficult, more people are turning to illegal methods.

All the above mentioned factors of the social crises (including the attempts to tackle the economic crisis by increasing social inequality and the demise of public services that we have already mentioned) together with other factors linked with other dimensions of the global crisis (such as economic crisis, shortage of energy, climate change, erosion, problems with access to drinking water,...) are putting more strain on the structure of society and which especially affect the disadvantaged. These factors may entail a decrease in population and/or changes in population distribution (increasing migration from areas with fewer resources to areas with more resources).

A decrease in population may thus occur as a result of different processes such as famine or genocide. Another possible reason could be a collectively organized population decrease (respectful systems of birth control). Between the two extremes, we can find cases such as Russia, Poland and Ukraine where, after the collapse of the Soviet Bloc, the population decreased due to people simply dying younger or migrating, among other factors. The worst-case scenarios in population decrease may generate high levels of both direct and structural violence, thus increasing the chances of growth in VE.

Changes in population distribution may occur because impoverished populations are trying to get to richer areas on a massive scale (with high mortality rates and suffering on the way). The extremely restrictive migration policies in the EU are encouraging the creation of mafias (which on occasions help finance VE²⁹), but mainly increasing inter-ethnic tensions that feed VE.

In the following section we delve into pull and push factors that encourage VE and their link with the social crises: Lack of socio-economic opportunities, Marginalization and discrimination, Political repression, violation of human rights and the rule of law, Prolonged, unresolved conflict, Indoctrination i

27. COUNCIL OF EUROPE (2013). *Safeguarding human rights in times of economic crisis*. Commissioner for Human Rights.

28. COUNCIL OF EUROPE (2013). *Safeguarding human rights in times of economic crisis*. Commissioner for Human Rights.

29. LOUNNAS, D. (2018): *The links between jihadi organizations and illegal trafficking in the Sahel*. (Middle East and North Africa Regional Architecture: Mapping Geopolitical Shifts, Regional Order and Domestic Transformations) https://www.cidob.org/content/download/71751/2258106/version/1/file/MENARA_Working%20paper_25_18.pdf

SOCIAL CRISIS IN TUNISIA

Ben Ali's regime drove the neo-liberal restructuring of the Tunisian economy and its dependent incorporation into the global economy. As a result of these policies, there was a drop in spending power among salaried workers, higher unemployment rates (mainly among young people) and an increase in job insecurity that affected around 60% of employed workers³⁰. On top of that, the regime shut down political participation and exercised repression. All of these factors could have triggered massive VE, but it was generally channelled through the Tunisian Revolution, which meant an improvement in some of the structural elements the population were suffering from. Another resilience factor against the social crisis has been the solidarity within the community, which has mainly been driven by the trade unions, especially the Tunisian General Labour Union (UGTT), activists of the *Union des Diplômés Chômeurs* (UDC), human rights champions such as the members of the Tunisian League of Human Rights (LTDH) and the massive participation from women in the uprising movement. This built mutual support structures, thus minimizing structural violence.

2.2 Pull and push factors that encourage VE

As we described in Chapter 1, there are two categories of factors that encourage the appearance of VE: “drive factors” (push) and “call factors” (pull). Both appear in certain social contexts linked to direct, structural and cultural violence, which are the core basis of VE.

Table 2.1. Summary of the contexts that favour VE³¹ and their relationship with different types of violence

CONTEXT AND DRIVERS OF VIOLENT EXTREMISM		Main type of related violence
Lack of socio-economic opportunities	Great social inequality.	Structural
	Part of the population living in poverty.	Structural
	Corruption and lack of governmental legitimacy.	Structural
	Lack of control over natural resources.	Structural
Marginalization and discrimination	Little social cohesion.	Structural
	Social competition for scarce resources.	Structural
	Political and economic marginalization of certain social sectors.	Structural
	Stigmatization of parts of society.	Cultural
Political repression, violation of human rights and the rule of law	Lack of respect for human, economic, social and cultural rights.	Structural / Direct
	Repression.	Direct
Prolonged, unresolved conflict	Numerous unresolved conflicts.	Direct
	Large number of refugees or migrants.	Structural / Direct
Indoctrination in prison	Harsh treatment of incarcerated population.	Direct

30. HIBOU. B.; MEDDEB. H.; HAMDI. M. (2011): *Tunisia after 14 January and its social and political economy. The issues at stake in a reconfiguration of European Policy* (Copenhagen: Euro-mediterranean Human Rights Network) <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/515013412.pdf>

31. UN (2015). *Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism*. https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/674

We will now delve into some of these drivers and analyse their relationships with the global crisis, which favours the conditions for growth that VE needs. However, we would like to clarify that the global crisis also offers new opportunities for solving the structural causes of VE.

2.2.1 LACK OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

The Euro-Mediterranean region has a high population density and heavy inequality. Over recent decades, the unprecedented economic crisis affecting this region has generated low and negative levels of growth. The neoliberal economic and social policies implemented by regional governments in response to the economic crisis have generated extraordinary levels of inequality in this region, aggravated by the general failure to create decent jobs for youth, to reduce poverty and unemployment, to control corruption, to control the exploitation of natural resources and to manage relationships among different communities in line with their human rights obligations. States with high levels of inequalities are also more prone to violent extremism and tend to witness a greater number of incidents linked to violent extremism. Citizens may also consider weak development outcomes as a confirmation of the lack of a government's legitimacy, making state institutions less effective in responding to violent extremism when it arises.

The existence of high levels of inequality have generated low levels of social cohesion and a lack of socioeconomic and cultural opportunities and gender justice particularly affecting stratified social classes and communities. The lack of access to opportunities for particular social classes or specific cultural communities generates alienation, the estrangement of people from aspects of their citizenship, and thus fertile ground for the propaganda of violent extremist organizations.

The lack of socioeconomic and cultural opportunities has weakened the resilience of communities in the Euro-Mediterranean region in opposing the violent extremist propaganda, and fostered distrust towards governments' state institutions. The rising lack of a solid social contract between the government and the governed is fuelling extremist alternatives. Furthermore, the general lack of employment opportunities, especially when it affects specific regions, can make violent extremist organizations an attractive source of income.

Finally, our societies need to continue to be patriarchal in order to confront the economic crisis. On

one hand, they force women to do care-related tasks that are vital for social reproduction (feeding, hygiene, emotional support, etc.) for free. On the other hand, they increasingly incorporate women into the salaried market (more in the European Union than in the Maghreb and Mashriq), albeit in worse working conditions than the men. This exerts extra pressure on salaries and lowers them, thus only allowing households to maintain their level of consumption by having two small salaries instead of one. On a deeper level, power relations on the macro-scale are reproduced on the micro-scale and they are mainly expressed via the patriarchy. However, this smaller scale struggle is another, as shown by the surge of feminism, especially in some countries of Europe.

2.2.2 MARGINALISATION AND DISCRIMINATION

The global crisis and the unfulfilment of needs that we have described is creating a situation of heavy, highly complex conflict, especially when people begin to consider one group's needs to be incompatible with another group's needs (even if they are not incompatible, the choice of negative satisfiers will lead to social conflict. Check chapter 1 Table 1.2). Conflict is occurring between urban and rural sectors, between those who have resources and those who do not, between workers and employers, among the world's middle classes who want to maintain their privileges, between different age groups who will suffer in different ways, among the impoverished population, between genders, etc.

No country in the Euro-Mediterranean region is homogeneous. It is important to stress that diversity itself does not lead to or exacerbate a country's vulnerability to violent extremism. The problem comes with inequality in access to opportunities. The crisis has aggravated insecurities as scarce resources and the fear of need lead to social competition for well-being among the most marginalized and discriminated communities. This competition is aggravating previous structural and cultural violence systems against specific communities and social classes. The state itself fosters those dynamics, as we can see in the construction of ghettos in several countries from the Euro-Mediterranean region. Moreover, some medias spread violent extremism ideologies targeting specific population categories and fuel fear and hate among the citizens.

MARGINALISATION AND VE IN ETTADHAMEN

The Ettadhamen neighbourhood of Tunis is an example of a degraded urban area. Informally arising as a result of the rural exodus, it is one of the most populated neighborhoods in the capital of Tunisia. The high population density, unemployment and institutional abandonment suffered by the inhabitants make it a breeding ground for VE³². In fact, the 80.5% of Ettadhamen youth know somebody that joined DAESH in Syria³³.

Given the void left by the state, VE groups appear as a way to make sense of existence and acquire a social status. Even so, as we have said above, the void left by the state also gives way to new anti-violent social expressions and community organizations to respond to the population's needs.

Interethnic is one of the main areas of conflict, although it is actually penetrated by class conflict, too. In wealthy regions, there are clashes between the "autochthonous" population (with more means and rights) and the migrant population or autochthonous population lacking "national pedigree" (young, impoverished, humiliated and with fewer rights).^{32,33}

In the case of Europe, the new rhetoric of exclusion is based on what Taguieff has called "differential racism", a doctrine that exaggerates the essential and irreducible cultural difference of non-European immigrant communities and which supposedly threatens the host country's national identity. Immigrants are seen as a threat to the nation's cultural integrity, with the media and politicians alluding to the threat of cultural alienation. In other words, the "problem" is not "us", but "them", who are foreign and culturally "different". The native population of the Maghreb and Mashriq countries resident in Europe is in the spotlight of conflict. This feeds VE in both wealthy and impoverished regions.

2.2.3 POLITICAL REPRESSION, VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW

When poor governance is combined with repressive policies and practices that violate human rights and the rule of law, the attractiveness of VE tends to be heightened. Violations of international law on human rights committed in the name of state security can foster violent extremism by marginalizing individuals and alienating key constituencies, thus gen-

erating community support and sympathy for and complicity in the actions of violent extremists³⁴. Violent extremists also actively seek to exploit state repression and other grievances in their fight against the state. Thus, governments that exhibit repressive, heavy-handed security responses in violation of human rights and the rule of law, such as profiling certain populations, adopting intrusive surveillance techniques and extending declared states of emergency, tend to generate more violent extremists.

Racial or ethnic profiling is one example of a discriminatory practice carried out by security forces. Ethnic profiling consists of using generalizations based on ethnicity, race or religion to identify subjects instead of using objective evidence³⁵. As a result, there is a disproportion between the identifications and records made between different ethnic groups. These practices stigmatize certain ethnic groups and not only undermine the legitimacy of the police, but also social cohesion.

In a context where states are losing power (see 2.1.3 Social Crisis), weaker states are becoming weaker and the monopolies that they retain or that they share with large capitals are disappearing: the use of force,

32. LAMLOUM, O. (2016): *Politics on the margins in Tunisia. Vulnerable Young people in Douar Hicher and Ettadhamen*. (Tunis: International Alert) https://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Tunisia_PoliticsOnTheMargins_EN_2016.pdf p. 24

33. LAMLOUM, O. (2016): *Politics on the margins in Tunisia. Vulnerable Young people in Douar Hicher and Ettadhamen*. (Tunis: International Alert) https://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Tunisia_PoliticsOnTheMargins_EN_2016.pdf p. 24

34. For instance, in the Amnesty International report published in 2017 about human rights violations in antiterrorist policies in Tunisia, one of the interviewed persons, named Sofiane, who was a former detainee, declared: "My life is destroyed, and there are many like me. We are all against terrorism and want to help but fighting terrorism isn't an excuse to violate people. This is injustice. What do you expect people to do? They're either going to try to leave or commit suicide." In: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL (2017). *We want and end to the fear. Abuses under Tunisia's State of Emergency*. (London: Amnesty International Ltd). <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/MDE3049112017ENGLISH.PDF>

35. Sometimes, ethnic profiling is applied according to the appearance of people sharing the same religion. For instance, from the testimonies gathered by Amnesty International in "We want and end to the fear. Abuses under Tunisia's State of Emergency" report (see cita number 29) it appears that men with beards or dressed in a kamis are targeted because they are perceived to be "radicalized" or accused of being "Salafists", and therefore perceived to be supporting armed groups.

drafting and enforcing law, public services, regulating money and tax collection. As states fail to act as potential guarantors of needs, other organisations offer solutions to fill the void left by states. That void is being filled by either violence-dominated expressions (such as VE in the form of paramilitary groups or organized crime) or by nonviolent civil organisations.

In areas where states are stronger, there is more resistance to losing “power” and a bigger effort is being made to maintain social control. Inciting hate, fear and repression is a key method used to exert social control when it becomes difficult to exert it through mechanisms of mild domination such as consumerism or showbiz society. Fear of possible developments in the global crisis create high levels of anxiety, thus encouraging a willingness to suffer great financial costs and restrictions on freedom in order to obtain minimal reductions in insecurity.

The perception of the Other-Different as a threat is making it easier to apply repression, and this repression is based on double standards: it is more severe and exemplary (so as to instil fear) on different groups (“wild” ones) and the areas the latter inhabit, but milder and more selective in “civilised” areas. This violent reasoning is one of the keys that VE use in order to grow.

This also occurs in big cities through processes of urban degradation. The separation between “civilised” and “wild” areas is being applied to urban areas, especially in the Maghreb and Mashriq regions, but also in places like Paris (e.g. the 2005 revolt in the banlieues or impoverished neighbourhoods). This is making cities difficult to govern and giving way to alternative forms of social organisation. However, an outbreak of violence is not the only alternative: new, potentially anti-violent social expressions are also appearing, such as food collectives, community allotments, etc.

Even so, the fact that states are becoming weaker does not prevent the appearance of new kinds of fascism and authoritarianism³⁶. In fact, it makes it easier for them to appear. On the one hand, the remaining “middle classes” will support them in order to keep their privileges and as a means to express their frustration and fear. They will also be driven by the elites since these will probably be their best option for maintaining their privileges. Golden Dawn (Greece), Lega Norte (Italy), VOX (Spain), Jobbik (Hungary), Law and Justice (Poland), Alternative for Germany, Rassemblement National, (formerly Front National)

(France) and Zionist settlers such as Gosh Amonim (Belief Block, Occupied Palestinian Territory) are just some examples. All of this implies the unfulfilment of the needs for participation and freedom.

2.2.4 PROLONGED AND UNRESOLVED CONFLICT

The Euro-Mediterranean region is one of the places in the world with the most prolonged and unresolved conflicts. The lack of international and national commitment has generated long-standing situations with a great number of displaced people and refugees, with entire populations living under military occupation or in a permanent state of war for many years. These situations tend to provide fertile ground for violent extremism, not only because of the suffering and lack of governance resulting from the conflict itself, but also because such conflicts enable violent extremist groups to exploit deeply-rooted grievances in order to gather support, seize territory and resources and control populations.

Protectionism and war are the “simplest” ways of obtaining resources that are becoming scarce and strategically important such as petrol. In addition, the world is becoming more multi-polar and there are ever more stakeholders challenging the USA and other powers (as in the case of BRICS countries). This produces a scenario of increasing wars for resources that lead to an increase in direct structural violence.

Urgent measures must be taken to resolve protracted conflicts, since resolving these conflicts will significantly reduce the impact of violent extremist groups’ insidious narratives. When prevention fails, our best strategy to secure lasting peace and to address violent extremism requires inclusive political solutions and accountability.

36. Fascism is a mass movement based on violence, authority and reactionary values. In contrast, authoritarianism does not necessarily imply a social movement or reactionary values.

THE WARS FOR LIBYAN AND SAHARAWI RESOURCES

Petroleum is an integral part of the Libya's social and economic structure. Libya has the largest oil reserve in Africa and it holds around 46.4 billion barrels of oil reserves³⁷.

In 2011, a popular revolt broke out in Libya, mimicking similar outbreaks that were taking place in all of the surrounding regions. In the case of Libya, the revolt produced a civil war and direct intervention from the main powers.

Private companies from the main powers are defending their interests, often at the cost of human life and the local population. They are all trying to take control of the oil reserves in a country whose hydrocarbon exports account for 70% of the GDP, more than 95 percent of exports, and approximately 90 percent of government revenue³⁸. For instance, although the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has explicitly barred any Libyan oil sales except through the National Oil Corporation headquartered in Tripoli, Russia, Egypt, the UAE and the USA among others in the international community, have stated that their primary interest lies in maintaining access to Libyan oil exports³⁹. According to international investors, ideology does not play any longer a significant role in Lybian conflict. "What really matters is money; it's all about [...] controlling it's oil"⁴⁰.

Similarly, in order to understand the conflict in Western Sahara and its evolution, we must remember that this region has the largest reserves of phosphorus in the world and one of the biggest fishing reserves (octopus) on the eastern coast of the Atlantic. Western Sahara is considered a Non-Self-Governing Territory pending colonization. Despite the fact that the CJEU has made several strong pronouncements against the EU-Morocco agreements including resources from the Sahara, considering them "an action contrary to the norms of international law"⁴¹, which would be incompatible with the principle of compliance with the treaties in good faith, at the beginning of 2019 the European Parliament voted for the Fisheries Agreement between the EU and Morocco.

The Commission has repeatedly negotiated and made agreements between the EU and Morocco that include the natural resources of Western Sahara without the consent or approval of the Sahrawi people, and it does not ensure that the agreements will lead to an upturn in their economic development.

These wars are not simple for the major international powers. Firstly, this is because controlling the resources means controlling the territory, which can prove complicated. For instance, even the most powerful army on the planet—the US army—was unable to control Iraq after victory in the Second Gulf War. Furthermore, strong military expansion causes energy availability to drop quickly (more energy consumption, more terrain to control). In the end, even if they will probably be the last to suffer from this problem, the military will also run short on petrol.

Although war is the most likely outcome in societies that suffer direct, structural and cultural violence, it is not the only possibility. Climate change or shortages in energy and materials tend to increase tension, but war is not the only way societies can handle these situations. The following example illustrates a nonviolent transformative action to challenge some aspects linked with the peak-oil: the increase of commodity prices.

37. EL KAILANI, E. (2012): *Extractive Industry and Conflict Risk in Libya*. (Tripoli: Civil Society Dialogue Network). http://eplo.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/CSDN_Policy-meeting_Private-Sector_Libya.pdf

38. TRADING ECONOMICS (2020): *Libya Exports*. <https://tradingeconomics.com/libya/exports>

39. <https://www.jlt.com/insurance-risk/credit-political-security-risk/insights/libya-conflict-what-are-the-implications-for-the-oil-industry>

40. COUNTING THE COST (2019): *War economy: Haftar and the battle for Libya's oil wealth*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/countingthecost/2019/04/war-economy-haftar-battle-libya-oil-wealth-190406075042211.html>

41. *Fisheries Partnership Agreement between the European Community and the Kingdom of Morocco*. <http://curia.europa.eu/juris/document/document.jsf?text=&docid=199683&pageIndex=0&doclang=en&mode=lst&dir=&occ=first&part=1&cid=6921764>

THE ARAB UPRISINGS

The struggle against despotism was not the only factor behind the Arab Uprisings. They took place in an environment with: i) a gradual increase in food in a region that imports half of the food what it consumes, ii) a small amount of fertile soil with water per inhabitant, iii) a large, young population, unemployed iv) very unequal societies, and v) an economic crisis.

In this context, petrol has probably had a more important role than it may have seemed at first sight. From 2004, oil prices have remained extremely high. However, while high oil prices served both the oil and the non-oil Arab economies in the past (the firsts absorbing labor force or providing financial aid to the non-oil Arab countries), this was no longer the case in 2011. As a result, during the past decade, higher oil prices became a curse for the non-oil Arab economies (countries that the percentage of the GDP linked with oil is less than the 40%) such as Egypt, Syria and Yemen, that usually share similar extraction and consumption pattern. In 2011, their import and export balance break down. The high petrol's price also increases a rise in food prices due to their agricultural dependence on it. The inescapable result was galloping inflation, unabling the governments of these states to fulfil the social contract.

2.2.5 INDOCTRINATION IN PRISON

Prisons increase the vulnerability of people in them and are a breeding ground for the justification of VE. The prison environment propitiates violence and can become an environment conducive to extremist

violence. Prison is a place where one needs to join a group to be safe, so being part of a community in prison is definitely beneficial. Thus, some inmates join extremist groups there.

2.3 Conclusions

The social contexts that incite VE in the Euro-Mediterranean region are increasing due to the global crisis (Table 2.2) even if, as we have pointed out, the crisis also offers new opportunities to break the spiral of violence.

SOCIETIES THAT ARE BETTER PREPARED FOR THE GLOBAL CRISIS AND LESS PRONE TO VE

- Lesser development of industrial metabolism or greater development of vital transitions: low energy consumption, an energy mix with a large presence of renewable energy, transport network not dependent on petrol, diverse economic fabric, investment in simple technologies, lesser internationalization of the economy, etc.
- Great social cohesion and interconnected diversity that enables high levels of collective security. Intercultural societies where collective values are predominant. Good public services.
- Flexible, strong and independent institutions (both state and non-state) that enable decentralized, democratic decision-making.
- More resources used in transitions: great availability of capital, government administration in a healthy financial situation or considerable stock of varied resources.
- Lesser environmental degradation in their territory (e.g. more access to drinking water and fertile soil).

Table 2.2. Global Crisis and VE

RISK FACTORS FOR THE APPEARANCE OF VE	EURO-MEDITERRANEAN REGION
Suffering from direct violence	<p>...</p> <p>More wars over resources. Widespread social conflict. Repression. Violation of human rights, often in connection to anti-terrorist and antimigration of policies and laws.</p>
Suffering from structural violence	<p>Underfulfilment of subsistence</p> <p>Difficulties in feeding the whole population. More impoverished population. Competition for access to increasingly scarce resources. Hydric stress.</p>
	<p>Underfulfilment of protection</p> <p>Armed conflict. Economic crisis. Lack of social networks. Individualism. Large numbers of refugees and/or migrants. Attacks due to one's religion, ideology or place of origin⁴². Reduction of social services that increases the competence among popular classes Attacks targeting Human Rights Defenders.</p>
	<p>Underfulfilment of identity</p> <p>Closed identities. Processes demonizing the Other-Different.</p>
	<p>Underfulfilment of participation</p> <p>Non-existent or weak democracies. Growth of new kinds of fascism and authoritarianism. Lack of social networks. Individualism. Sectors of society with no political rights. Shrinking space for CSO.</p>
	<p>Underfulfilment of affection</p> <p>Migration (breaking social bonds). Wars and widespread social conflict. Competitive logic in problem solving.</p>
	<p>Underfulfilment of understanding</p> <p>Closed, protectionist identities when faced with difference. Competitive logic. Polarised discourse. Homogeneous and non-permeable visions of reality.</p>
	<p>Underfulfilment of freedom</p> <p>Non-existent or weak democracies. Growth of new types of fascism and authoritarianism. Lack of control over natural resources. Large number of refugees or migrants deprived from basic rights. Shrinking space for CSO.</p>
Cultural violence	<p>...</p> <p>Violence as a legitimate means in handling conflict.</p>

42. The groups being attacked can be very different depending on the region (Maghreb, Mashriq, European Union).

03

Transitions to an ecosocial future to prevent VE

Summary

In the context of the global crisis, minimizing the probability of VE implies building ecosocial societies.

Introduction

In order to prevent the direct, structural and cultural violence upon which VE feeds, we need to build just, democratic, and sustainable societies, which we call ecosocial societies. We shall focus on some of the typical elements in ecosocial order. Subsequently, we will present some strategies that we may use to reach our objectives through a nonviolent perspective.

3.1 Guiding principles in building synergic satisfiers in just, democratic and sustainable societies

Societies where direct, structural and cultural violence are reduced to a minimum will also minimise the chances of VE occurring. In order to do so, the population must universally satisfy its needs. These societies must therefore be just, democratic and sustainable. In short, they must be ecosocial. Some characteristics that are aimed to be attained in ecosocial societies are:

- A high level of diversity and interconnection. This is the main strategy in increasing security: diverse people living together and establishing strong networks of exchange. In this way, the chances of responding to problems are maximized. Creativity grows as we listen to more diverse opinions and work collectively.
- Caring for life. This is central to much of the effort of living beings.

- Collective action. We are not independent beings. We are profoundly dependent on each other and relationships play a vital role in our lives. This dependency is both social and ecosystemic. Collective action means democratic management.
- Sufficiency. In a context where the environment has been abused (Chapter 2), this is expressed by reducing what is superfluous, ostentatious and ephemeral via sufficiency in the consumption of materials and energy and via the minimisation of waste. In other words, fostering a culture of fair austerity that favours a “good life” for all humans and other living beings. When referring to limits, wealth becomes a vital issue. On a planet with partially degraded and decreasing resources, the only possibility of justice is a radical distribution of wealth within states and on an international level. Closing material loops is essential for sufficiency. Indeed, the only way to survive in times when resources are limited is to build circular economies.
- Solar energy. As for the energy system, it must focus on solar energy in its different forms (solar, mini-hydro, biomass). Access to these kinds of energy is more universal than to fossil energy, thus helping to build more democratic societies. The “pace of life” should also be coupled to natural cycles such as circadian, seasonal, vital, ecosystemic and geological rhythms, as opposed to today’s hurried societies.
- Proximity. Transporting large quantities of information, people and goods over long distances in a short time not only has a huge impact but will also become increasingly difficult as fossil resources become harder to come by (Chapter 2). This means moving towards local self-sufficiency.

In order to show how ecosocial societies minimise VE, the following table associates risk factors for the appearance of VE, the need that is behind each factor and how ecosocial principles can be used to create synergic satisfiers to those needs.

Table 3.1. **How ecosocial societies minimises VE**

FACTORS THAT MINIMISE VE		ECOSOCIAL ORGANIZATION
Avoiding direct violence	...	High degree of diversity and interconnection (increases security and avoids violence).
Avoiding structural violence	Fulfilment of subsistence	Sufficiency, closing cycles, proximity, solar energy, high degree of diversity and interconnection, care for life, "pace of life" coupled to natural cycles.
	Fulfilment of security	High degree of diversity and interconnection, care for life, collective action.
	Fulfilment of identity	Proximity, high degree of diversity and interconnection (dependent and collective identity), care for life and collective action.
	Fulfilment of affection	Care for life, proximity, collective action, "pace of life" coupled to life cycles.
	Fulfilment of understanding	High degree of diversity and interconnection, collective action.
	Fulfilment of participation	Proximity, collective action.
	Fulfilment of freedom	Sufficiency, high degree of diversity and interconnection, collective action, capability of transformation.
Avoiding cultural violence	...	High degree of diversity and interconnection, collective action.

3.2 Strategies for nonviolent ecosocial transitions

In order to analyse ecosocial transitions, we can differentiate two levels. The first one is a strategic level in which long-term lines of action are drawn. The second is a tactical level with more specific, down-to-earth programmes. We shall start by discussing the first level.

3.2.1 BUILDING A CULTURE OF NONVIOLENCE BY SATISFYING NEEDS

In general, people and societies are motivated by satisfying their needs (Chapter 1). Emotions, feelings and moods all originate from the way we manage needs: fear (lack of security), love (satisfaction of the need of affection) and curiosity (search for understanding). Obviously, a far more complex set of feelings originates from the dynamic interaction of several needs.

One of the elements that determine which satisfiers we choose in solving our needs is our system of values. Both violence and nonviolence strategies offer satisfiers. The personal choice of one set of values over another is largely determined by the kind of social satisfiers that are predominant in our context. Societies with a predominance of negative satisfiers tend to create violent systems of values since we normally adapt our system of values to our behaviour and not the other way around.

We must solve needs by creating synergic satisfiers; we must change practices in order to alter values and generate a nonviolent culture and we have to become a referent for those suffering from injustice. If discourses do not go hand in hand with practical change, we will generate frustration and the end result will be the opposite. Otherwise, PVE strategies can create frustration when they do not satisfy people's needs, and may drive people to abandon those principles.

FIRST INTIFADA VS SECOND INTIFADA

During the first four years of the *Intifada*, one-third to one-half of school days were lost. A tenth of the schools were used by the Israeli army as military camps and detention centres during the closure period⁴². Closure were generally seen as a discriminatory policy to punish Palestinian people.

On this context, a parallel education system and neighbourhood communities to support the campaign⁴³ were set up in order to satisfy people's needs. A sense of hope and a will to fight for change appeared. Preventive nonviolent transformation was perceived as useful and had lot of popular support.

As opposed, during the Oslo Agreements, there was no parallel action to support the peace talks and "reality on the ground did not match the expectations created by the peace agreements"⁴⁴. As explained on Jeremy Pressman paper⁴⁵: "Palestinians expected their lives to improve in terms of freedom of movement and socio-economic standing; when both worsened, significant resentment built up in Palestinian society. This discontent, laid the groundwork for popular support for a more confrontational approach with Israel". That situation led to the second *Intifada*, that was far more violent than the first one⁴⁷.

In order to promote ecosocial order, civil society can build environments and favour practices that satisfy needs in a universal way, thus contributing to moods such as happiness. These environments and practices should also reward systems of values based on a nonviolent, collective idea. Civil society can also promote critical consciousness/conscientisation⁴⁸ that create a call to action to change the current order, but this will necessarily lead to changing satisfiers and practices.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND SATISFACTION OF NEEDS

The MST in Brazil is the biggest and strongest social organisation in the world. Its main form of action is the collective occupation of land. That way, it satisfies several social needs whilst promoting a collective system of values.

Most extremist movements follow the same logic throughout the Euro-Mediterranean region (from fascism to religious extremism). They act in areas in great need and try to solve problems by giving aid in order to obtain followers.

43. PRESSMAN, J (2003): *The Second Intifada: Background and Causes of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. Vol. XXIII, n° 2 <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/jcs/article/view/220/378>.

44. PRESSMAN, J (2003): *The Second Intifada: Background and Causes of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. Vol. XXIII, n° 2 <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/jcs/article/view/220/378>

45. AZIZA, S. (2017). "Palestine's First Intifada Is Still a Model for Grassroots Resistance." *The Nation*. <https://www.thenation.com/article/palestines-first-intifada-is-still-a-model-for-grassroots-resistance/>

46. BROWN, N.J. (2003): *Palestinian politics after the Oslo accords: resuming Arab Palestine*. (Berkeley: University of California Press).

47. BUSH, K.D; SALTARELLI, D (2000): *The two faces of education in ethnic conflicts: towards a peacebuilding education for children*. (Florence: UNICEF). <https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/insight4.pdf>

48. "Critical consciousness, conscientisation, or conscientização in Portuguese, is a popular education and social concept developed by Brazilian pedagogue and educational theorist Paulo Freire, grounded in post-Marxist critical theory. Critical consciousness focuses on achieving an in-depth understanding of the world, allowing for the perception and exposure of social and political contradictions. Critical consciousness also includes taking action against the oppressive elements in one's life that are illuminated by that understanding". WIKIPEDIA. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Critical_consciousness. October 2019. This term, as used by Paulo Freire, implies action and organization.

3.2.2 HALTING GROWING UNEASE

Our societies are already affected by underfulfilment of several needs, causing unease. This unease itself may be a motivator for creating alternatives. It may, for instance, make institutions and societies feel that they are in an emergency situation as they face the global crisis. This emergency situation" can then be used to put the spotlight on the severity of the situation and on the connection between the environmental, social and economic crises. It may help bring to the forefront topics such as the environment and the redistribution of wealth and power in order to eliminate structural violence and help focus on securing an ecosocial future.

CONCEIVING AN “EMERGENCY SITUATION” IN THE USA AND THE UK

During the Second World War, in the individualistic societies of the UK and the USA there was a collective conception that they were going through an “emergency situation”. This allowed many measures to be put in place en masse in order to adapt to the new context of austerity in consumption, strengthening of social bonds and urban agriculture. Measures were aimed at self-sufficiency.

UNIFICATION OF SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL STRUGGLES IN ALGERIA

In Salah lies 1000 km southeast of Algiers. Its population is greatly dependent on nomadic ranching. Since the beginning of the government plan to exploit hydrocarbons by hydraulic fracturing, there has been widespread nonviolent resistance that has unified social and environmental needs.

However, unease usually provokes desperation and this in turn leads to fear, which makes poor company for ecosocial change since it normally opens the door to VE. In order to tackle desperation, we have to help the population maintain security. There are some elements that may help to do so.

Understanding

We feel more secure if we understand what is going on, even if we cannot control it. We must therefore build holistic frameworks to explain the global crisis and VE. Furthermore, we must also analyse both its causes and consequences.

For instance, we must understand that ideology is not the true cause of VE⁴⁹. Even if some discourses aim to shift the problem and place it within the ideology, the problem itself is not ideological; there are other factors that explain VE more than ideology. Ideology is just a pretext to legitimize the acts that people commit.

Analysing what is happening is much more than an intellectual act; it is a security mechanism. Trying to understand what drives violent, extremist terrorists is not a preliminary step to justifying their actions. We should differentiate between understanding and legitimacy. If we do not understand things, how are we going to solve them? Understanding does not mean forgiving, endorsing or legitimizing. It means helping a society to define a problem in order to solve it, provided it wants to solve it.

Stimulating emotions

We need emotions to overcome desperation. One of these emotions is hope. Hope was the driving power behind the success of slogans such as “Another world is possible”, which freed people from the neoliberal idea that “there is no alternative”. Hope, however, requires reasons on which to grow. For example, crises

bring pain but they also bring hope. They imply fast personal and social catharsis; processes that once seemed distant and complex but which now make sense. Crises mean that old ways stop working and are no longer credible, giving way to new forms. Moreover, the social format towards which humankind is heading is smaller (Chapter 2), and “smaller” means potentially more democratic. The same could be said of societies with less available energy that are based on renewable energies, and of those where technology is simpler and more universally accessible.

Sociological imaginary plays a key role in creating hope. A key imaginary, for instance, is that violent management of the global crisis is only one possibility. Nonviolent management is also feasible and history gives many examples. Another powerful imaginary is that there are no intrinsically violent cultures.

Dignified living conditions

Having ways to maintain dignified living conditions is what gives us the most solid feeling of security. Therefore, maintaining social services in states is essential (in places where the state is responsible for these services). In any case, especially in places where states and the market become increasingly unable to provide basic services, new institutions must be created in order to satisfy everybody’s needs.

3.2.3 CONSTRUCTION OF VIABLE ECOSOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE GLOBAL CRISIS

In constructing satisfiers, there is a basic debate about what can be expected from the state and non-state institutions created by civil society in future scenarios. By “non-state institutions”, we mean in-

49. AUSTIN, B.; GIESSMANN, H. J. (eds) (2018): “. Transformative Approaches to Violent Extremism..” *Berghof Handbook*. Dialogue Series No. 13. (Berlin: Berghof Foundation. Berlin).

stitutions in which there is no body of government separate from society. The idea is that the role of state institutions is to facilitate, or at least take a *laissez faire* attitude, whereas the role of non-state institutions is to act. Let us see why.

As we have explained, a change in practices is decisive in changing values. Therefore, without direct participation, social change is impossible. Profound change will not come from the top (through state policy); it must be created through social self-organisation. This does not mean that states cannot create new contexts (they can), but that the personal and social changes produced via such a strategy do not go so far. They also lead to more cultural violence.

Furthermore, non-state institutions follow different kinds of logic to state institutions. Managing a state requires the creation of majorities and more or less homogeneous social bodies. However, the creation of institutions does not have to be state-centred. They do not need to convince most of society; they do not have to build hegemonies. They simply have to work in an autonomous way (if they are strong enough) while co-existing with other ways of organising society. This also facilitates dialogues that include all parties, especially the most antagonistic ones. Autonomy, as opposed to hegemony, also minimises direct cultural violence. Nevertheless, autonomy also has its limits in an environment where inequality of power has reached hitherto unknown heights and which is marked by global processes like climate change.

ZAPATISTA AND ROJAVA AUTONOMY

The basic strategy of *Zapatismo* (a Mexican social movement) is the construction of economic, educational, political and healthcare autonomy whilst coexisting with other non-*Zapatista* communities. No other movement in the world has made such progress in this direction.

Furthermore, in the transition to a nonviolent world, reducing the use of violence is an option. The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) has done so. In fact, they have only used weapons once and caused no casualties whilst being attacked by military and paramilitary groups. Consequently, violence in the Chiapas region has decreased significantly.

The Democratic Federation of Northern Syria has followed a similar strategy and, in the midst of the Syrian civil war and harassment from the Turkish army, it has been able to move towards inter-cultural, fair, feminist and sustainable societies, whilst reaching high levels of autonomy.

One element that is vital in these experiences is the organisation's resilience. However, there may be resilient organisations that VE feeds on, so alternatives must be both resilient and fair⁵⁰.

CRITERIA FOR FAIR INSTITUTIONS

ORGANIZATION

The chance to influence strategic decisions is evenly shared.

The distribution of responsibilities is perceived as legitimate.

Tasks are evenly shared.

It is based on mutual support, cooperation and collaboration.

It discredits relationships of oppression, exploitation, domination, exclusion and subordination.

It values difference as a source of collective wealth.

50. RIVERO, M; RUBIO, M; GONZÁLEZ REYES, L.(coord.). (2019). *Horizontes ecosociales. Indicadores para la resiliencia local y la justicia global*. (Seville: Solidaridad Internacional Andalucía).

ECONOMY

Access to goods and services generated is equitable.

Global ecosocial justice.

Use of material and energy resources is not greater than the ecosystem's capacity for replacement, so it does not reduce the fulfilment of needs of other human communities, other species or future generations.

Draws attention to the social and environmental impact it causes.

Makes equitable decisions along with other organizations whenever necessary.

CRITERIA FOR RESILIENT INSTITUTIONS

ORGANIZATION

It is understood by the people it may affect.

It is legitimised by the people it may affect.

Strategic decision-making is widely decentralized.

Organizational structure is redundant in: a) decision-making
b) communication channels c) its members' skills.

It is based on mutual support, cooperation and collaboration.

It is self-organized and re-organizes itself.

SKILLS

Understands the realities and contexts in which it is involved.

Detects changes in the system rapidly.

Adapts to changes in the system rapidly.

Learns and innovates.

Masters the knowledge and technology necessary in carrying out its functions.

Manages conflict adequately.

Possesses protection mechanisms.

Compensates possible undesired impacts that may occur as a consequence of changes made to improve the system.

Knows what resources it requires.

ENVIRONMENTAL AUTONOMY

Maintains low dependence on resources produced in other socioecosystems.

Does not need continuous economic growth.

Satisfies needs.

Relates to other institutions in: a) productive work, b) leisure spaces, c) decision-making, d) learning and e) community reproductive work.

Depends on simple technology.

Availability of goods and services to satisfy needs is redundant.

SUSTAINABILITY

Depends on proximity renewable energies.

Its level of material consumption is not greater than the ecosystem's capacity for replacement.

Closes cycles or reintegrates into the system.

Improves ecosystemic functions: a) pollination b) climate stability c) water purification d) soil fertilisation.

SOCIAL EVALUATION

It is socially valued.

In this creation of new institutions, women play a key role since they are less steeped in the culture of violence and plan important roles in their communities.

WOMEN AND VE IN IRAQ

The Al-Ferdows Foundation works in demobilising and rehabilitating VE activists in Iraq. It was founded by Fatima Al-Bahadely in 2015. Religious and cultural knowledge and its bonds with the community are vital in the way the foundation works. It offers youngsters religious literacy, works on promoting their positive contribution to the community, and it schools them. A great deal of the institution's success is due to Fatima Al-Bahadely's legitimacy.

3.3 Tactics for nonviolent ecosocial transitions

Strategy must be supplemented by tactics that have been thoroughly developed by the OPEV⁵¹. The tactical aspect must put into operation specific measures that allow societies to move towards ecosocial order. This is seen in goals such as striving for "education and resilience on a local level", "protection of human rights", "gender justice" and "democratic

51. NOVACT, OPEV, CMODH (2017). *Plan of Action of the Euro-Mediterranean Civil Society to prevent all forms of violent extremism*. (Barcelona: OPEV.)

values". Furthermore, at the same time it must respond to circumstantial elements that are feeding VE (Chapter 2). For this reason, OPEV's proposals also include "monitoring the impact of all forms of violent extremism with a special focus on hate discourse", "reinforcing the responsibility of protecting victims", "reinforcing the role of young people" and "generating alternative narratives". Finally, tactics must avoid moving away from strategy. That is why tactics must not confront VE with military methods (disarticulating and isolating terrorist groups, equipping state security forces or carrying out counter-propaganda encouraging cultural violence).

Table 3.2 Objectives and tactical action in order to avoid VE.

OBJECTIVE	SPECIFIC MEASURE
Monitoring the impact of ALL forms of violent extremism with a special focus on hate discourse in the traditional media and in the authorities	Monitoring and launching a critical revision of all practices, strategies, policies and national legislations whose goal it is to prevent and fight violent extremism, so as to determine whether they are respecting international humanitarian legislation, human rights and the rule of law.
	Developing monitoring and follow-up systems to identify good practices and lessons learnt in prevention of violent extremism.
	Exploring and intervening in order to find opportunities to implement early warning and rapid response mechanisms in the prevention of violence as well as alternative mechanisms in the resolution of disputes, dialogue, negotiation, mediation, conciliation, refereeing or repairing justice, conflict resolution and obtaining lasting peace.
Reinforcing education and resilience on a local level	Designing and implementing awareness campaigns in order to give communities information about the different expressions of violent extremism and its negative impact.
	Reinforcing local abilities in the prevention of violent extremisms and community resilience towards violent extremism.
	Designing and implementing awareness campaigns in order to give communities information about the different expressions of violent extremism and their negative impact.
	Promoting free, independent space for a civil society that denounces repression of space for free expression and the fear of being tagged as a threat to security or as “extremist”.
	Promoting education in diversity and integrating shared values and common ground for social cohesion.
	Providing training in human rights for security forces, parties with a role in law, and all the groups involved in the administration of justice as related to human rights.
	Inviting individuals to abandon violent extremist groups by developing programmes which prioritize offering them economic and educational opportunities in line with the civil population’s needs.
Reinforcing the responsibility of protecting victims	Promoting an integrated framework in order to confront violent extremism with peaceful, nonviolent methods. Preventing all forms of violent extremism requires the termination and prevention of conflict, inclusive development, observing the standards set by human rights and democratic reform.
	Supporting and empowering the victims of violent extremism by supporting legal training and awareness-raising campaigns about their rights.
	Supporting and integrating victims of hate crime and of the hate discourse’s message by promoting a message of tolerance and mutual understanding. Victims can be the main drivers of change.
Ensuring programmes aimed at protecting those who protect as drivers for the social change that is necessary in preventing violent extremism.	

Ensuring the protection of human rights in legislation	Monitoring and denouncing all policies aimed at tackling violent extremism and terrorism that restrict human rights and individuals' civil freedom.
	Monitoring and supporting accountability for serious and systematic violation of international legislation of human rights and of international humanitarian law.
	Publicly questioning laws that allow for massive, indiscriminate surveillance and which give security and intelligence services invasive powers.
	Protecting those who defend human rights.
Promoting gender justice and explaining its specifics	Building women's and women's groups' abilities to get involved in the prevention of extremist violence and in response measures.
	Promoting the inclusion of women in planning and decision-making spheres within institutional processes where policies to fight terrorism and violent extremism are defined.
	Supporting and strengthening women's organizations and networks in their peace-making and reconciliation roles within formal institutions and mechanisms and at all levels of the decision-making process.
	Strengthening interaction with women's social organisations considering their impact after security-related actions and improving security in communities.
Protecting democratic values and space for civil society	Guaranteeing the whole population's access to justice (especially vulnerable communities).
	Supporting and monitoring the rendering of basic services in a way that is not discriminatory, ensuring transparency in delivering such services, extending state services at a local level and creating an atmosphere where entrepreneurship may flourish and societies can become more peaceful, fair and inclusive.
	Promoting political space for nonviolent dialogue among all the essential parties in the prevention of violent extremism. This dialogue should be based on respect for freedom of speech and the freedom of assembly. It should also recognise and protect nonviolent groups in civil society as essential partners in creating diverse and democratic societies.
	Taking up a local viewpoint in order to solve local issues in association with the populace.
	Supporting the diversification of existing state funds used in the fight against terrorism and vouching for their allocation into pre-emptive measures against violent extremism.
	Improving cooperation between civil society and local authorities to create economic, cultural, political, and social opportunities in both rural and urban areas.
	Promoting the exercise of democratic values, cultural, economic and social rights, including initiatives based on human rights that help eliminate the conditions that drive people towards violent extremism.
	Fostering the establishment of transitional mechanisms of justice in order to face the inherited consequences of the abuse of human rights and making sure victims receive restitution.
Ensuring social and economic participation of minority groups in their contexts in order to guarantee their political rights.	

Strengthening the role of young people as agents of change	Promoting the inclusion of educational and youth organizations in the design, monitoring and control of prevention of violent extremism.
	Contributing towards young people’s socio-economic development, thus supporting a culture of entrepreneurship, facilitating job-seeking and passing regulations.
	Exploring the means towards including civil and peaceful education in school syllabuses, textbooks, teaching materials and teachers’ training.
Generating alternative narratives in social and traditional media	Designing and implementing awareness campaigns informing about the negative impact of violent extremist ideologies. These campaigns should be aimed at the very same audience that is being targeted by hate discourse.
	Strategically supporting and getting involved in civil resistance and nonviolent movements and vouching for social transformation in the face of injustice, political violence and terror. Strengthening the legitimacy of nonviolent movements in violent conflict, seen as the most effective strategy in tackling injustice, when trying to transform conflict and reinforce community resilience.
	Promoting alternative narratives that deal with the driving factors behind violent extremism, including current violations of human rights.
	Protecting the independence, freedom of opinion and speech, pluralism and diversity of the media within the legal framework of each country. The representation of diversity in the mainstream media and cultural production is not only a matter of justice, but of reflecting reality.
Promoting regional and local plans of action	Making sure that action plans do not focus solely on one form of violent extremism. They must consider the enormous variety of discourses and extremist behaviours. Most of the PVE strategies put the focus only on Takfirism, while far right, ultranationalist or racist discourses also pose a threat to social cohesion and, as we have seen in Chapter 1, they are also violent extremist ideologies. When working on prevention of violence, it is important to do so in a general way, avoid concentrating only on certain communities, since there is the risk of creating an environment of denunciation and widespread suspicion.

04

When “security” is part of the problem

Summary

The aim of this chapter is to reflect on the central role that the concept of security, instead of human security, has acquired in recent times. This has come about in a context of growing vulnerability and denial of fundamental needs, where the chances of violent response (VE) grow. This risk is used to justify the creation of governments that turn security into their core principle.

We will analyse the different security strategies that public institutions and the private sector have put in place in the Euro-Mediterranean region. We will also analyse the way these measures have created new kinds of insecurity and inequality. Far from obtaining a reduction in VE, securitisation appears as a negative satisfier which in fact boosts VE. Lastly, we will look at alternative perspectives on security; perspectives that are far removed from this hegemonic model.

4.1 Context keys: violence, insecurity and security

As we said in Chapter 1, we believe that people who are exposed to violence (direct, structural or cultural) are more prone to responding with violence. In the context of the global crisis (as described in Chapter 2) in which structural violence becomes more intense, the chances of violent reactions by some social groups occurring increases, as does the appearance of VE.

We therefore find ourselves in a scenario where:

1. According to statistics, objective insecurity proliferates. A person’s chances of being directly or indirectly affected by different types of direct violence are multiplying.

2. There is an increasing feeling of subjective insecurity, which is the feeling of insecurity that citizens have in relation to their environment. This factor does not depend so much on objective statistics. It depends more on the threat that each person feels as regards their personal situation, available information and the media and political narrative.

Both forms of insecurity are interconnected (the higher the levels of objective insecurity, the bigger the feeling of subjective insecurity). But at the same time, they may work independently creating situations where the discourse about insecurity is not based on objective facts or data. In fact, the nature of these two types of insecurity is entirely different.

Table 4.1: Factors that trigger insecurity

TYPE OF INSECURITY	FACTORS THAT TRIGGER IT
OBJECTIVE INSECURITY	Risk of being affected by terrorism, wars, police aggression, urban crime, sexist aggression, sexual violence, abuse, etc.
SUBJECTIVE INSECURITY	News, tales or rumours that are spread through territories, more or less precarious life situations, political discourse, stereotypes, prejudice, etc.

In any case, both types (either separately or combined) are treated as the basis on which an extension to security measures (understood as a complex network of laws, norms, speeches, institutions, professionals, architectural facilities, etc.) become

justified. These measures have put security—as a way of government and as our main concern—at the centre of our lives. We will now see how this mechanism is articulated and what effects it has.

4.2 Understanding the hegemonic security model: Securitising territory, policing and militarising conflict

The terrorist attacks of September 11th on US territory were a point of inflection that made security the focal point at a global level. Notably, for instance, in the case of foreign and domestic politics of the USA the pre-emptive war justified substantial changes in the name of security that produced great profit for US American-based security industries and their allies⁵², despite persistently proving to be inefficient and provoking an intensification of radicalisation processes among certain groups such as the Civil Society Network for Human Security. However, this securitisation is merely a more intense version of one that stems from way back.

For several decades, security has been the leitmotiv for the implementation of punitive policies against forms of marginalization all around the world. The definition of social problems in terms of “(in)security” as opposed to terms such as inequality, poverty or justice, provides a basis for securitarian interventions instead of trying to implement social or redistribution measures. It also justifies control of certain sectors of the population through repression both within and beyond a state’s borders.

INSECURITY IS A SNAKE THAT BITES ITS OWN TAIL.

Various state bodies (government, police, expert committees) carry out *securitising* strategies appealing to objective insecurity in certain times or areas. However, *in the name of security* this data is not usually shared with citizens and it is kept in the shadows within a circle of “experts”. Therefore, insecurity is a snake that bites its own tail because it is the reason for implementing and justifying changes and asking citizens to have faith in the sources.

One fundamental tool in this strategy is the police state. The police are increasingly called upon to solve conflict and social problems. Whenever there is normal, everyday conflict, the police appear so as to establish order and contain any disruption that may result from social conflict, which is inherent in neoliberal societies, such as inequality or structural poverty. There are, however, substantial differences between countries. While police have a heavily militarized air in the daily lives of certain areas in El Cairo, Amman and Tunis⁵³, a “soft police” or “proximity police” (which is equally about containing and regulating) is promoted in European countries, normalizing its presence in spaces where it used to be forbidden (e.g. schools, universities).

Apart from containing social problems, the securitisation of territories also plays other important roles via through the police and the army:

1. Insecurity is used as an excuse to maintain certain populations on the fringes and to make poverty invisible by constructing ghettos and hyper-ghettos⁵⁴.
2. Insecurity also legitimises the construction of enclaves⁵⁵: specially restricted areas from which certain people are ejected and which are later used to favour certain economic dynamics such as property speculation, corporate expansion or gentrification of town centres. Many of these enclaves are consolidated through the use of securitisation architecture (security officers in streets and businesses, fences, spikes, streetlamps against darkness, squares with uneven surfaces in order to avoid “unsafe” use, etc).

52. INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SOCIETY ACTION NETWORK (ICAN) (2017). *From the Ground Up. A Preliminary Dialogue on the Nexus of Economic Policy, Gender and Violent Extremism*. (New York: United Nations Development Programme).

53. ALIAGA, L.; TRICOT O’FARRELL, K. (2017). *Counter-terror in Tunisia: a road paved with good intentions?*, Saferworld.

54. WACQUANT, L. (2009) *Punishing the Poor*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press).

55. ÁVILA, D.; GARCÍA, S. (2015). “Normalización y excepción en la metrópolis contemporánea.” STAVRIDES, S. (ed). *Enclaves de Riesgo. Gobierno neoliberal, desigualdad y control social*. (Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños). In Spanish.

SECURITISATION AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

The constraint and apartheid exercised on the Palestine population in the name of *security* has served to promote property markets and to maintain some kind of symbolic domination over Arab populations. Separation, in space and by law, is the most fundamental component of Israel's system of colonization⁵⁶. Every Palestinian town and village has thus been fully enveloped by Israeli space in three dimensions. If Palestinians want to drive out of their enclaves, they encounter a fence, a wall or an Israeli checkpoint. If they want to dig a well, they need Israeli permission to pierce its subterranean space, or else face sanctions if they do not have it. If they want to fly (a largely theoretical supposition since they are not permitted an air force or a national airline), they need Israel's permission to enter the airspace over their very roofs. In Gaza, the siege is a giant, unparalleled exercise in population control. It seeks to isolate the strip from the outside world and gradually increase the collective hardship by reducing the incoming flow of all life-sustaining provisions⁵⁷.

3. The constant alert that the events of 11-S created justified what has become known as "banal terrorism", an analogue of the "global war against terrorism". Banal terrorism consists of the use and spreading of fear of new attacks in order to legitimize increasing control over potentially disruptive populations (socially disadvantaged, radical and constructed as the "enemy"). This has allowed for greater militarization and police presence.
4. Another expression of security is the proliferation of borders both inside and outside countries. Borders take the shape of high walls, coast guards, detention centres, deportation as a way of tailoring lives are at stake. These borders also become more widespread in cities: police controls, raids, new detention centres, laws on aliens, fines etc. the population's movements to the needs of the global labour market regardless of whether. These borders distribute population in multiple, unequal social positions depending on the rights the borders regulate, thus multiplying forms of inequality within cities.
5. Finally, securitarian policies (anti-terrorist and others) have often led to militarization in the way social problems are managed, and intensified aggression in police methods with practices that go against human rights and end up fostering VE⁵⁸.

Table 4.2. Main Signs of securitisation in a territory

MAIN SIGNS OF SECURITISATION IN A TERRITORY		
Strategy	Objective	Violence it promotes
Police state	Containment of social conflict	Direct violence
Creation of ghettos	Making poverty invisible	Structural violence
Building of urban enclaves, securitarian architecture	Speculation and marketing of territory	Structural violence
Banal Terrorism	Control of social conflict, creation of enemies and constant terror	Cultural violence
Internal and external borders	Management of populations, creation of inequalities	Direct and structural violence

56. BERDA, Y. (2012). *The Bureaucracy of the Occupation in the West Bank: The Permit Regime 2000–2006*. (Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute). In Hebrew.

57. WEIZMAN, E. (2017): *The vertical apartheid*. Open Democracy. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/north-africa-west-asia/vertical-apartheid/>

58. The direct relation between the final steps in extremist radicalisation and traumatic contact with the state's security forces is mentioned in the report *A Journey to Extremism in Africa* by the UN's Programme for Development (available at: <http://journey-to-extremism.undp.org/>), p. 87. The UN's *Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism* states that strategies focused on "fighting terrorism" while ignoring "the conditions that favor terrorism" and that "everybody's human rights are respected and rule of law maintained" in the fight against terrorism are strategies that must be revised and checked (available at: https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/674&Lang=S), p.3.

Securitisation (as conveyed by neoliberal discourse) is not only not satisfying the need for security, but it also limits satisfaction of another basic need, freedom (or at least many people's freedom), since we are dealing with differential security (security based on inequalities). Therefore, the aforementioned strategies share the concept of security as an individual right, as non-relational and closely connected to the market (security as a consumer, individual security where nothing interferes in the privacy of one's home, security as a guarantee of choice); a

right which must be defended by certain populations ("legitimate" citizens with potential for consumption and able to vote), while security and control mechanisms prey on more disadvantaged populations. We are, therefore, talking about differential security that produces and reproduces the social inequalities of a given order. This is increasingly so as a result of the global crisis (Chapter 2). In line with the main thesis in this manual, securitisation must be understood as a negative satisfier of a fundamental need: protection and human security (check Chapter 1).

4.3 Exceptionality, states of emergency and fear of the "other" as a securitisation strategy

One of the most recently popular securitisation mechanisms and one of the most problematic ones in handling VE is exceptionalism. Exceptionalism is a mode of government that consists of:

1. Adopting exceptional security measures (police operations, border control, tapping communications, raids, arrests, detention, torture, etc.), some of which are clearly illegal, when confronting a dangerous emergency or an imminent threat.
2. Encouraged by the media, who avidly look for spectacular news, the citizens' fear of that threat provides an excuse for emergency measures.
3. Turning the measures taken into a show helps create a scapegoat that stigmatizes certain groups.
4. Maintaining the emergency measures once the threat has disappeared. This permanent insecurity explains why people generally accept securitisation even if it means reducing freedom.
5. Overdoing security on behalf of the authorities, which restores the symbolic order that was altered during the attacks, gives the impression of things being back to normal although the social groups affected by the violence of these security measures will suffer the excesses and interpret them as the opposite to quiet normality⁵⁹.

JUSTIFYING SECURITY EFFICIENCY

After the terrorist attacks of 11th March 2004 in Madrid, the state's need to make citizens feel that anti-terrorist actions were being effective led to the arrest of 652 people between the day of the attacks and 2015. Only 216 finally went to court and only 144 were sentence. Most of the acquittals were due to a lack of evidence while in most of the sentences the only proven crime was illegal association⁶⁰.

The indiscriminate use of these exceptional measures on a given social group makes them suspects of terrorism and crime, deepens their social segregation and produces new exclusions. The people who suffer from this social harm tend to interpret the hegemonic order as being profoundly unjust, thus providing breeding ground for the justification of VE.

59. Some examples of this are given in the following publication: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL (2017). *We want and end to the fear. Abuses under Tunisia's State of Emergency*. (London: Amnesty International Ltd). <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/MDE3049112017ENGLISH.PDF>

60. Las cloacas de la lucha 'antiyihadista', *El Salto*, 30/12/2015. Accessed 18/10/19. <https://www.elsaltodiario.com/hemeroteca-diagonal/las-cloacas-de-la-lucha-antiyihadista>. In Spanish.

THE SPIRAL OF VIOLENCE

The radicalisation processes of many minoritised youngsters spreading through the outskirts of European cities are an example of this process: these youngsters see problems pile up throughout their lives. The problems stem from unemployment, cutbacks in social policies and structural racism both at school and at work. They have also suffered differential police control where racial identity checks and searches have intensified. Many of the terrorists involved in attacks in Europe in recent years fit this profile. This inequality, which reproduces security in a violent way, becomes the seed from which radicalisation processes grow.

Securitarian mechanisms are made up of diverse parties ranging from a more global scale to a local scale. The most visible form in most cities is usually the state trying to establish its authority and social order through the army and the police. However, there are other agents besides the state that we must consider:

1. An increasingly relevant party is the private market. Individuals, companies and public institutions are resorting to the private market in order to guarantee certain forms of security and order. This generates enormous profit for certain private companies and eases the pressure on the state by doing its “dirty” work while the state maintains strategic management. An estimated 180,000 million dollars is circulating in the private security sector, and in 2020 that figure could rise to 240,000 million dollars.
2. Another important party are the citizens. In Euro-Mediterranean countries (especially in those that have faced terrorist attacks) through the media’s creation of emergency states, the population very often asks the state for a heavy-handed approach via different forms of punitive populism. Wherever welfare states are weak or institutions explicitly corrupt, citizens will often take self-protection measures that may be more or less violent and exclusive.

That’s why we can safely say that hegemonic security measures do not create objective or subjective security, since they do not work on the structural causes of inequality. Moreover, we can state that they cause social disaffection among more criminalized people who in certain contexts and circumstances may find that the only way out of their situation is through VE.

The militarisation and securitisation of society reinforces authoritarian notions of masculinity that consider men as both protectors and warriors, turning women’s bodies into war trophies and extending gender injustice.

Once we have assumed the inefficiency of hegemonic security in reducing insecurity, we can only see security as a way of government, an efficient way of maintaining social order. This social order perpetuates a situation of structural violence, where the fundamental needs of the vast majority of the population are not being satisfied. Hegemonic security seen as a satisfier of protection but creates quite the opposite: it generates objective and subjective insecurity while (re)producing social inequality due to its differential management. In other words, it becomes a negative satisfier.

4.4 Synergic satisfiers of security: Towards security based on rights and bonds

In recent decades some alternative responses to hegemonic models of “security” have been drawn up.

4.4.1 HUMAN SECURITY

The concept of human security (United Nations Development Programme, 1994) has been the most successful and widespread alternative response in the last two decades. Human security refers to a new concept of security that focuses on the individual and is connected to human development (economic,

nutritional, health, environmental, personal, community and political security). Security is conceived as more comprehensive, considering aspects such as hunger, illness, repression, deterioration of the environment, unemployment, lack of basic income for housing and loss of community to be security issues.

When applied to scenarios of armed conflict, it prioritizes the protection of people and their communities, not only from terrorism but also from the collateral effects and the intentional violence of counter-terrorist

measures that are applied from a hegemonic security standpoint. The indicator used in this approach in its analysis of the violation of human rights produced by anti-terrorist policies in the Euro-Mediterranean region is the protection given to the population, instead of the number of terrorists captured⁶¹.

In contexts where armed conflict and terrorism are not so present, human security is also being applied in comprehensive approaches to citizens' security, dealing with issues related to personal security (introducing new forms of policing such as community and proximity police), while also focusing on situations of insecurity caused by a lack of housing and lack of health.

However, the use of the concept of human security alone does not guarantee an approach targeting social justice. National and local governments' appropriation of this concept is changing the meaning of human security as it is being used as a tool for control instead of seeking more equality. In fact, this extension of the idea of security into areas like poverty or coexistence is allowing security agents (police officers) to deal with issues of a social nature instead of letting the communities or other social and

educational intervention professionals take care of these matters. In doing so, these security agents introduce the logic of police governance.

4.4.2 ANTI-SECURITISATION DISCOURSE

Anti-security approaches⁶² constitute a combination of critical discourses that highlight the functions of control and of generation of inequality that are present in the notion of security (however "humanized" it may be). Whereas there is a set of discourses that see security as the natural response to a world of violence, there is another set of arguments that attempt to prove this discourse is wrong.

Some arguments try to show that security is steamrolling over rights and freedoms that have been obtained in some national contexts in recent decades. Others revolve around the inefficiency of securitarian measures (cost effectiveness). Finally, other arguments attempt to work on the concept of security itself and the model of human security, but giving the latter a whole different meaning by referring to a "different protection" based on social rights (housing, guaranteed wages, etc.) instead of referring to a "different police".

THINKING AND SPEAKING IN AN ANTI-SECURITARIAN WAY

In 2016, some reactionary movements called for more police, more security and the setting up of CCTV cameras in some working-class neighbourhoods on the outskirts of the city of Madrid. Their goal was to "expel" crime (including sexual workers and street vendors) from those areas. That discourse had an underlying feeling of general discontent towards institutional neglect and the havoc caused by the crisis, which was expressed through hate towards migrants and urban poverty. In the Vallecas neighbourhood, there was a counter-reaction called "ValleKas No Se Vende" (Vallecas is not for sale). This group was formed by neighbours who were social activists and they appealed to the possible consequences of increasing securitisation in the neighbourhood: the increase in police "razzias" against the migrant population (35% in the neighbourhood) and speculation stemming from a strategy of "cleaning up" the area. They also pointed out the inefficiency of the securitisation strategies in solving structural neglect and inequality in the area and the possible consequence of social problems being shifted to other areas.

Key: Appealing to different arguments and paying special attention to the consequences of securitisation practices may be the key to stopping hegemonic securitization.

4.4.3 DE-SECURITIZING OUR LIVES: COMMUNITY AND FEMINISM IN BUILDING TRUST

In critical studies on security, one of the big debates is about the possibilities, limits and challenges of de-securitization. De-securitizing means transforming a social object that has always been regarded in terms of security outside that context.

61. For further information, see the report *No Security without Rights*, NOVACT; OPEV, (2017). http://opev.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/No-Security-Without-Rights.WEB_-1.pdf.

62. RIGAKOS, S.; NEOCLEOUS, M. (2011). *Anti-security*. (Ottawa: Red Quill Books).

COMMUNITY RELATIONS AS THE BASIS FOR SELF-ORGANIZED COMMUNITIES

In 1995, the climate of intense state neglect and political violence put in place by the local elites (local politicians, drugs traffickers and local overlords) in the Mexican state of Guerrero drove the rural population to get organized. They created a justice system based on autonomous courts (CRAC) with their own police corps: the Community Police. This organization currently includes 150 towns, including urban areas and four different ethnic groups.

Key: Not without problems, the CRAC appeals to a different sense of justice (based on “use and custom”) and of security (based on rights, the re-education of prisoners and the will to end the inequality that has existed for centuries in their territory). It is an example of the re-appropriation of security that goes beyond the limits of the nation-state and the hegemonic neoliberal model of security.

Inspiration: One of the keys to the success of this autonomous justice system was that the process involved a slow yet constant creation of community networks, trust and a sense of belonging.

Different social movements around the world are making a commitment to approaching state, criminal and extremist violence from an autonomous and communal point of view. Native communities in Latin America and black community movements in the USA have been working on self-management of

justice and on day-to-day protection by recuperating customary legal institutions and by experimenting with mechanisms that provide a great level of autonomy whilst reducing dependency on state security (Chapter 3).

THE ARAB UPRISINGS: STRUGGLES FOR CHANGE AND COMMUNITY-BUILDING

Since the beginning of the Arab Uprisings, in the second decade of 21st century both sides of the Mediterranean have been witnessing several struggles for social rights that are good examples of building community bonds based on reciprocity and cooperation. These kinds of interactions and relationships foster social trust.

In that sense, the building of community bonds that brings issues that had been placed within the sphere of the market and state back into the sphere of the community, allows for a considerable reduction in subjective insecurity and gives those communities control over their own security⁶³. Furthermore, from

those community spheres, relationships and institutions may be built that regulate the use of violence through cultural examples and kinds of leadership that act as both models of engagement with the community and as bodies independent from the state in conflict mediation.

COMMUNITY CARE EXERCISED BY WOMEN

In many marginalized areas, gangs are a form of socialization for young people. Sometimes, resorting to violence takes the form of outbreaks, and police intervention is often presented as the only way to contain this phenomenon.

Key: When these outbreaks occur, an invisible community fabric starts working. Several women, who have earned the community’s respect through years of social engagement, are able to convince a group of teenagers to put down their weapons, sit down and talk to rival factions, reduce tension, build a network to help youngsters leave gangs, etc.

Inspiration: Community care, the willingness to listen, to be present and approachable in dealing with others’ problems, can be much more effective than defensive positions and resorting to police logic.

63. BLOKLAND, T. (2017). *Community as urban practice*. (Cambridge. Polity Press).

Feminist and de-colonial perspectives have usually proven to be very fertile ground for debate about securitisation and a great call for de-securitization. Through the feminist paradigm, criticism towards hegemonic government security has circulated based on three main lines:

1. A liberal feminist line that concentrates its demands on the presence of women in the creation of public policy and in the studies about security so as to ensure that a gender perspective is present in both areas. Another goal is to encourage the introduction of certain values that normally appear within the female population.
2. A second standpoint consists of identifying, analysing and spreading the specific practices by

women in promoting a culture of peace and less militarized societies. This perspective tries to not only make women more visible in strategic spaces, but also to highlight women’s different experiences that help make an issue of the foundations for male-centred security.

3. A third line makes an issue of the existence of one sole “authentic female experience and encourages the politicisation of discourse on security that is made ‘in the name of gender’”. Those who support this view aim to radically alter the biological criteria used in understanding sexual identity and social relations and to ask how gendered identities, when combined with various other variables of domination, mimic the structural hierarchy of insecurities or react against it.

FEMINIST POINT OF VIEW

In recent years, a feminist perspective has found its way into urbanism which states that territories should be planned to satisfy the needs of life reproduction (care of elder citizens and children) and not so much to satisfy economic production (commuting to work and centers of consumption).

Key: One of the fundamental forms of this feminist urbanism is the production of spaces that favor sociability, rest and the care of children and that allow neighbourhoods to monitor their own environment.

Table 4.3. Alternatives to securitization

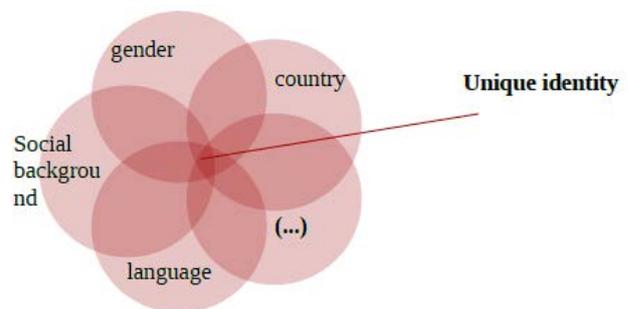
SUMMARISING ALTERNATIVES TO THE HEGEMONIC SECURITARIAN MODEL	
1. Human security	Security understood as human development.
2. Anti-securitisation approaches	Criticism towards security as control and generation of inequalities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of rights • Inefficiency of securitarian measures • Security as social protection
3. De-securitizing experiences	Self-management of inequalities by communities. Avoiding security frameworks in appealing to community welfare.
	Rebuilding community bonds in order to create social trust.
	Feminist paradigms.

In any case, in any of these alternatives there is clear criticism of hegemonic “security” since the feminist view is that security upholds the paradigms of authoritarian, unjust and unsustainable societies that are criticised throughout this manual. The creation of policies of trust in territories can help promote alternatives to this hegemonic government vision, which is based on fear and conflict, and also promote the use of the frameworks of security strategically based on the needs of the people and the territory.

05 Identity

Introduction: Why work on identity?

Understanding what shapes identity and some of the keys to how it is constructed will help us place ourselves in contexts where the need for identity is not satisfied (why it is at risk and why there is an identity crisis). Both VE and PVE interventions offer ways of satisfying the need for identity. We will explore some of the keys to creating identity so as to facilitate constructive identities as opposed to violent identities.



5.1 Concept of Identity

5.1.1 WHAT IS IDENTITY AND WHAT ARE ITS COMPONENTS?

We could define “identity” as a combination of socio-cultural features that we share with some individuals (they draw us closer) and which differentiate us from other individuals. A person’s identity is built on a variety of infinite elements with which that person identifies. These elements may be of different types: language or linguistic groups, religious belief, country of birth or residence, cultural identity, ethnic group, skin tone, gender, sexual orientation, political ideology, profession, socio-economic status, age, etc. Identifying with these elements makes us share something with a lot of people although each person is probably the only one to share all of those elements at the same time⁶⁴. This is what gives us our unique identity (which we experience as a whole).

Identity is built and transformed over time. We vary the “belongings” or main elements we identify with. In other words, the elements that most define our identity are not always the same; they may vary in time or place.

Even the elements that are more constant or seem more unchangeable do not shape experiences the same way for different people. If we take skin tone as an example, the way this element shapes experience depends on place and historical time. For somebody born in Nigeria, the most important element in their identity is not whether they are black or white but whether they are Yoruba or Hausa, for example. However, in the times of Apartheid in South Africa, the colour of a person’s skin was vital to understanding their identity⁶⁵.

This gives us an idea of how elements of identity that we think are “absolute” may prove to be relative depending on the place and time. A person’s identity is a contextual experience (it depends on context) and a located experience (depending on the specific situation the person is going through). Therefore, different contexts and situations cause the elements of identification to vary.

64. MAALOUF, A.(1998). *In the name of identity. Violence and the Need to Belong*. (New York: Arcade Publishing).

65. MAALOUF, A.(1998). *In the name of identity. Violence and the Need to Belong*. (New York: Arcade Publishing).

TOOLS/KEYS

Seeing ourselves as diverse subjects

If we see our identity as being made up of multiple belongings, we can have a different relationship with the rest, with “us” and with “them”. Sometimes, we may feel closer to “them” in some aspects and we may feel that there are people in the “us” who we do not share so many things with.

Creating spaces for nonviolent identification

We need to belong and identify with people or groups and we can choose with whom, but it is necessary to have spaces for identification with nonviolent values that may make such values attractive.

5.1.2 HOW IS IDENTITY BUILT? PRIORITY IDENTITIES

Identity is “a process of building meaning based on a cultural attribute that is prioritized over other sources of meaning”⁶⁶

The people near us and our context influence our belongings, insofar as whether we identify with one specific human group or another. Although there are multiple elements that build our identity, one of these belongings often appears as vital in our perception⁶⁷. What belongings may appear as priorities? There are different points of view about this: those connected to more constant elements such as language (although this does not guarantee a feeling of union among speakers of the same language), religion (especially if the believer submits all their actions to this central category), and sometimes the most important things in our identity are accidents or one-off elements instead of a millenary legacy.

For our manual, we are interested in identification with a priority belonging as the result of a threat to one of its elements or as a way of overcoming an identity crisis.

The threat in our identity

When we feel that one of the elements of our identity is threatened, we tend to summarise all of our identity in that single aspect. We recognize ourselves in that belonging, which we feel is under attack so that asserting it can be an act of liberation.

Feeling that our identity is under threat can lead to fear or insecurity. The bigger the threat we perceive⁶⁸, the bigger the chances of taking a strong stance, of becoming polarized and of extremist stances emerging. We tend to create imaginary frontiers of belonging with those that we think are a threat to us (we see them as a homogeneous whole). The bigger the polarization gets, the larger the distance between “us” (Others-Equals) and “them” (Others-Different) becomes. We sometimes even build our identity in opposition to what “the rival” represents; we see ourselves as “what the rival is not”.

At the heart of every community that has felt threatened, there is a need to respond to that threat. Through the logic of VE, in order to satisfy that need of reinforcing community identity, people or groups who fly the flag of that community’s identity while using extreme expressions may “heal the wounds” of the people in that group. They help “quench the thirst” for revenge and promote the idea that “they deserve it”⁶⁹.

66. ROTHENBERGER, L.; KOTARAC, M. (2015). *The Discursive Construction of a Religious terrorist Group Identity*. (Jour Editions).

67. Although there is not a single belonging that can impose itself over the whole system of identification (which is complex, as we have seen), what may impose itself is our self-perception, the way we see ourselves. There is often a chasm between what we are and what we think we are.

68. A perceived threat may not only be a real threat but how the person perceives a threat.

69. MAALOUF, A (1998). *In the name of identity. Violence and the Need to Belong*. (New York: Arcade Publishing).

PRIORITY OF WHAT IS UNDER THREAT: THE EXAMPLE OF RELIGION AS A PRIORITY FACTOR

In the Maghreb and Mashriq regions, globalization is seen as a threat to Muslim identity (among other things) by part of the population. As a result, many people adopt increasingly religious behaviour as a sign of resistance⁷⁰. Other milestones that are clear examples of this process of prioritizing Muslim identity over other identities could be: the revolution in Iran (where much of the Muslim population was unhappy with Reza Shah Pahlavi's government, which was seen as a puppet of the West), the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan or the American invasion of Iraq⁷¹. In these cases, religious identity appears as a powerful tool for identification⁷² of the *Others-Equals* (Muslims) and the *Others-Different* (foreigners, Western influence).

TOOLS/KEYS

Creating spaces in which to channel pain and to work on the threat

Creating spaces that allow people to build new tales of unease is important in order to channel the pain into expressions that do not amplify hate and feelings of vengeance. These spaces must help us understand what we are in a different way. It is vital that we work on that perception of threat and not only on the reaction it generates.

Understanding threatened identities

The world is full of wounded communities that suffer persecution or remember having been persecuted and dream of revenge. We must not justify violence or be lenient with violence, but we must be sensitive and understand the pain.

Threatened identities that do not threaten

Threatened identities may defend themselves by reinforcing their identity as opposed to the "Other-Different" and wishing to prevail over the "Other-Different", or they may base their new construction on their own values without opposing the other.

Identity crisis. In situations of identity crisis, finding a dominating element to identify with produces relief and a feeling that the crisis is solved. This crisis can be caused by different elements:

Table 5.1 **Identity Crisis**

A feeling of relative deprivation of rights	Belonging to a marginalised social class (poor, immigrant, minority ethnic group, etc.) and not being able to do certain jobs for which they are sufficiently qualified ⁷³ . They feel a lack of opportunities and difficulties in improving their social status. This feeds a feeling of frustration, discrimination and rejection of the society they live in.
Division between two identities	They feel they do not belong to either of the strongest identities in their context and look for places where they feel they belong, and new identities in order to answer: Who are we? What are we doing? Who are the others? ⁷⁴ (A frequent situation among marginalized youth. See Chapter 4. Security)
Perception of lack of respect or discrimination	Towards customs or identitarian features. More usual among identity elements that are not counter-cultural in the domineering social context. For example, discrimination of languages, customs, festivities, etc.

70. LEEN, A. et. al. (2017). *Social Identity and Radicalisation: A Review of Key Concepts*. (Amman, Jordan: West Asia-North Africa Institute).

71. KOSÁROVÁ, D.; UŠIAK, J. (2018). "The role of identity in the contemporary global terrorist movement." *Politické vedy*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327476932_The_role_of_identity_in_the_contemporary_global_terrorist_movement.

72. KOSÁROVÁ, D.; UŠIAK, J. (2018). "The role of identity in the contemporary global terrorist movement." *Politické vedy*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327476932_The_role_of_identity_in_the_contemporary_global_terrorist_movement.

73. Example of the second and third generation Muslims in Europe. RABASA, A. & BENARD, C. 2015. *Eurojihad. Patterns of Islamist Radicalisation and Terrorism in Europe*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

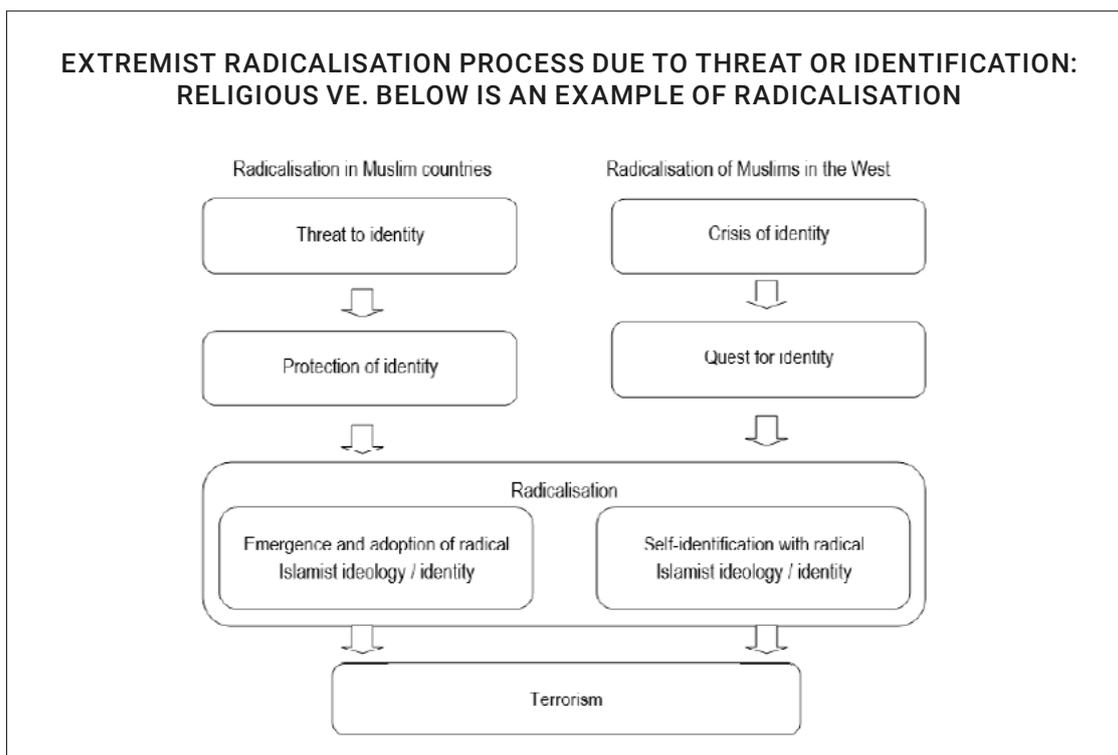
74. Example of how it works with religious identity as a driver for VE. ROTHENBERGER, L.; KOTARAC, M. (2015). "The Discursive Construction of a Religious Terrorist Group Identity." *Культура/Culture*. n° 11/2015, ISSN 1857-7725, pp. 91-102.

These people need to satisfy their need for identity and are more vulnerable to extremist ideas that give them a feeling of acknowledgement and a perception of superior status⁷⁵.

FROM THREATENED IDENTITY OR IDENTITY CRISIS TO VE

By using the example of religious identity, the following chart shows us how a radicalisation process ending in VE may act when an identity is in crisis or threatened. **We could replace religion with national identity or ideological identity; the logic would be the same.**

Table 5.2. **Extremist radicalisation.** *Kosárová, Dominika & Ušiak, Jaroslav (2018).*



IDENTIFICATION WITH VE

Different authors have described the phases in processes of conversion to VE and point out an important initial phase of self-identification in which individuals move away from their original identities and become more vulnerable to extremist ideology. Firstly, there is a “perception of being a victim”, which is where identification takes place. After that, the individual assumes the ideology.

5.1.4 WHAT THREATENS OUR IDENTITY? THREAT FACTORS AND DRIVERS

There are a series of contextual factors related to psychosocial dynamics (of identity construction) that create a feeling of threat and increase vulnerability to violent options. Some of the main factors are: illegitimacy, instability and uncertainty⁷⁶. The consequences of these factors act as mobilizers (push factors; see the contexts of non-satisfaction of needs seen in Chapters 1 and 2) whereas the logic of VE attracts (pull factors), using the keys described.

75. KOSÁROVÁ, D.; UŠIAK, J. (2018). “The role of identity in the contemporary global terrorist movement.” *Politické vedy*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327476932_The_role_of_identity_in_the_contemporary_global_terrorist_movement.

76. LEEN, A. et. al. (2017): *Social Identity and Radicalisation: A Review of Key Concepts*. (Amman, Jordan: West Asia-North Africa Institute.

Table 5.3. VE factors and types of logic.

FACTOR	DESCRIPTION	VE LOGIC	KEYS
Illegitimacy	When a group considers existing relationships between groups to be illegitimate and that other external groups have illegitimate power, it tries to improve its inferior status and develop alternative identities that may help establish a new context of power.	The more intense the perception of illegitimacy and the more totalitarian external power is, the easier it is for violent types of logic to appear among those who want to take power. These types of logic give the group a feeling of power.	Building power and legitimacy.
Instability	Different groups seeking a situation of superior power and following dynamics of conflict.	Confrontation in order to prove supremacy over the rest. Stability based on the homogeneity of equals and supremacy over Others-Different.	Identification with equals. Stability in and with the group of Others.
Uncertainty	Complex narratives, confusing context, uncertain social and economic future.	Extremist groups often succeed in simplifying reality through simple and clear slogans based on self-assertion and on their supremacy over others, which gives a feeling of certainty to listeners. They present a clearly articulated and unique identity, plus a rigid system of beliefs and strong behaviour requirements. They are usually more attractive because they promise solutions to what seems uncertain.	Clear and simple messages. Strong organization and values. Guidelines for action.

Both VE and PVE deal with the same contexts and the keys upon which identities are articulated are often similar, but the objectives and values are very different.

Table 5.4. PVE factors and types of logic

FACTOR	KEYS	PVE Logic
Illegitimacy	Building power and legitimacy.	Positive experiences of transformation and moral legitimacy of nonviolence.
Instability	Identifying with equals. Stability of and in the group of equals.	Construction of non-discriminatory identities. Focusing on what unites equals and understanding difference as diversity instead of as opposition.
Uncertainty	Clear and simple messages (not complicated). Strong organization and values. Guidelines for action.	Adapting language, building clear messages in/with uncertain groups and realities. Radical beliefs and values of nonviolent transformation.

In these contexts, groups that offer satisfiers in order to reduce the factors play a major role. Being a member of such groups reduces the feeling of insecurity. Belonging to certain groups guarantees relief when going through difficulties since their members

share perceptions, values, behaviour or attitudes with other members. They give sense and clarity about how to act. This is part of social identity as a way of satisfying that need.

5.2 Satisfying the need for identity: Social identity

Social Identity is the feeling of identity that stems from belonging to a group. It provides a “shared/collective representation” of who they are and of how members of the group should behave⁷⁷. This belonging gives us a social value or significance that makes us feel proud and increases our self-esteem. This is especially attractive for people who feel their chances of personal development have been limited, who feel they are going through personal difficulties or in contexts in which there is a perception of inferiority in the face of certain external powers.

As people evaluate their self-esteem based on belonging to the group, this fosters the person’s behaviour in serving the group even if it means personal sacrifice⁷⁸. This is valid for both processes of violent transformation of reality (VE) and nonviolent processes of transformation (PVE). In both processes, the individual may undergo personal sacrifice. Social identity determines the way more vulnerable individuals behave and it may become more important than the personal dimension of a person’s identity (the group’s influence conditions individuals)⁷⁹.

Table 5.5. **Keys to VE and PVE Logic.**

Keys provided by social identity	VE Logic	PVE Logic
The group offers a vision of the world	They offer a clear and closed vision of the world by simplifying events (usually dichotomic visions). Their vision of the world excludes the Others.	They offer more systemic visions. They need clear messages though they are based on more complex visions. Their vision of the world promotes a joint future among different groups.
Power	Belonging to these extremist groups provides a feeling of superior status to its members (power over Others-Different).	Identities built on power with Other-Equals but not over Others-Different.
Group cohesion (collective identity)	VE seeks to maintain its self-perception of superior status through increasing prejudice and negative stereotypes about other groups (“we are the good guys”, “we own the truth”, “they want to annihilate what we are” etc.). Belonging becomes more solid when the limits between groups become impermeable (“you are either with us or with them”, “with me or against me”). At that point, the “other” is demonized.	Cohesion through positive experiences of collective satisfaction of needs. The only dichotomy is the cohesion in nonviolence when faced with violence (justice versus injustice, sustainability versus unsustainability).
Guidelines for action that transform behaviour	Membership is valued and the person behaves according to the collective norms and the group’s system of values. Hence, people get involved in extremist violence as a result of these collective norms that bind members of the group together against external groups ⁸⁰ . On their own, violent ideas do not necessarily produce violent behaviour. It is this collective identification that allows for collective violent action ⁸¹ .	Identity based on mutual support without excluding the Other-Different. This leads to transforming realities into ecosocial contexts. Nonviolent norms and systems of values.

77. ABRAMS, D. & HOGG, M. (2006). *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes*. (Florence, US: Routledge Ed.)

78. LEEN, A. et. al. (2017). *Social Identity and Radicalisation: A Review of Key Concepts*. (Amman, Jordan: West Asia-North Africa Institute.)

79. This is a key mechanism in a person turning into a violent extremist or terrorist. RAETS, S. (2017). “The We in Me. Considering Terrorist Desistance from a Social Identity Perspective”. *Journal for Deradicalisation*. N° 13 Winter 2017/2018.

80. RAETS, S. (2017). “The We in Me. Considering Terrorist Desistance from a Social Identity Perspective”. *Journal for Deradicalisation*. N° 13 Winter 2017/2018.

81. SAGEMAN, M. (2017). *Turning to Political Violence: The Emergence of Terrorism*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).

Social identity establishes relationships with other external groups. These relationships have been generally classified as: relationships of differentiation, of competition or of antagonism. Such relationships may tend towards hostility when there is the perception that there are illegitimate relationships of power between the different groups in society. Social

identity gives guidelines for relations with external groups where the logic behind VE's acts is based on competition and antagonism and the reaction to conflict is violence. PVE logic builds on difference understood as diversity. When there is conflict, it seeks understanding or negotiation based on interdependence.

IDENTITIES OF RESISTANCE, IDENTITIES OF TRANSFORMATION

One of the keys in VE groups is that they have created identities of resistance vis-a-vis the powers they confront (and vis-a-vis the present they want to change radically).

One of the keys in prevention work in vulnerable contexts is building nonviolent identities of resistance within the logic for radical and nonviolent transformation towards just, democratic and sustainable kinds of future. It is necessary to react to the context (Chapter 3).

The first *Intifada* in Palestine and the *Via Campesina* (with increasing presence on both sides of the Mediterranean) are examples of the creation of nonviolent identities of resistance (in Chapter 1 we saw that nonviolence that transforms = nonviolent resistance + nonviolent construction).

06

Conflict and polarisation

Summary

This chapter focuses on conflict and polarisation. It proposes ways to develop fluidity when in conflict and explains the dynamics of escalation and de-escalation, and how these are connected to polarisation. Many of the logical processes presented here are based on interpersonal conflicts (conflicts between two persons or two groups). Nevertheless, they can be used in conflicts on a greater scale. Situations with high vulnerability to VE often happen on a lower scale and have to be dealt with between persons or groups, but they are totally interdependent with the greater scale and the global context. In the end, we are talking about social conflicts happening at different levels at the same time (personal, interpersonal and structural levels).

Introduction

As we have seen in Chapters 1-3, the action of PVE is carried out above all in contexts of non-satisfaction of fundamental needs, in which both violence and nonviolence play a key role in offering satisfactors. These contexts are usually characterized by conflicts with greater or lesser polarization. This chapter is not intended as a complete presentation of conflict resolution skill building. Rather, it points out elements of conflict that are important in understanding polarisation.

Knowing these elements can help us to manage better in these conflicting contexts in order to better address the other needs presented in this manual and the construction of synergistic satisfiers associated with them.

6.1 Dealing with conflict

*Not everything that is faced can be changed,
but nothing can be changed until it is faced.*

James Baldwin⁸²

6.1.1 CONFLICT STAGES

Conflict is an unavoidable aspect of human relations. It expresses a struggle between opposing forces, positions, beliefs or needs. One useful definition of conflict is: "Conflict is an expressed struggle between at least two independent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce resources, and interference from others in achieving their goals"⁸³. Differences are the building blocks of conflicts. These may be differences in beliefs, values or goals, or else they may be differences in the conflicting sides' needs.

The appearance of a conflict implies that a relationship is present, meaning there is interdependence between two or more sides. This interdependence is a basic characteristic of any group (family, community, work environment), but it also applies on a more global level (states). People do not operate independently of each other. The actions of one person, group or states affects others. In this context of interdependence, conflicts appear and may be not only inter-personal, but expressions of a social conflict as well.

Important note: In order to attempt conflict resolution there needs to be a minimum interest in the relationship. When this interest in the relationship is not present, we cannot expect the two sides to be able to resolve the conflict on their own or with support from a facilitator or a mediator.

82. BALDWIN, J.; RANDAL, K. (2010). *The Cross of Redemption: Uncollected Writings*. (New York: Pantheon Books).

83. WILMOT, W.; HOCKER, J. (2011). *Interpersonal Conflict* (8th Ed.) (New York: McGraw Hill).

NONVIOLENT SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

When the conditions to attempt conflict resolution are not met, there is open confrontation. Even if there is a situation of great power imbalance between the parties (one party wants the other to disappear, as in some of the VE examples mentioned in Chapter 1), there is still a nonviolent way to deal with that conflict. In order to satisfy their needs and achieve social change, most nonviolent movements have had to struggle in a nonviolent way until the conditions to solve the situation were met. Contexts prone to the appearance of VE are usually ones where people and groups are struggling to solve those needs. Many organizations promote nonviolent social transformation, such as NOVACT, Nonviolence and social transformation.

Conflicts do not appear out of the blue. They start off as small instances where differences can create tension (in Chapter 2 we can see an example of how tensions increase as a consequence of global crisis, especially for structural conflicts with a connection to the interpersonal and personal level). If this tension goes unnoticed, then it may lead to a dispute. Disputes are moments of intense interaction where two sides have an argument about something. If this

is not solved, if it is left unattended, uncared for, then this may lead to a conflict. Conflict is a serious disagreement between two or more parties. If the conflict is not addressed, then this may escalate to the point where the violence threshold is crossed and the two sides go to war. In interpersonal relationships this may look like people refusing to relate or actively damaging each other. In social situations this may take the form of direct, cultural or structural violence.

Figure 6.1. **Violence Threshold**⁸⁴

Difference		Tension		Dispute		Conflict		War
							Violence threshold	

Our fear of violence discourages us from dealing with tensions as they appear and arise, or else we think that focusing on an earlier sign of tension might be too tiresome or not worth the trouble it might create.

CONFLICT ESCALATION

In the early years of the recent crisis in Greece, Agios Panteleimonas, a low-income neighbourhood in central Athens, saw an influx of many immigrants and refugees who rented apartments in the area. Unease grew gradually among the locals, facing a multi-cultural environment they were not used to up to then. Fear and tensions started to rise. Individual incidents of theft were exaggerated, rumours of danger were spreading, small disputes began happening among neighbours. At the same time, NGOs and self-organized groups were providing services to the refugees and migrants living in the area. This created even more tension as many of the Greek residents started asking, "Who is taking care of us?". The Golden Dawn party (a VE group and a neo-Nazi political party) took on the role of "protector" of the Greek residents, offering them a "satisfier" to their need for security. No one was addressing these tensions and the climate was becoming increasingly polarised. Golden Dawn on the one side were claiming they were there to protect the Greeks from the "foreign criminals", while the left-wing NGOs and groups on the other were protecting the foreigners from Golden Dawn. In 2011, a man who was taking his wife to the maternity hospital to give birth was stabbed and killed on the street by a foreign national who wanted to steal the video camera he had in his hands. This escalated the conflict; the violence threshold had been crossed. Each side perceived the other as dangerous and criminal. Opinions became rigid and measures extreme. Organized groups from both sides took to the streets, chasing people and trying to scare them away from the neighbourhood. This is a typical example of escalation that was left unaddressed and led to war on the streets between two opposing groups. No one intervened in the early stages to ease the tensions, create bridges of communication between the various people and nationalities living in the area, to resolve conflicts before they became too polarised.

84. Figure Taken from: ESCOLA DE PAU (2009). *Alert 2009! Report on conflicts, human rights and peacebuilding*. (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial).

In the above sequence of escalation (from differences that create tension, to dispute, to conflict, to war), it is interesting to notice two things:

- As the tension becomes more intense, each side becomes more polarised in their opinions, views and emotions. This is crucial to understanding polarisation. Even if the conflict revolves around a simple issue, as the tension builds up both sides start to become rigid in their views and stances. In the beginning of the process they may have expressed a position, while at the same time acknowledging that this may not be the whole picture. In the end, they become stuck in their views, feeling they hold the absolute truth.
- Avoidance of dealing with each stage is actually what leads to crossing the violence threshold. Thus, our tendency to avoid dealing with tensions as they arise and lead to conflict, hoping that they will go away on their own, often enables escalation and leads to the violence threshold being crossed.

6.1.2 CONTENT OF CONFLICT

In every conflict there are two kinds of content: the issue itself and the feelings around the issue. The issue may involve facts, procedures, events, goals, values, or the unfulfilment or underfulfilment of needs (see Chapters 1 and 2). In a conflict, each side has different

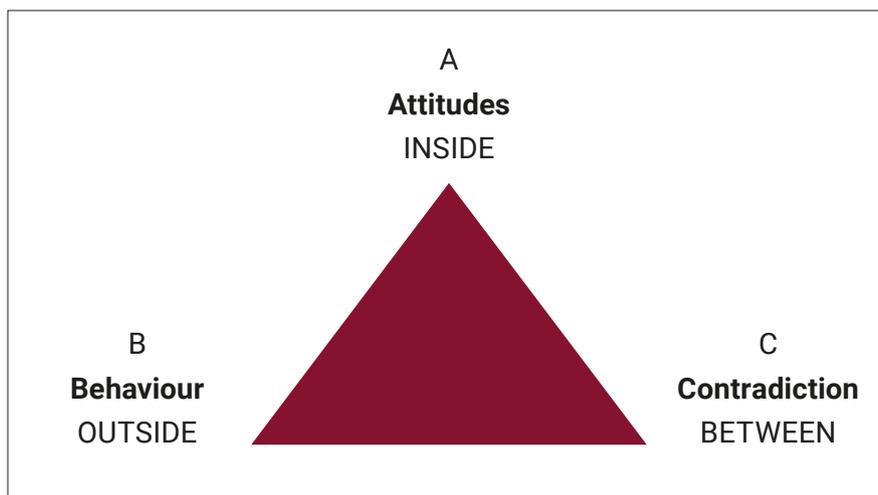
information or else the interpretation of the available information changes (Galtung calls this “the contradiction”). In the early stages of a conflict, it is easier to share each side’s information and experience. Once the information or its interpretation is shared and clarified, it is easier to reach a common agreement. If things become polarised, it takes more effort on both sides to listen to each other and this sharing is not always possible. In Chapter 8 we will give some ideas on how to listen when it is difficult to do so.

Conflict always has an emotional aspect. It is an emotional process that can give rise to intense emotions on all sides. Despite the common view that conflict brings out mostly anger and aggression, most people also experience feelings of being used, sadness, anxiety, abandonment or hopelessness. These feelings affect how the parties perceive their own goals and the conflict

Itself, and will have a great influence on our attitudes regarding the conflict.

In addition to the issue of the conflict and the feelings, another component of the conflict is the parties’ behaviour. This means how the parties will act with regard to the conflict: cooperatively, looking to satisfy all needs; or competitively, fighting to satisfy their own needs even at the expense of the other party’s needs.

CONFLICT TRIANGLE⁸⁵, Galtung.



Behaviour, the issue creating the conflict and feelings are all totally connected, and one cannot be addressed without the others. As we have said, parties often differ in their perception of the issue, or else the issue is not easily addressed, since the parties to the conflict on both sides (including politicians and the media when it is a conflict on a greater scale) prefer to focus on the feelings (attitudes) and behaviour on “their side” (which are generally self-conceived as positive) than on the “other side” (which is usually described as negative).

The ABC triangle may be useful to analyze the conflict (knowing that the three vertices are interdependent).

85. GALTUNG, J. (1996). *Peace by peaceful means. Peace and conflict, development and civilization*. (Oslo: International Peace Research Institute.)

Articulation process Top-Bottom Disarticulation process Bottom - top	A	B	C	STATE OF CONFLICT
	-	-	-	Absence of conflict (dead)
	*	-	-	Willing attitudes
	-	*	-	Willing behaviours
	*	*		Willing attitudes and behaviours
	-	-	*	Contradiction
	*	-	*	Subconscious level is fully willing
	-	*	*	Conflict behaviour (as normal)
	*	*	*	Conflict fully articulated

6.1.3 CONFLICT OPERATES ON THREE LEVELS

As mentioned in Chapter 1, there are three levels on which conflict operates: the personal level (inner conflict), inter-personal level (relationship) and social level (social conflict). This distinction is useful to understand how conflict works.

Table 6.1. Levels of conflict

LEVEL	Person X (calm, organised, logical)	Person Y (creative, spontaneous, emotional)
INTRA- PERSONAL LEVEL (inner conflict)	Y represents an inner part of X that is more unknown to him/her and with which he/she may be in an inner conflict. <i>X: "For us to move forward, I need discussions to happen in a calm atmosphere, with linear arguments"</i>	X represents an inner part of Y that is more unknown to him/her and with which he/she may be in an inner conflict. <i>Y: "When we are working together I want to be free to express my thoughts and feelings as they arise. I don't want to censor myself! You are stifling me!"</i>
	The inner conflict may be the effort of the person to create space inside themselves for linear, logical, calm discussion, while at the same time allowing for spontaneous reactions, emotional expression and a bit of chaos.	
INTER- PERSONAL LEVEL (relationship conflict)	X as an individual, with their life experience and identity, in conflict with Y.	Y as an individual, with their life experience and identity, in conflict with X.
	Both sides have experience of life in which their ways of behaving and existing with each other come to a conflict.	
SOCIAL LEVEL (social conflict)	X represents a social role in conflict with another social role or norm.	Y represents a social role in conflict with another social role or norm.
	One of the roles (order and reasoning or spontaneous and emotional) might have different social values from the other role, in which case it is not just a conflict between the two persons, but between the parties' social values.	

6.1.4 AWARENESS AND FLUIDITY IN CONFLICT

In every conflict one can observe three possible sides. If X and Y (people or groups) are in conflict, the three roles/sides/positions are:

- Position of Side X (Role X).
- Position of Side Y (Role Y).
- Position of a Neutral Observer.

For example, in an interpersonal conflict you can start off by saying, “If I were in your position, I think I would feel.... and I would say...”

When a conflict occurs, we often experience ourselves as being stuck and may not realize that we are fixed in a particular position. This increases polarisation. One key to work with conflict is to develop awareness and a fluid ability to step in and out of the various roles/sides/positions involved in the conflict. This is often present in the way we speak, but we do not realize it as it is happening.

It is helpful to **become aware of the position you are in within a conflict** (your own side, the other person’s side and/or outside the conflict in a more neutral position). Surprisingly, when somebody is involved in a conflict, before the escalation they often express a little of both sides.

Once you have that awareness, **stand in that position congruently** until you feel you have **expressed yourself fully**, including your **deepest feelings, needs and experiences** in that position. If the position you begin with is your position in the conflict, express it fully. If the position you begin with is the other’s position, do the same.

Once you have done so, you might **notice a role switch happening** and find yourself feeling for the other side, or feeling for both sides—being in a more outside/neutral position from which you can care for the whole. This outside/neural position often contains within it a sense of wholeness and our own deep wisdom.

Stepping into such positions as well and fully expressing their viewpoints can help deepen the interaction and resolve a conflict.

This awareness procedure is based on the belief in every person’s wholeness and potential ability to understand all sides. It makes use of the observation that nearly everyone changes roles in a conflict, even if this happens in seconds, and then they return to their original position. This change often appears in double signals in communication.

6.2 Escalation and De-escalation

Escalation is an increase in the intensity or seriousness of something, such as the intensification of a conflict. It happens when one or both sides of a conflict makes increasingly stronger accusations about the other side or when their non-verbal signals suggest mounting aggression. When conflicts escalate, each side holds their position in increasingly rigid ways, and this can amount to polarisation.

De-escalation is the reduction of the intensity of a conflict or a potentially violent situation. De-escalation happens when one or both sides in a conflict send verbal or non-verbal signals that lower the intensity of a conflict.

6.2.1 WHAT ESCALATES A CONFLICT?

We all know the experience of escalating a conflict, whether we have been the ones responsible for escalating it or on the receiving end. Escalation can happen with intent or unintentionally. We are not always aware of what or how we communicate and how this contributes to escalation.

The following are some of the ways that we or others escalate conflict:

Table 6.2. **How conflict escalates.**

WAYS THAT CONFLICT ESCALATES	
Use of third parties or coalitions	By using third parties and subconscious coalitions in our communication. For example, <i>I am saying this to you because Charles is also irritated with you!</i> In this example, bringing in a third person intensifies your position, but creates confusion in the other person. They are now not only communicating with you; they are also having a parallel interaction with “Charles”, who is not present.
Subconscious communication	By being unaware of our double signals in communication. For example, saying <i>I am fine...</i> , but with an angry tone of voice. The other person has to respond to two conflicting messages: one in the content, the other in the way the message is transmitted.
Denying accusations	By denying accusations. Accusations are often statements about an aspect of ourselves that we do not usually identify with. These aspects of ourselves show up in double signals in our communication. We are being accused about a part of our self, a part of our wholeness. It can be useful to own it and bring it into the momentary interaction. Trying to find and pick up responsibility for even a tiny part of the accusation that may be true can be helpful. Even if it is not true at that moment, where or when could it be true?
Stereotyping	Stereotyping is something that always escalates conflict. Blanket statements and prejudiced generalizations add fuel to the fire. For example, “All men act like that!” or “What do you expect, women are over-sensitive!” Stereotyping is often an expression or a projection of a marginalized part of ourselves. There is some aspect of our personality that we marginalize and are not free to express, so we project it in a negative or positive way onto others.
Not reacting when hurt	Another way in which we subconsciously escalate conflict is by not reacting when we are hurt. We try to be strong or cool and to not show the pain. Not showing that we are hurt indirectly supports the attacker, who keeps attacking because they have no feedback on their behaviour, no immediate signal that makes them aware of the effect they are having. Showing hurt, when it happens, may actually de-escalate the conflict.
Being closed to feedback	Escalation also happens when we are not open to feedback. For example, it can be inflammatory to continue attacking even after the person has congruently apologized.
Feeling unheard or misunderstood	When people feel unheard or misunderstood they can become indirectly hurtful and vengeful. Snickering when someone is hurt, using sarcasm, irony, being aloof, gossiping and making coalitions can escalate conflict.
One-sided actions	Also, however well intended, acting one-sidedly like a helper, therapist/healer, social activist, someone above conflict, escalates it, as well as being patronizing and/or condescending towards the other person in the interaction.
Abuse of rank	Being unaware of rank escalates the conflict. For example, saying “Just stand up for yourself!” to a person who has low self-esteem due to social marginalization, while not acknowledging the rank that you have in belonging to the mainstream culture.
Rigid sides for long times	Staying rigidly on one side of an issue—unwilling to switch roles or see the “other” side—over a long time will escalate the conflict. Seeing the other side does not necessarily mean agreeing with it. It means understanding the other person’s point of view and the experiences that shape their point of view in the interaction.

Noticing escalation and commenting on it may be crucial to avoid physical violence and injury.

ESCALATION AT AN INTERPERSONAL LEVEL AND STRUCTURAL LEVEL

The key elements given in order to notice escalation are valid for conflicts at an interpersonal and structural level (conflict where the parties can be two people, two groups or two states). The examples given are interpersonal examples to make them easier to understand.

6.2.2 WHAT DE-ESCALATES CONFLICT

When a conflict interaction escalates, it is easy to get caught up in the intensity of emotions. Perception then becomes limited and de-escalation signals missed. These de-escalation signals can happen momentarily, appearing and disappearing in seconds. If we do not catch these signals, we miss the opportunity to slow things down and try to gain a deeper understanding of both sides.

De-escalation signals in communication

De-escalation signals are hard to notice because they are often either verbal but missed in a sea of verbal messages or non-verbal and thus less easily noticed. Some common non-verbal de-escalation signals occur as follows:

Table 6.3. **How conflict de-escalates.**

INTERPERSONAL ⁸⁶	STRUCTURAL (Macro level)
Voices become lower.	The amount and tone of offensive messages is reduced.
One or both people in the interaction look down or away.	Not criticizing when criticism of the other is unnecessary.
A momentary smile or giggle.	Approach gestures given by secondary figures (not by spokespersons or more visible people in the conflict).
A moment of quiet.	Coincidence in opinion on a peripheral issue.
A moment when fear becomes apparent. This can be used to de-escalate by recognising and creating some sort of empathy or else to escalate using fear to “dominate” the Other.	
A moment of understanding that occurs.	

86. SAGEMAN, M. (2017). *Turning to Political Violence: The Emergence of Terrorism*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).

Table 6.4. **Tips for de-escalating conflicts.**

TIPS FOR DE-ESCALATING CONFLICTS THAT OCCUR IN RELATIONSHIP INTERACTIONS	
Notice and name de-escalation signals.	Noticing de-escalation signals is the first and most important skill when fostering a situation where tensions are rising. It is very important to notice and name de-escalation signals , or else they will be lost and the conflict will loop over and over again and escalate.
Help the person/group to find the meaning of their signals.	This may help two people/groups move a step towards resolving a conflict or even leave behind a conflict that they have not noticed is already over. De-escalation signals often appear in non-verbal signals, appearing as double signals. Recognizing and supporting the unfolding of double-signals furthers the de-escalation.
Supporting both sides of a conflict to express their feelings involved in the conflict.	Expressing their feelings, not only their stances, also helps de-escalation. When people feel listened to and acknowledged as regards their experience, it becomes easier to de-escalate the conflict.
Slowing things down.	Interactions that happen quickly in moments of tension may create hurt that adds fuel to the fire. Slowing things down, naming hurtful interactions and giving space for people to express themselves are all things that de-escalate.
Encouraging power awareness helps de-escalation.	Reminding people of their power and how it appears in various forms, encouraging everyone to use it for the benefit of all, not only for their personal interest, helps de-escalation.

What a facilitator can do to de-escalate in moments when the tension can lead to violence

These techniques are meant to defuse the conflict enough so that the threat of violence is stopped. They are not meant to be conflict resolution techniques. Think of these tips as “crisis intervention”, as steps to defusing the situation enough so that at a later point you can intervene for the conflict to be resolved. They are meant to be interventions that can make discussion at a later point possible⁸⁷.

A. THE FACILITATOR’S WAY

1. Try to remain calm, focused and self-assured even though you don’t feel it completely. Anxiety can make an agitated person feel unsafe, which can escalate aggression.
2. Use a low, monotone voice. We usually have a high pitched, tight voice when scared.
3. Do not be defensive. Even if the comments or insults are directed at you, remember that in that moment of agitation they are not about you. Do not try to defend yourself or anyone else from insults, curses or misconceptions about their roles.
4. Be aware of any resources available to you for back-up. Keep in mind that you can always leave or seek additional support.
5. Be respectful, even when firmly setting limits or calling for support. The agitated individual is very sensitive to feeling shamed and disrespected.

87. Adapted from *Verbal De-Escalation Techniques for Defusing or Talking Down an Explosive Situation*; prepared by the National Association of Social Worker’s Committee for the Study and Prevention of Violence Against Social Workers.

B. THE FACILITATOR'S PHYSICAL STANCE

1. Never turn your back on the agitated person, for any reason.
2. Always be at the same eye level with the other person. Encourage the other person to be seated, but if he/she needs to stand, then stand up also.
3. Allow extra physical space between you; more than your usual distance. Anger and agitation need some extra space between you.
4. Do not maintain constant eye contact. Allow the agitated person to break off their gaze and look away.
5. Do not point or shake your finger.
6. Do not touch, even if touching somebody is culturally appropriate and usual in your setting. A person who is agitated can easily misinterpret physical contact as hostile or threatening.

C. THE DE-ESCALATION DISCUSSION

1. Remember that this is not a moment to focus on content. You are only trying to calmly bring the level of arousal down to a safer place.
2. Do not get loud or try to yell over a screaming person. Wait until they take a breath, then talk. Speak calmly at an average volume.
3. Answer only questions for information, no matter how rudely asked, e.g. "Why do I have to follow these stupid rules anyway?" This question is seeking information, so try to answer it. Do not answer abusive questions, e.g. "Why are all you so stupid?" This is a question that does not need a response.
4. Explain limits and rules in an authoritative, firm, but always respectful tone. Give choices where possible in which both alternatives are safe ones (e.g. "Would you like to discuss this now or would you prefer to stop now and we'll discuss it when things can be more relaxed?").
5. Empathize with the person's feelings, but not with their behaviour (e.g. "I understand that you have every right to feel angry, but it is not OK for you to threaten me or the others here").
6. Do not argue or try to convince.
7. Wherever possible, try to tap into the other person's cognitive mode. Do not say "Tell me how you are feeling". Instead, say "Help me to understand what you are saying to me." People will not usually continue attacking you while explaining what they want you to know.
8. Give the consequences of inappropriate behaviour without threats or anger (e.g. "If we don't find a way to calm things down, I'll have to ask you to leave").

6.3 Polarisation

I imagine one of the reasons people cling to their hates so stubbornly is because they sense, once hate is gone, they will be forced to deal with pain.

James Baldwin⁸⁸

6.3.1 FROM FLOW ON A CONTINUUM TO POLARISATION

Polarisation happens when people or groups concentrate on opposing extremes of views or positions that were formerly spread out on a continuum. Thus, what was a continuum becomes a division between two opposites. Polarisation can be dangerous for relationships and groups, because it operates on an 'us' and 'them' logic, with clear dividing lines and almost no focus on the common ground between the two groups. This creates an atmosphere of tension, limited awareness of the process happening in the relationship and an easily escalated situation. It can lead to a breakdown of the relationship. Polarisation is a breeding ground for the emergence of violent extremist ideologies.

It is important to understand that polarisation is a thought construct based on assumptions. Perception plays a big role in one's ability to experience a relationship as either a flow on a continuum of exploration and understanding or a set position that is distant and opposite to the other side:

"Polarisation can be seen as a thought construct, based on assumptions of 'us' and 'them' identities. In a process of polarisation, the dominant and active narrative is about the perceived (and often exaggerated) differences and simplistic narratives about the others. There is a neglect of what the 'us' and 'them' might have in common. Polarisation therefore shows itself in negative thoughts and attitudes towards other groups, which could result in growing hostility and segregation."⁸⁹

6.3.2 POLARISATION AS A COMMUNICATION PROCESS

When things get polarised, it is important to remember that the polarisation is in itself a communication process. When it happens, communication is breaking down. When a conflict escalates, communication becomes even more difficult. Emotions such as disappointment, hopelessness, pain or anger may

take over. This can easily lead someone to use their power in a harmful way, hurting the other.

Polarisation occurs when one or both sides feel they are not being listened to or are misunderstood, negated or ignored. One possible intervention is to focus on the communication happening in the moment, supporting both sides to express not only their positions but also their deeper feelings, experiences and needs that make up these positions. This creates a context where dialogue can slow down (polarisation makes things go very fast), where power and rank can be noticed, felt and used for the good of the whole, not only for one side of the conflict.

Polarisation is an escalation process in human interactions, where each side of a conflict becomes increasingly attached to their point of view and unable to listen or integrate the other side's view or experience. This can easily lead to even stronger emotions; it can create an atmosphere where hate takes over. How can we prevent this escalation? How can we enrich our communication, not only with our beliefs and ideas, but also with our emotions about these beliefs and the experiences that have led us to them?

One of the key components in the prevention of polarisation is the ability to create sustainable dialogue, where listening is an active experience, where we not only listen to facts and positions, but are open to reconsider assumptions, to break down stereotypes, to promote diversity as enriching, not only as a challenge. For more information, see Chapter 8, How to listen when it is difficult to listen.

6.3.3 DE-ESCALATION OF CONFLICTS BETWEEN POLARISED GROUPS

When faced with an intensely polarised situation between groups of people and the violence threshold has been crossed, it is very difficult to intervene. However, there are some things that one can do to attempt de-escalation.

If you are dealing with a situation where polarization has led to extreme violence and the two sides (people or groups) are not interested in relating to each other:

88. BALDWIN, J. (1955). "Notes of a Native Son." *The Harper's Magazine*.

89. LENOS, S.; HAANSTRA, W.; KELTJENS, M.; VAN DE DONK, M. (2017). *RAN Polarisation Management Manual*. European Commission. Radicalisation Awareness Network.

Table 6.4. **Moving forward in de-escalation.**

STEPS FOR DE-ESCALATION
Lay down the rules that stop the violence.
Seek out members of each group that are not satisfied with the intensity of the conflict and who are willing and needing to find a different way to resolve it (even if they are only in line with the needs of their own side).
Build a minimum relationship between the two sides.
Identify people in each group that may have some kind of relationship with a member of the opposing group, meaning two people or more from each group who, even though they are caught up in the conflict, still have a minimum interest in maintaining a relationship with the person from the other side.
Once you have identified these people, you can use conflict resolution skills to foster their communication and understanding of each other.

This may help diffuse the situation and move a step towards further de-escalation.

6.3.4 TIPS FOR PREVENTING POLARISATION

Polarisation is dangerous because it creates situations that are difficult to deal with and that take a high emotional, physical and social toll on those in-

involved. Preventing polarisation is all about practising conflict resolution in its early stages. This may seem to take more work (and it does), but the long-term benefits are obvious. Conflict is like a wound. If you do not take care of it in its early stages, it becomes infected and demands radical measures for it to heal.

Table 6.5 **Preventing polarisation**

TIPS FOR PREVENTING POLARISATION
Notice escalation in its early stages.
Use power for the benefit of all. This is easily said and more difficult to do in situations that have become increasingly escalated. But power used for the benefit of only one side of a conflict is in danger of becoming abusive power.
Practise communication skills, listen with curiosity, search for the emotions behind the arguments, and explore the experiences that led to the emotions.
Practise a <i>willingness to be disturbed</i> (reconsider assumptions, break down stereotypes, promote diversity as enriching and not only as a challenge).
Promote inner and outer dialogue.

HOW A FACILITATOR CAN USE THEIR POWER

As a facilitator, you can use your power to say “no” to psychological or physical violence, while at the same time saying “yes” to the person. For example, “I like your power, I want to support it”; “You are strong, but I won’t let you use that to hurt others; I want you to use it in a way that makes you feel good about yourself, with nobody getting hurt”.

07

A Look at the emotional territory

Arabic proverb

It is better to turn a light on than to curse the darkness.

Summary

In contexts that are prone to the appearance of VE, where needs are frequently unfulfilled, feelings play a vital role in three aspects: as indicators of the degree of unfulfilment of needs, in mobilising to satisfy those needs, and in getting to know oneself and detecting the internal difficulties in maintaining the shift towards satisfying needs.

Conscious management of emotions allows us to build synergic affection (positive) and is one of the keys in preventing violent extremism.

Introduction

"One of the essential functions of emotions is to trigger a shift within people"

Mauge Cañada

What are emotions? It is currently impossible to define them conclusively. This question deals with the complex field of each person's internal reality; of relational, group and social space; and with the dominating culture in which each person or group lives.

In this territory, there are several terms that coexist and often merge: emotions, feelings and moods. This diversity shows a little of the wealth that enriches the panorama. Each term refers to an aspect we may call qualitative: emotions as a system of physical signs that tell us what impacts us from the world around us; feelings as emotions measured in terms of beliefs and the culture in which one lives; and moods as patterns or emotional disposition anchored within us, more persistent but less intense and connected to the way experiences and their echoes bond.

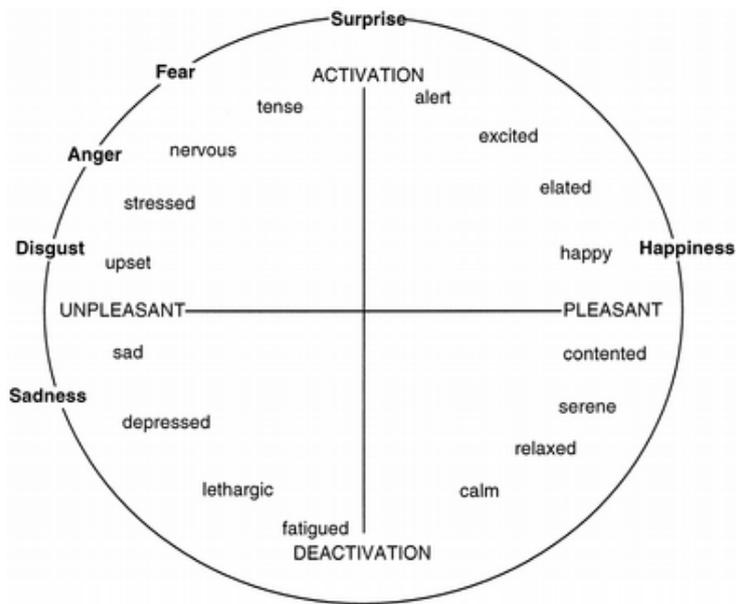
There is an intimate relationship between emotions and human needs. Needs are at the very core of each person's emotional activation: the satisfaction or non-satisfaction of needs creates emotions (Chapter 3) and these in turn may act as the driving force that mobilizes people towards satisfying what they feel, understand or believe they need. Needs are part of every human being's path of life and they require both the development of internal tools and collaboration from the community, social group or institutions the person belongs to in order to satisfy those needs.

Whether or not needs are consciously identified, since they are at the core of emotional activation they are also in the space where the "I" becomes stronger. The "I" may position itself "opposite" or even "against" the rest of the group when it feels its needs are not being catered for, listened to or satisfied.

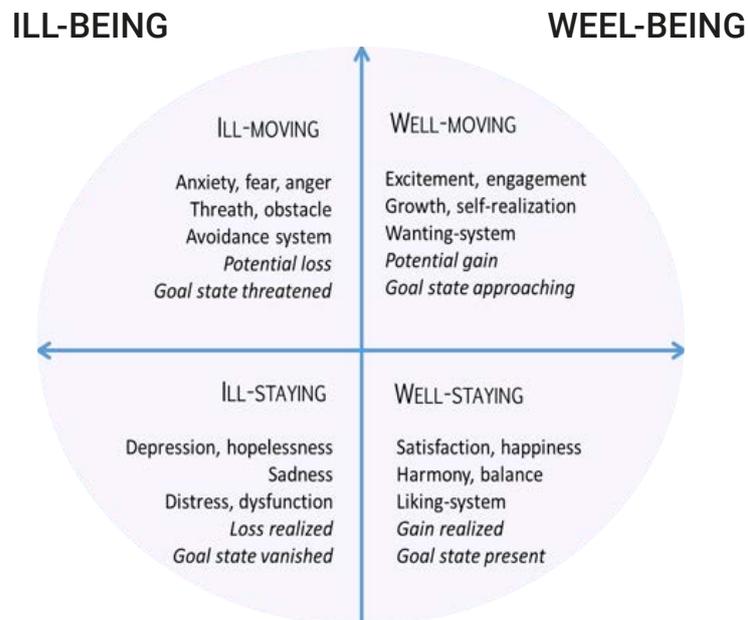
We can split emotions in two ways:

1. As pleasant or unpleasant "sensors" (pain/pleasure) that indicate to what extent we feel or believe our needs have been satisfied. Unpleasant emotions are indicators of non-satisfaction and therefore motivate us to mobilize towards other possibilities. Pleasant emotions confirm that perceived needs are being satisfied. There is a balance and we can experience moments of greater stability (which is perceived as a state of "happiness").
2. In their potential for activation: excitement or relaxation. There are emotions that entail great doses of energy, such as happiness and anger. Other emotions imply lower doses, such as calm and apathy.

Picture 7.1. **Russell's circular model**
 Røysamb & Nes, 2016) Well/Ill-Staying/Moving (WISM)



Picture 7.2. **Røysamb & Nes (2016)**
 Well/Ill-Staying/Moving (WISM)



7.1 Emotions and social context

Social context is the setting in which external aspects that have an impact on people’s day-to-day lives converge. Depending on this context, people will have enough resources and freedom to live their lives with dignity or quite the opposite. This has an effect on all levels of existence. Emotions and feelings may be managed in such a way that people can use that energy in a positive way, looking for and creating better conditions in life (resilience). However, they need the resources to transform and improve their context as a necessary condition for creating real possibilities and restoring trust in life and the world.

Whenever there is a social context that hinders access to the resources needed to create synergic satisfiers on a personal and collective level, the scene is set for the search for other types of satisfiers (negative, inhibiting). This may create a personal or collective reactive narrative with which to release helplessness and frustration.

The development of VE processes feeds on emotional reactions⁹⁰ to:

- Difficult living conditions: lack of resources, lack of employment, of educational options, of future prospects, violation of human rights, abuse of institutional power, violence, defencelessness, exclusion.
- The impact of direct or indirect traumatic experiences: abuse of power, arrests, murder, rape suffered by the person or relatives and friends.
- Difficulty in finding “positive” ways of facing these situations: lack of community support, lack of resources, lack of opportunities, inadequate patterns and beliefs (e.g. based on values of domination, not cooperation).

A context of conflict, violence, inequality, vulnerability and social exclusion creates grave psychosocial and emotional problems in people and communities. In the emotional sphere, this emerges as fear, anxiety, feelings of failure, stress, low self-esteem, guilt, shame, frustration, sadness or depression. These are feelings and emotions that paralyse, block, demotivate and result in emotional imbalance, a deterioration in relational environments and health problems when there is a lack of internal and external resources with which people can tackle them efficiently. Other emotions may also appear such as anger, rage or a desire for revenge, which are all emotions that activate and mobilize the search for

“reparation”. All of these emotions can cause “inadequate” responses or behaviours, so social and family relationships may turn tense, aggressive and even violent.

Picture 7.3. **UNDP (2017).**
Journey to extremism in Africa.

Multiple-answer question.
Shows individuals (percent of category) who selected the emotion.

	MALE	FEMALE
Fear	11	44
Hope/Excitement	35	30
Anger	34	15
Hate	8	22
Vengeance	14	0
Contempt	3	7
Guilt	3	0

Traumatic experiences experienced as abuse of any kind form part of the construction of VE. In the study Journey to extremism in Africa carried out by the UNPD, 71% of interviewees said they had begun getting involved with extremist organisations after the assassination or arrest of relatives or friends. In Chapter 5, which deals with security, we see how repression and security-based measures used to satisfy security needs act as “push factors” for VE. The emotions that unfold after suffering these experiences can mobilize people towards VE.

In contexts of conflict such as the ones described, people do not always renounce the search for positive change in their lives.

As we can see in picture 7.3, hope and anger are the emotions that arise more powerfully in men. The essential argument is a rejection of current living conditions and the will to improve them.

90. The causes of some of these emotional reactions are discussed in the OPEV plan of action, page 17, points 45 and 47: <http://opev.org/wp-content/>

In this case, getting involved in VE might be felt as a synergic satisfier, since one satisfies various needs through one sole action: the individual is taken in as a friend, they are given a job, they believe they can change things, etc.

Rage and vengeance are powerful activators. They mobilize in order to “give back blow by blow” what they have received or perceived. This fosters participation in organisations that promise to carry out these kinds of actions.

Gender is an element that must also be considered, since life experiences are different for men and women even if they live in the same social context. Fear is the most frequent emotion in women who join VE, as a result of family or group pressure and sometimes through imposed experiences (kidnapping). Women look for the security offered by the submission or belonging to a group that is considered powerful and strong. Thus, they find a “negative” satisfier to their needs.

7.2 The content of emotions

In general, emotions and feelings are part of our complex system of interaction with “internal-external” resources.

Table 7.1. Internal and External emotions

INTERNAL	EXTERNAL
Life journey, acquired beliefs, echoes of past experiences and their adaptation to each person and their needs: all of this materializes in their social skills and personal growth.	Needs and their satisfiers. Relationships with other people, family, group one belongs to. One’s environment: living conditions, institutions, the world.

Emotions could be: love, which brings people together and seeks relationships and bonds with other people; fear, which makes us react (paralyzing or stimulating) if we feel threatened; rage, which dictates that we feel or believe there is an attack against us or “one of our own”; sadness produced by loss; the embarrassment we feel when we feel inadequate; envy, which tells us we do not have what we

want; jealousy, which tells us we do not feel secure in our relationship with another person; guilt, which indicates we have hurt someone or broken an important social rule in the culture we live in. All of these emotions tell us what is going on in the internal space in relation to the external space, and guide us as to what we should do in connection to the events.

Table 7.2. What emotions are telling us

EMOTIONS AND FEELINGS TELL US:	
Shift from the inside to the outside	They tell us what need is expressing itself and therefore how we can manage the situation (for oneself): by understanding what shift we need to make and in what direction we should move in order to satisfy those needs.
Shift from the outside to the inside	They question the way we face life’s situations, navigating the process towards change in the way we perceive reality and its associated beliefs.

7.3 Bonds and separation; love and hate

Arab proverb

In order to strengthen the heart, there is no better exercise than bending down to help the fallen get up.

7.3.1 LOVE, AFFECTION, APPRECIATION, TENDERNESS, ATTACHMENT, DEVOTION, FRIENDSHIP, FONDNESS, FERVOUR, PASSION, DELIGHT AND PLEASURE

It is hard to define love as a feeling or emotion. No doubt love is both, but it goes further than that. It can be an intense yet temporary emotion when, at a given time, there is communion with the loved person or object. Erotic love is an example of this. It is also a feeling that is connected to relationships with loved ones. In this case, although it may be less intense, it is also more persistent. It may express itself in various relational forms⁹¹.

What different ways of loving may have in common is the bond. Love connects; it makes us create bonds with other people and creates a network of relationships in which we exchange affection and which, ideally, establishes a pattern of giving and receiving. The need for individual affection is at the root of this emotion. However, the effects of love spread out into the community we live in, creating a whole network of affective relationships. Through these relationships, we not only exchange affection; we also satisfy needs such as protection, identity, idleness, creativity and understanding. Thus, love becomes a synergic satisfier that connects us to an intimate collective network which, besides the tension and conflict, is the natural place we seek to live in.

The content and object of love is to create this framework of relational social life and maintain the balance between giving and receiving.

7.3.2 HATE, HOSTILITY AND AGGRESSIVENESS: THE EMOTIONAL ROOTS OF VIOLENCE

Although the emotion or feeling of hate can be very similar to anger and rage, hate is directly affected by bonds and relationships. Hate appears when there is a lack of love or affection, especially when this lack is instrumentalised and a specific person or entity is made responsible (the “Other-Different” is guilty of the damage suffered or perceived).

Hate is potentially a very toxic emotion for the individual and for the group. It may stem from experiences of rejection and violence. People who are deprived of bonds suffer intense pain. The worst punishment, besides taking someone’s life, is isolation, involuntary solitude. Hate can also stem from scarcity when people are deprived of the minimum resources needed to satisfy their needs. This is another form of rejection and exclusion.

Socially, the beliefs that support hate are related to the “Other-Different”, the enemy, person, group or country that is potentially harmful. The “Other-Different” is the person who cannot be included within “us”. They are left out and seen as a threat. When excluding, the emotion or feeling may not be actively felt but from a structural point of view, the excluded individual is subtly annihilated by a reduction in rights and resources, hostility and even violence.

When hate becomes an everyday feeling, people seek to re-establish bonds, but the basis is not love but hostility and violence (what may be called vengeance). It is still a relational dynamic that seeks to re-establish a balance of giving and receiving: I have been offended, now it is my turn to offend.

Naturally, violence can be complex and diverse. In this manual, we analyse the emotional roots of reactive violence but not all kinds. For instance, institutional violence is not related to hate but to power “over” and its privileges.

The content and object of hate is separation and annihilation of the enemy.

91. For more information, see: FROMM, E. (1956). *The Art of Loving*. (Harper & Brothers).

7.4 Most common emotions in vulnerable contexts

The following emotions may appear with increasing frequency in contexts of non-fulfilment or underfulfilment of needs prone to the appearance of VE (depending on the culture, previous life experience, the group or context, and there may be other mobilizing emotions that are more frequent or usual in the logic behind PVE, such as the ones we saw in connection to love).

Table 7.3. Emotions and their logic.

EMOTION, FEELING OR MOOD	LOGIC OF EMOTIONS (content)	POTENTIAL CAUSES	USEFULNESS	POSSIBLE MANAGEMENT
Rage, anger, hate	The perception of oneself or “my people” is being attacked. It may be a real or perceived attack on self-esteem, principles, culture, beliefs, property, etc.	Unfavourable situations where “intention” is established. Perception (real or not) of being marginalised or treated unfairly. Actions that harm. Adversity.	Protecting the “I” and “us” and real or symbolic territory. Developing self-esteem and self-confidence. Trust/confidence in the community or group.	An initial phase of containment or controlled expression is required, followed by a re-formulation of the situation. It may be necessary to develop a specific petition for the one who is considered to be the “attacker”.
Fear, anxiety	Perception of specific risk to our physical health. Threat.	Sudden events that pose a real threat. Unorganized social environment with permanent or ambiguous threats.	Need for a safe environment where potential risk may be managed.	Facing the threat by trying to prepare for what may come or trying to build new ways of reducing the threat. Bravery and courage.
Embarrassment	Personal failure, perception of not being adequate for an ideal or norm. Loss of dignity.	Situations which the person or group feels are perceived as humiliating.	Need for approval and acceptance. Flexible and diverse environment. Accepting mistakes.	Questioning if the ideal is reachable or desirable. Drawing up a diverse society. Understanding errors as a vital part of the learning process of life. Humour as a quality.
Guilt	Breaking a moral norm, a fundamental principle or a relevant social norm.	Surviving traumatic events. Causing harm to other living beings or humans voluntarily or involuntarily or thinking it is OK to do so.	Guilt makes us face the consequences of our actions. It teaches responsibility. The “other”’s forgiveness is necessary.	Socially, there is punishment. Personally, there is regret. In the relation between both, we find forgiveness. Managing guilt requires acknowledging the “other”’s pain (the person offended or hurt) and trying to repair the damage. In some cases, questioning if the moral norm, a fundamental principle or a relevant social norm is desirable. Drawing up a diverse society.

EMOTION, FEELING OR MOOD	LOGIC OF EMOTIONS (content)	POTENTIAL CAUSES	USEFULNESS	POSSIBLE MANAGEMENT
Helplessness	There are no resources and no way out of the unfavourable or violent situations a person is subject to. It paralyzes and inhibits.	Situations of lack of rights, random arrests, violence, torture, rape. Lack of family, group or social support.	Satisfaction of several or all fundamental needs is beyond the person's will and skills either temporarily or permanently. The person is challenged to connect with their deep core.	These are extremely difficult situations. Survival strategies are the most relevant. Resilience, the ability to adapt to extreme situations is the best strategy in order to overcome adversity and become stronger. Building a narrative of reality that dignifies the position of the victim.
Sadness	Managing loss. Loss adds value to what one still has.	Loss of loved ones and relationships. Loss of dreams, hopes and principles. Loss of home or territory.	Re-organising the need for affection helps acknowledge and value bonds.	Sadness needs time for crying and expressing pain and mourning. Accepting loss means trusting the bonds that still exist.
Apathy Depression	Loss of the meaning of life. Loss of connection between what is happening and the "I".	Defencelessness becoming long-term; adverse situations becoming chronic.	Need for participation, for freedom. Existential crisis, reconnecting with the deep meaning of being alive.	Renavigating the meaning of one's life, researching values, the person's point of view on life. Looking to build a positive future.
Frustration	The person hopes or believes they deserve something they are not getting. They may even get the opposite of what they are hoping for.	Fruitless attempts to try to satisfy desires or needs.	In connection to various needs, we learn to postpone and relativize.	Learning to manage frustration is crucial to finding positive ways out of negative emotions. It teaches us to appreciate what has been fulfilled (as little as it may seem) and to channel energy. We can learn patience and determination.

Managing emotions, feelings and moods works in the same direction: mobilizing people in the search for satisfiers.

Table 7.4. **Looking for satisfiers.**

PROCESSES FOR MOBILIZING PEOPLE IN THE SEARCH FOR SATISFIERS
Reformulating the internal and external narratives in unfavourable situations.
Looking for safe, trustworthy spaces of action.
Connecting with the deep meaning of the person's life in that moment and the skills they could develop.

When these processes are successfully put in place, we recover the pleasant emotions that uphold life and which we all seek: happiness, compassion, self-esteem, gratitude, calm, etc.

These emotions are necessary in PVE interventions in order to develop nonviolent strategies that satisfy needs in a synergic and cooperative way, helping to build an ecosocial future (Chapter 3).

MANAGING REPRESSION AND INJUSTICE

A person who has been unfairly treated (arrested, tortured, persecuted) by authorities will be angry, frustrated, and/or defenceless in different moments of the process. This adds even more pain to their daily life. Reformulating means building a story that makes sense. Although that person is the victim of an unfair situation and they may think that institutions will not protect them, that person can still decide to hold on to their identity. They can focus on creating a space of solidarity and look for the means and support needed to raise awareness about their innocence as much as possible (without putting their integrity at further risk). This internal coherence will enable them to connect with emotions that will make them more resilient to the situation they are going through: hope, affection, pride, self-esteem. In this process, they will develop the skills and abilities they need: empathy, communication, composure, integrity, authenticity, etc. This does not prevent sorrow or pain, but it helps keep them in balance.



7.5 Management and emotional intelligence. Personal sovereignty

Arab proverb

Someone who cannot understand a look will not understand a long explanation either.

Within a holistic strategy of PVE, managing emotions is a tool that can be used to relearn to take up the reins of one's own life. People at risk of VE are vulnerable for various reasons, but among those reasons is the difficulty in emotionally facing unpleasant events in their lives. Understanding our ability to choose and the different options available in satisfy-

ing own needs, and family or group needs via means different to VE, is a key element. In order to do so, we must work on and train skills connected to emotional intelligence: knowledge of oneself, self-regulation, empathy, motivation, social skills, etc.

In order to be useful, a model of management of emotions requires work on different levels:

Table 7.4. Working on emotional intelligence.

KEY	TOOLS	Emotional intelligence skills
<p>Conscience. Identifying the feeling or emotion.</p>	<p>Understanding the scenario and embracing the pain. Communication is the essential tool. Communicating experiences and creating groups in order to share different ways of understanding experiences helps broaden personal points of view. The ZEGG Forum is a very appropriate technique for reaching this goal.</p>	<p>Knowledge of oneself and empathy</p>
<p>Listening. Embracing the experience, listening to what is happening to one's body.</p>	<p>Techniques that favour connection with the body: dancing, games, yoga, mindfulness, meditation and others. The objective is to connect with body signals, consciously experiencing the changes in emotions and feelings through our bodies. A person who is sad can transform that emotion through dance. By expressing sorrow and letting movement evolve, that person may find tranquillity or other sensations.</p>	<p>Self-regulation and social skills.</p>
<p>Learning to name and communicate feelings and emotions</p>	<p>Finding a language that favours verbal expression. Metaphors, different narratives that help share emotions, drawing, tales or less rational tools of expression all helps understand one's own and other people's emotions through other channels.</p>	<p>Self-regulation and empathy.</p>
<p>Connecting with the underlying need.</p>	<p>Understanding what the emotion or feeling wants to express. What is needed that we do not have? Using tools such as the charts on needs by Max-Neef (Chapter 1) or by the CNV (Chapter 8). The question is: how should things have happened in order for the situation to be different?</p>	<p>Knowledge of oneself. Social skills. Empathy.</p>
<p>Resonance. Detecting whether the dynamic is repeating itself.</p>	<p>The terrain of emotions is peculiar in that it does not organize itself according to time; the internal narrative is not structured chronologically. This means that past pain and wounds may still be present if we connect with a similar dynamic to the one that produced the wound. This is called "trauma-wound" and it may have different intensities. This factor makes identifying and understanding what we feel in the present more difficult. It is important to understand this emotional timelessness when working on PVE because in the world of emotions, past pain may exist in the present and appear with intensity when trying to work in groups (altered states). We are not trying to carry out therapy (at least in this context), but we must try to accompany the person towards understanding this aspect of the emotional territory without trying to "solve" it.</p>	<p>Knowledge of oneself, self-regulation.</p>
<p>Evaluating and deciding. Evaluate the information gathered and decide what you want to do.</p>	<p>Emotion implies a "tendency to (re)action". However, people are much more than their emotion; they have principles, patterns of behaviour, norms of conduct in their communities, etc. (Chapter 3). An action is something that emerges from inside the person and therefore has an impact on the person's environment. Merely following the tendency of an emotion to "(re)act" is acting on impulse. Adequate management of emotions leads us to being conscious and choosing the action by including everything that we are and everything the action implies.</p>	<p>Self-regulation and motivation.</p>
<p>Transformation</p>	<p>Adequate management of emotions implies processes of personal growth. As such, we refer to the potential to transform emotional energy as a motivation in developing skills associated with the needs in question. Knowing those strengths and creating our own agenda to develop skills is the way forward.</p>	<p>Motivation and social skills.</p>
<p>Empowerment. Personal empowerment in order to transform the emotion</p>	<p>The nine basic needs described by Max Neef in the existential category of "being" refer to the qualitative development of the individual. Through group games and role play, the person may experience how they feel when taking up a particular stance. This allows individuals to develop their skills.</p>	<p>Motivation and social skills.</p>

08

Understanding each other

Summary

From the perspective of the logic of violence, the need for understanding is satisfied through understanding with the Other-Equal and by considering the Other-Different as someone who they do not have to understand but rather dominate. If there is a desire to understand the Other-Different, it is only in order to exploit their weaknesses and dominate them. Understanding includes everything related to learning and communication. In this chapter we address this need through its communicative dimension (not through learning), via the value of understanding each other and communicating effectively for cooperative synergistic satisfaction of almost all fundamental needs (we are social beings interdependent with others). Being able to establish synergistic satisfiers of the fundamental needs in different contexts to prevent the appearance of VE is the ultimate objective of this manual.

The need for communication satisfied by VE seeks to convince, coerce and impose through one sole narrative. That narrative is no longer sincere dialogue and has become a monologue of imposition. From other perspectives, the need for understanding is satisfied by “thinking together” and going beyond what each party initially thought.

Introduction

Communication is one of the relational human processes that is vital to having a good life in any context, especially in terms of PVE. There are many practical forms and theoretical viewpoints on how to approach communication. In this manual, we understand communication mainly as a means of satisfying a fundamental human need: understanding. Our main focus is on how to satisfy that need in different contexts (from lesser to greater polarization or escalation of conflict), and on collaborating in satisfying other needs connected to human relations (mainly participation, identity, creation and affection). The ultimate goal of this manual is to be able to establish synergic satisfiers for fundamental needs in different contexts, thus preventing the appearance of VE.

8.1 Effective communication as a synergic satisfier of understanding

We refer to effective communication as a way of communicating that has the ability to increase the satisfaction of goals set by the interacting parties. It must also maintain or improve the relationship between the people who are interacting and maintain or improve people’s self-esteem (based on the definition of social ability in communication by Van der Hofstadter, 2005). In PVE, some authors refer to the importance of strengthening bonds, of building bridges in the relationships between people and multiple parties involved. Whenever necessary, this may be aided by the concept of facilitation in communicating and developing a common understanding of problems⁹².

92. Droogan, J. & Waldek, L., “Countering Violent Extremism Symposium: Partnering to Build Solutions - Outputs and Findings”, *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism, Special Countering Violent Extremism Issue (Guest Edited by Anne Aly)*, Vol. 10, No 1, 2015.

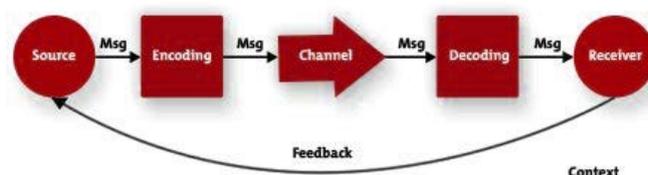
8.2 The three levels of communication

In Chapter 1, we saw that in order to understand the factors that lead to VE we must analyse three levels (personal, interpersonal and structural), and that the intersection of the three was vital. In order to work on communication as a means of satisfying understanding, we must look at tools and determinants on those same three levels: structural (which includes communication between groups), interpersonal (relations within groups), and personal (with oneself, which may occur by using language through internal dialogues or by other means).

In this chapter, we will focus on the interpersonal and group levels when providing tools, although all three levels are connected. In other words, in a conversation between people in a group there may be internal dialogues taking place at the same time, moments of interpersonal interaction among some members of the group and connections to a larger ecosystem where social dialogue between different social parties is taking place.

TOOL/TIP: Be aware of the levels

Being aware of all the levels at the same time is in itself a tool that favours communication since we often speak within a group as a response to other social parties who are not in the room, so being aware of this helps facilitate interaction and deeper dialogue: How can we talk to people who are not in the room? Who can hold this point of view for a moment so we can inter-react with it? By assuming that role, which we may call a “ghost” because at that stage no one is identifying with that point of view or experience, we can delve deeper into the dialogue and understand different people and groups.



8.3 Communication as interaction between people

Different theories have some basic elements in common when referring to communication as a process of interaction between people: the sender (the person who starts the process), receiver (to whom the message is sent), message (main idea transmitted), code (codes, images, norms, etc. that help transmit the message), channel (means of transmitting the message), context (the specific situation in which interaction takes place), noise (alterations of sound and of other kinds), filters (sender’s and receiver’s mental barriers based on previous experience, beliefs, values, prejudices, expectations, etc.) and feedback (the information the receiver sends back to the sender). As this is a live process, the roles of sender and receiver keep changing among the people involved⁹³.

In this basic description of the process, we can already see some of the aspects we will use in trying to understand the complexity of communication, such as communication being intentional or not, or else having intentional and unintentional aspects. A lot of misunderstandings or difficulties in communication have to do with our response to the message we receive, which may not be identified as the intended message and we may not even know what we are responding to. There are also some clues about elements that may help understanding such as context, codes (to what extent they are shared or not) and filters (stereotypes, prejudices, suppositions, projections, perceptive bias, etc.).

93. VAN DER HOFSTADT ROMÁN, C.J (2005). *El libro de las habilidades de comunicación*. (Madrid: Díaz de Santos). In Spanish.

Table 8.1. **Axioms of communication.**

BASIC AXIOMS OF COMMUNICATION⁹⁴	
One cannot <i>not</i> communicate	All behaviour is communication (including silence or refusal to communicate).
Digital and analogue communication	Human communication involves two parts: digital and analogue. The information we receive as a whole is analogue (how we say what we say) and is less intentional. What we say is the digital part (sentences and words) and is more intentional.
Content and relationship	Apart from the information we want to transmit in the message (content), in communication there is always a relationship side. This is more about how the sender wants to be understood, how they see the relationship with the receiver and vice versa. We often reply to the content side of the message but not to the relationship side, and that may make communication more difficult (we may have different points of view about the relationship).
Interaction in communication	Communication may be symmetrical or complimentary. Symmetrical communication is egalitarian (the people or groups treat each other as equals, whether because they have relationships of friendship or affinity or because they criticise each other). Complimentary communication occurs when roles differ and one party exercises authority while the other assumes that authority (e.g. domination).
The influence of the process in the relationship	The relationship depends on what the process or the communication sequence is like. It is important to pay attention to the answer we get, not only to the answer we expected, and what we expected the other person to understand.

8.4 Inter-personal and group communication

We see inter-personal communication as the interaction between two or more people where we are referring specifically to the relationship between those people in our messages. This kind of communication may take place within or outside a group. Group communication, on the other hand, takes place in group spaces such as more or less formal meetings where decisions are made, emotions are explored, debate takes place, etc.

In order to facilitate effective communication, we must analyse four aspects: intention (which parts of communication are intentional and which are not; what relates to what; and to what extent com-

munication is coherent); identity (to what extent we identify with what we are expressing); agent (the one who is capable of acting on what we are expressing) and conscience (where our attention lies). These four elements are present in the following tools.

8.4.1 INTENTIONAL AND NON-INTENTIONAL: BEYOND WORDS

When discussing communication between people, we must explore forms of communication that go beyond words. We must therefore differentiate between verbal, paraverbal and non-verbal:

94. WATZLAWICK, P. (1985) *Teoría de la comunicación humana. Interacciones, patologías y paradojas*. (Barcelona: Editorial Herder).

Table 8.2. **Types of communication.**

TYPES OF COMMUNICATION ³⁶		Importance
Verbal	Content of what is expressed, words, questions, answers to questions, etc.	7-20%
Paraverbal	What surrounds speech: tone and loudness of voice, pitch, tempo (pauses, rhythm), fluency, dynamics (the way loudness changes), etc.	38-40%
Non-verbal	Facial expressions, posture, distance, gestures, movements, the way interacting bodies are facing, etc.	40-55%

The percentages of importance can be applied to emotional conversations and the conditions must be similar to those in the research studies. Although they are not universal, they show the importance of communication as a whole and of coherence (or lack of coherence) in the message in order to reach understanding. -

Normally, the intentional part of communication has more to do with verbal communication while paraverbal and non-verbal communication is often non-intentional. In other words, we do not control such kinds of communication; we are not aware of what we are transmitting through such types of communication. We refer to coherent communication when all of the communication (verbal, paraverbal and nonverbal) transmits similar information. A lack of such coherence in our messages or else the receiver's interpretation of the non-intentional part of our message may prevent effective communication.

The level of consciousness in our messages (intentional or non-intentional) will vary depending on context, time and the people involved. Each relationship

and each group has its own communication culture and each person has their own style of communication. We can differentiate passive, aggressive and assertive styles⁹⁶. Apart from types, we think it is interesting to bear in mind the different cultures and styles of communication as aspects that may help or hinder understanding when they are not shared. We must also bear in mind possible hierarchies or power dynamics between different styles and cultures of communication.

Signs in our communication

We show our intentional and non-intentional communication through different channels and it is useful to identify them and to be able to facilitate the way different people and groups share the information found in their signs. Learning to see the signs takes time (in order to know both one's own signs and the group's). This is especially so with non-intentional signs. We can transmit different messages in the same or different channels (double messages).

Table 8.3. **Communication: Channels and Signs.**

CHANNELS/SIGNS according to work on processes	EXAMPLES ³⁷
Proprioceptive Signs related to internal sensations	Changes in skin (e.g. due to heat, cold or sweating), speeding up of heartbeat, internal sensation of heaviness, lightness, a knot in one's stomach or other expressions that show internal experiences of temperature, weight, pressure or other sensations.

95. Percentages established by the pioneering work by Mehrabian and other studies compiled by: VAN DER HOFSTADT ROMÁN, C.J (2005). *El libro de las habilidades de comunicación*. (Madrid: Díaz de Santos). In Spanish.

96. TROYANO, Y.; CARRASCO, J.L. (2006). "Las habilidades de comunicación en la resolución de conflictos grupales." VI Congreso Internacional de Virtual de Educación de CIVE 2006. In Spanish.

CHANNELS/SIGNS according to work on processes	EXAMPLES ³⁷
Kinaesthetic Signs related to movement	Gestures, repetitive movements (nervous tic), fidgeting in the room or changes in the way space is used, changes in a person's position in the room, positioning of bodies.
Visual Signs related to images	Experiences transmitted via images, scenes or fantasies. Eye movements connected to internal visual experiences (usually looking up and blinking rapidly) and superficial breathing, staring at a point for a while. Words to do with the visual world (dream, look, see, etc.).
Auditory Signs related to what we hear	Includes the content of what is heard and everything paraverbal (raising or lowering tones of voice, silence, pauses, noises, etc.).

8.4.2 IDENTIFICATION WITH THE NARRATIVES

Communication is closely connected with the need for identity. The more coherent our messages are, the more identified we feel with the message. The narratives we build are important in identifying with our messages, and the reasoning behind VE usually builds narratives based on the comparison of us/them and Others-Equals vs. Others-Different. As seen in Chapter 3, narratives feed into and feed off our perceptions of unsatisfied needs, which give coherence to the satisfiers we choose, thus helping to create a common identity with those who help us satisfy those needs.

Leaving “Others-Equals vs. Others-Different” behind in the construction of narratives

In PVE logic, reinforcing conscience, understanding and strong communicative bonds between people

can avoid a sequence of reactive messages (where we react to the Other). This allows us to develop more textured messages (less dichotomist) that seek to maximize impact since they focus on “what is” and “what may be” (consequences of the incident for the whole community). **Switching the emphasis from the simplification of a dichotomy based on identities (and their differences) to common points and causes** will probably help reduce social fear, lack of trust and the individual's and communities' defensive positions, thus maximizing constructive narratives in PVE interventions⁹⁸ (see Chapters 7 and 4). The challenge for narratives in PVE is to strengthen common points and embrace diversity by using constructions that go beyond the aforementioned dichotomy (us vs. them, or us vs. the others).

TOOLS/TIPS: Four principles for identifying with narratives

Amplifying the narratives that reinforce the power of emotions and human connection (reason helps, but emotion stimulates and connects).

Paying attention to *how* narratives are constructed and shared; not only to their content.

Choosing credible messengers who the receiver will listen to.

Engaging and working with professional media and communicators so as to provide the narratives with journalistic skills based on common points and agreements (and not so much on differences).

97. Percentages established by the pioneering work by Mehrabian and other studies compiled by: VAN DER HOFSTADT ROMÁN, C.J (2005). *El libro de las habilidades de comunicación*. (Madrid: Díaz de Santos). In Spanish.

98 DROOGAN, J.; WALDEK, L. (2015): “Countering Violent Extremism Symposium: Partnering to Build Solutions - Outputs and Findings”, *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism, Special Countering Violent Extremism Issue*, (Guest Edited by Anne Aly), Vol. 10, No 1, 2015.

**CONNECTION WITH THE STRUCTURAL LEVEL IN CONSTRUCTING NARRATIVES:
THE IMPORTANCE OF SPREADING MESSAGES.**

The role of the media in constructing narratives is very important. There are proven examples of the importance of how to build and disseminate messages (such as radio programmes, peacebuilding programmes, etc.) that include not only interpersonal communication but also its relationship with the media (to which social media can also be added). The media can help generate positive narratives that dignify marginalized populations and foster networks of mutual support. One example of effective radio programmes with an inter-ethnic, cooperative and nonviolent dimension is shown by the ones made in Rwanda after the genocide. Those programmes sought to build bridges between Tutsis and Hutus.

**8.4.3 PERSON RESPONSIBLE OR RECEIVER:
GIVING AND RECEIVING CRITICISM**

Giving and receiving criticism is a form of feedback within a dialogue. It is an answer given to the other or to the group based on a given interaction. Criticism usually creates defensive attitudes. It can also

be used as “attacks” in disguise. In order to give or receive constructive criticism, we must bear in mind the following tips.

TOOLS/ TIPS: Giving criticism	
Looking for the appropriate time	The receiver of criticism is not always ready or willing to receive it. We must be careful in choosing the correct context (see tools for facilitating dialogue).
Check my attitude	What motivates my criticism? What do I want to improve, propose or build? How do I feel towards the people my criticism is aimed at? In the case of attitudes such as revenge, I must previously work on understanding what lies behind that attitude and bring that information forward (seeing when communicating is difficult).
Nonviolent communication (NVC)	When giving criticism, it is useful to follow the order put forward by NVC (Rosenberg), differentiating between: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What we see. 2. How we feel: expressing how we feel or of what makes us feel (in connection to whether a need is satisfied or not). 3. What we need: identifying and expressing needs (satisfied or not). 4. What we ask for: formulating a petition or building a strategy to satisfy needs.
Gratitude	Close by thanking, e.g. thanking for listening, for time spent, for attention.

TOOLS/ TIPS: Receiving criticism	
Taking notice of the impact of criticism	How do I feel? Can I listen? Do I feel so upset that I cannot understand what is being said?
Clarifying and empathy	Check that you have understood correctly and show understanding with the sender’s feelings or needs.

Taking my side if necessary

Clarifying, going beyond my position (understanding when communication is difficult), and contributing information that may help the other person/party understand me.

What can I learn from the other party?

Discover what we can take from what is being said (sincerely and however strange it may seem) and use that information in order to analyse what we are responsible for (or not) more clearly.

8.4.4 METACOMMUNICATION AND THE AWARENESS OF COMMUNICATION

Metacommunication is necessary when we want to move forward in situations where understanding seems difficult. It is one of the skills that helps defuse tense conversations in order to be able to listen to people with different points of view in conversations with great emotional intensity.

- What relationship is implicit in the interaction?
- What levels of communication are affected by the specific interaction I am witnessing?
- What impact is what I am saying having?
- What happens to me internally as regards loudness or tone of voice?

8.5 Facilitating inter-personal and group communication: fostering difficult dialogue

When referring to group and inter-personal communication, we immediately think of dialogue. We have already studied some elements of communication that take place in dialogues between people and groups, and some keys to making dialogues productive (dialogues that allow for new communication patterns and ways of connecting that create synergic satisfiers for people's and groups' needs). We will now focus on context and on some specific skills that will help facilitate dialogue. These skills

may be developed by the people involved in the dialogue or by specific persons who may take up the role of facilitating dialogue (some are easier to use when in this role). Situations in which tension and polarization have built up usually make communication more difficult: they are situations of conflict. In Chapter 6 we discussed several tools that may help us decrease tension and get back into a context in which dialogue can once again take place. We will now see some supplementary tips.

THE ROLE OF FACILITATOR

The role of facilitator as a tool to facilitate dialogue (especially in contexts with a risk of polarization) is gaining visibility and recognition around the world, and more specifically in the Maghreb and Mashriq regions. There is a network in the IAF (International Association of Facilitation) that includes Europe and the Mashriq and has committees and groups for specific territories. Such is the case of Iran and the IAF **Iran Chapter**⁹⁹; the **IAF Jordan Chapter**¹⁰⁰; the presence of social organisations that promote this role such as **GEN-Africa**¹⁰¹; projects like **SwitchMed CSO**¹⁰², which promotes sustainable consumption and production via processes that include facilitation; and the development of small consulting companies such as **Sycamore consulting** (Egypt)¹⁰³, which specialises in facilitation.

99. <https://www.iaf-world.org/site/chapters/iran><https://facilitators.persianblog.ir/>

100. <https://www.facebook.com/JordanIAFchapter><https://www.iaf-world.org/site/chapters/jordan>

101. <https://ecovillage.org/region/gen-africa/>

102. <https://www.switchmed.eu/en/corners/civil-society>

103. <https://www.sycamore-consulting.com/>

TOOLS/ TIPS: Skills to facilitate dialogue

Framing	This implies gathering information on what has happened and giving it to the group as if setting the scene in a choral play. This may help see what is going on (what the atmosphere is like, if there was silence, if a lot of people wanted to speak at the same time, if something that has been said has had great impact and checking reactions).
Paraphrasing	Saying exactly what you have just heard (which shows the other person that you are listening and understanding).
Reformulating	Saying what you have just heard in your own words (which shows the other person that you are listening and understanding, but be careful not to make them think they are expressing themselves incorrectly).
Open questions and not judging answers	These questions do not require an adequate answer (or a yes/no answer). It is also important not to judge the answers with different values (some good, some bad).
Inviting to delve deeper	Asking in a way that enables us to go further in an aspect (this facilitates understanding of what has just been said).
Synthesising	Summarising the content and/or the process that includes all of the parts (re-locating and organising dialogue).
Using double signs¹⁰⁴	Encouraging people to consciously transmit the messages they transmit through coherent double signs and using that information to facilitate dialogue. Double signs are when we are sending different signs through different channels and they are not necessarily sending the same message (e.g.: calm voice, nervous body movements).

8.5.1 CONTEXTS FOR DIALOGUE

When referring to context, we can think about physical spaces in which dialogues take place. In order to facilitate dialogue, we should look for comfortable spaces that are diverse in the way we understand comfort (beautiful, quiet so as to favour listening, a place where everyone feels invited to take part in the dialogue, etc).

Context is clearly very relevant when discussing dialogue. Beyond the physical space, we are referring to time and territory, to social, political, economic, historical, environmental contexts, etc. In this manual, we discuss the difficulty in applying some tools depending on the degree of polarization or division between social parties, experiences or points of view in a specific social situation. In the following grid, all of the skills for non-polarized contexts are also necessary in polarized contexts.

104. Apart from double signs, there is the concept of double bonds. This occurs in situations of intense relationships between people who interact through messages that are very hard to manage since the receiver has the impression of not being able to answer adequately. To find out more about these situations, please refer to: WATZLAWICK, P. (1985) *Teoría de la comunicación humana. Interacciones, patologías y paradojas*. (Barcelona: Editorial Herder).

Table 8.4 **Conditions and skills in different contexts.**

	NECESSARY CONDITIONS	NECESSARY SKILLS
NON-POLARIZED CONTEXTS	<p>Having adequate knowledge of the context.</p> <p>Beginning with all the parties in the context who want to take part.</p> <p>Analysing how different sides read me (if I am more similar to one of the parties in my communication style, my background, etc).</p>	<p>Curiosity and interest regarding the experience of each party involved.</p> <p>Managing attacks on facilitation by using tools for receiving criticism.</p> <p>Identifying ghost roles when they appear and facilitating their appearance.</p>
POLARIZED CONTEXTS	<p>Thorough knowledge of the context, including previous facilitation processes and where they were successful and where they failed.</p> <p>At least one of the parties in the context wants to take part. Begin with each party until they show interest in communicating with the other party.</p> <p>Analysing how different sides read me (if I am more similar to one of the parties in my communication style, my background, etc.) and build teams with other people whenever possible.</p>	<p>Ability to put ourselves in each party's shoes and imagine what needs there may be when preparing the space for dialogue. Later on, each party will express their needs but by anticipating them we are working on our possible previous polarization.</p> <p>Ability to feel the atmosphere and perceive subtle changes.</p> <p>Immediately noticing my own polarization and recovering my ability to listen to all parties by recovering my connection with all my prep work.</p>

DIALOGUE: LEARNING AS WE WORK¹⁰⁵

CFOR is implementing a programme along with Innocent Musore of GER Global Initiatives for the Environment and Reconciliation in Rwanda, and in cooperation with the NURC, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission. The programme supports the ongoing work of reconciliation, violence prevention and community recovery in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide. Facilitated dialogue using methods of 'worldwork' will explore current community issues, history and pathways forward. A three-year programme includes facilitated community dialogue, facilitation training and mentoring of facilitators involved with further forums and community projects throughout the country. More information: <http://www.cfor.info/rwanda/>

8.5.2 REACHING AN UNDERSTANDING WITH WHOM THERE IS NO UNDERSTANDING YET¹⁰⁵

It is necessary to understand the reasons there may be for not wanting to reach an understanding. Throughout this manual, we have dealt with the idea that those who do not want to reach an understanding are the ones who see Others-Different as people who must be dominated because there is a confrontation in the strategies to satisfy their fundamental needs (satisfiers). In each chapter, we have given keys to understanding needs and ways to satisfy them. Understanding the needs of Others-Different and the logic behind the satisfiers they apply helps us understand how to communicate with them.

When there is a high degree of polarization and this cannot be done in an autonomous way, a facilitator may prove useful (seeking the participation of a facilitator indicates a will to reach understanding). The mediator may be equivalent to what Watzlawick (1985) mentions as the one who is capable of providing a system of communication that the current system is proving incapable of providing: a change in the rules of the game¹⁰⁶.

105. For more articles: *Contribution of worldwork methodology for violence prevention and community recovery after mass violence: An example from Rwanda.*

106. Although Watzlawick refers to therapeutic contexts, the way he defines this figure is very similar to a systemic perspective on communication and thus fits our idea of mediation.

TOOLS/ TIP: Mediation

Choosing the person or people that both parties must legitimize.

Calling parties separately (not always necessary) so that both parties can express their viewpoint and possible solutions and see the price of not reaching an agreement.

Reaching agreements on solutions together.

8.5.3 LISTENING WHEN LISTENING IS DIFFICULT

Wassyla Tamzali

We may still be in time to make ourselves heard and say who we are.

The importance of listening is one of the keys to satisfying needs that are at risk in PVE; the need for understanding, connection, belonging, identity, etc. This simple sentence by the Algerian writer Wassyla Tamzali refers to this idea. We have already discussed how to create a space for group and interpersonal listening, but now we want to pay special attention to contexts where listening is difficult.

The experience of feeling that nobody is listening is painful. As the grid shows, it is important to notice the difference between listening to initial positions only (their strategies in trying to satisfy needs or their arguments concerning the strategies used) and

listening to their needs, fears and ambitions. By delving into dialogue, in the experiences of each initial position we can see what common interests there are in different parts of the dialogue or situation, what ones are supplementary and what ones are in opposition. We can often make an initial assessment of opposing positions and opposing interests. Then, by adding information our point of view becomes more complex and we can see a wider range of possibilities. Some PVE strategies do not work because they focus on satisfiers or strategies (e.g. creation of counter-narratives or counter-rhetoric) but do not listen to anything beyond those points.

We also want to understand what is behind the lack of listening. It may be a way of satisfying the need for protection, a way of exerting power, a lack of knowledge about what is going on in the other side, etc. It is important not to interpret the causes, but to facilitate interaction between the party that feels that is not being listened to and the party that finds it hard to listen.

TOOLS/ TIPS: Listening when listening is difficult

Using facilitation

Taking your time

Using space as a way of communicating

Paying attention to double signs

Looking beyond people, at what roles are being used (a systemic viewpoint where voices are part of the system and are not identified with specific people, or various people may bring a certain voice or else one person can bring different voices).

Paying attention to altered moods (moments of high emotional intensity).

Communication metaskills are the attitudes, intentions and values with which we apply or develop communication skills¹⁰⁷: the attitude of learning, listening and empathy.

107. The concept of metaskills was conceived by Amy Mindell.

09

Mobilizing and participating in order to transform

Introduction

Participation and communication are not only fundamental needs that must be satisfied. PVE interventions must also play a vital role in building socially united communities capable of moving towards an ecosocial future. In contexts of crisis, communities must mobilize in order to satisfy their needs. PVE intervention states that this mobilization should be collective so as to create synergic, collective satisfiers. A community that mobilizes en masse will allow synergic satisfaction of many other needs.

VE logic also offers satisfiers for participation. However, we believe that VE logic satisfies that need for participation among “Others-Equal” at the expense of “Others-Different”, who they think should be subdued or eliminated. They usually offer more hierarchical forms of participation, with domination towards the outside world normally reverting to the inside as well. The motives for the dream they seek are rarely of the integrating type (they do not usually dream of a just, sustainable and democratic future for everybody).

Summary

When we speak of participation and more specifically of community participation, we must define what we understand as community and participation and add some keys for two common issues in participatory processes: diversity and power. Not all forms of participation are equally coherent with the kinds of future we want to build or the image of that future. Our dreams are a powerful source of mobilization that should be treated with care. This chapter and Chapter 10 complement each other in dealing with these issues and in describing processes of community building.

9.1 Community and participation

9.1.1 ECOSOCIAL COMMUNITIES (JUST, DEMOCRATIC AND SUSTAINABLE)

Community and participation go hand in hand since participation is related to feeling part of a community, belonging to one or various communities.

WHAT IS A SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY¹⁰⁸?

It is a place you want to belong to, that you cannot wait to become a part of. It is not only about having a good time. It is about all of us, with different races, beliefs and behaviour having the same chance of being appreciated. It is a community in which the vision (the future we dreamt of, Chapter 3) is just as important as work, where thinking about others is as important as fulfilling our dreams, where love is not separated from strength. It is a community where leaders are important but not fundamental. It is a community full of facilitators who are capable of exploring dreams while being realistic at the same time.

According to PVE logic, united communities (Chapter 10) are ones with a local perspective that build a positive, shared future, and which tend to needs and create a collective feeling. Although there are many ways of classifying the different types of communities, we will use the following since it connects the ideas we have been working on so far with the needs of security, identity and participation, which we will deal with in Chapter 10:

108. Mindel refers to sustainable communities in the same way we refer to ecosocial communities in this manual: as just, democratic and sustainable communities. We will continue to refer to ecosocial communities or just, democratic and sustainable communities.

Communities based on location: where the populace is united since they share the same territory. This territory could be a neighbourhood, a village, a city, a region, a state or even the whole planet. Satisfying the need for security is usually very relevant in these communities, especially on a local or national level.

Communities based on identities: where the population is united since they share the same identity. This can occur through elements such as morals, interests/common beliefs, or ethnic matters.

Communities based on organisation: this refers to communities that are informally organized around groups of relatives or friends and to more formal associations such as structures of political decision-making, companies or professional associations, etc. (The way that organisation solves participation will result in one type of community or another.)

Although reality is more complex, and some communities are within other communities, this prelim-

inary division is useful in understanding that when we work on promoting social cohesion we must take into account these different types of communities. This will help us understand who is represented in the community and who is not.

Processes of radicalisation that lead to VE also seek to build a community, but they use different forms of participation and they aim at different kinds of future. In the logic behind PVE, we try to foster the ability of communities with different identities to create processes of collaboration in the same territory or location. We even encourage them to promote shared organizational structures so as to satisfy needs in a synergic, collective way. This process offers a feeling of belonging that is different to the one extremist groups usually have to offer. It tries to transcend conflict based on identity and the protection of territory in order to build social resilience. It attempts to build up ecosocial communities (just, democratic and sustainable).

TOOL/TIP: Avoiding miniaturisation of people when identifying them with communities

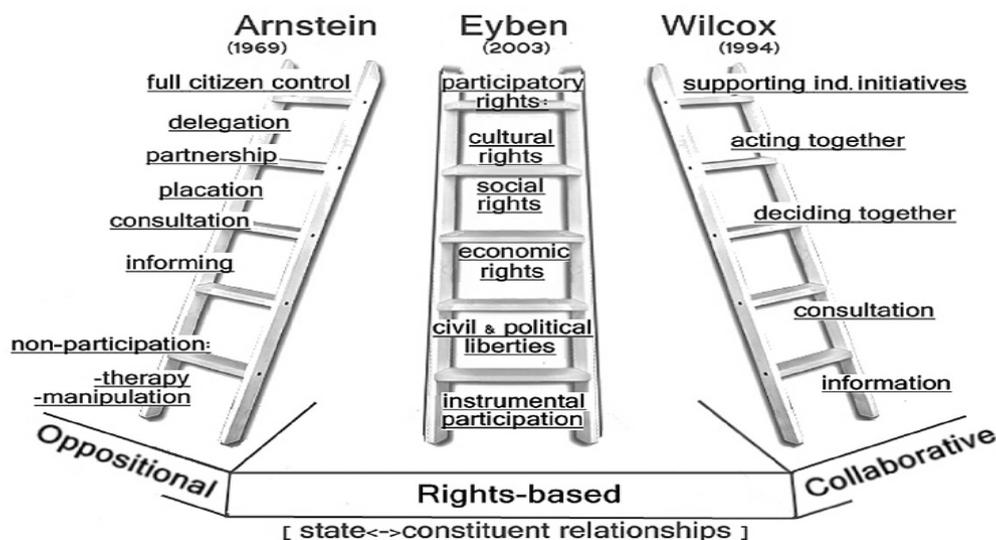
People are usually complex beings who belong to several communities at the same time (family, religion, sports, work, territorial, etc.) with different degrees of identification with each one of them. Interacting with someone by simplifying this complexity and miniaturising the person to only one community impoverishes the relationship and conditions it (this may burn the bridges we have used to understand each other if we no longer feel that there are communities we share and on which we can build a positive relationship).

9.1.2 PARTICIPATION

Participation has also been defined in many ways but the most popular definition is the ladder metaphor as a way of showing the different degrees of participation. The best-known ladder of participation is Arnstein's (1969), which has undergone variations and seen new versions as we show in the image. In all of the different models, the highest rung or what we can understand to be the most complete fulfilment of the need for participation (the last step) is the stage where full, inclusive participation is possible for everybody. All of the models put the lowest levels of participation at the bottom of the ladder (the most manipulative or paternalistic).

Arnstein's model shows different levels of participation, rising from a context of opposition/manipulation ("others" dictate what has to be done depending on their interests) up to a context of full satisfaction. Eyben's model and part of Wilcox's model are based on more manipulative/paternalistic levels (those who organize know what the group needs, overlook the rest or at most consult the rest). In all three cases, the lower levels of the ladder usually create non-satisfaction or negative satisfaction as regards participation.

Picture 9.1. Ladders of participation (Aylett, 2010)



As we have seen in Chapters 1 and 2, violent kinds of logic usually imply forms of participation that correspond to the lowest levels in the ladders.

TOOL/TIP: Clarifying what type of participation there is in order to avoid frustration or negative satisfaction with participation

There may be difficulties in processes of participation or community mobilization related to a lack of clarity about what type of participation is implied in a specific process. This may create different expectations that can end up causing frustration and a lack of motivation when they are not fulfilled. This also applies to processes of public participation led by CSOs/NGOs or by public administrations. Therefore, it is essential to ask ourselves: What do I really expect of the people or organisations I am inviting to participate (if we are the leaders) or with whom I am mobilizing (if we are co-leaders or part of a collective drive)?

How do we know if we are on the right track towards the ecosocial future in satisfying the need for participation in a way that generates united communities?

We have five indicators of results that are relevant for most prevention initiatives¹⁰⁹, which should appear since they help in community work and social cohesion:

Even the most complex diversity is catered for: excluded groups participate in the community on equal terms.

Intelligence when managing power and leadership: young people show leadership through nonviolent means, and adults see them as partners in prevention.

Real or perceived claims about unsatisfied needs are dealt with through nonviolent channels (on a mac-

ro-level, this would include demonstrations, nonviolent resistance, building other realities etc., as we saw in Chapter 1. On a more micro or interpersonal level, effective communication is used as seen in Chapter 7).

New relationships are built through dialogue about objectives, problems and solutions to needs, not through elements of identity. Therefore, new relationships discredit stereotypes.

The practices that the communities create are coherent with the just, democratic and sustainable futures they seek (in Chapter 3 we saw some keys to help make this happen).

In the rest of the manual, we have already provided tips and tools about how to work on several of these indicators. We will now focus on diversity, inclusion, exclusion and power. In Chapter 10, we will study different phases in processes of creating participation, social cohesion and the role that different parties (young people, women, institutions) play in these processes.

109. Based on a sum of the indicators in: "Transforming Violent Extremism: a Peacebuilder's Guide", *Search for Common Ground*. (2017). <https://www.sfcg.org/transforming-violent-extremism-peacebuilders-guide/>

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN ORDER TO SOLVE A FUNDAMENTAL NEED THAT HELPS BUILD AN ECOSOCIAL FUTURE.

The Torba Collective Friends of Pierre Rabhi in Algeria is a collective of citizens dedicated to bringing organic agriculture to cities through an AMAP, a community-supported agriculture scheme, as well as urban farming following permaculture principles. These initiatives connect city-dwellers of the capital of Algiers to their food while also providing them with access to healthy food.

9.1.3 DIVERSITY IN THE BUILDING OF COMMUNITIES

It seems diversity and community are opposite words, but we believe diversity is one of the keys toward building ecosocial communities.

An ecosocial community knows, values and manages its diversity while knowing, valuing and managing what is common. Common does not mean uniform or homogeneous; its meaning is closer to shared.

Diversity is a source of wealth and resilience for the group. The same way that a forest is richer and more resilient when it is more bio-diverse, the same happens to a community or group. But why do we sometimes like diversity whereas other times it challenges us? What makes the experience or vision of diversity so different? There are many possible answers. One of them is related to the perception of diversity as a threat. We may feel that diversity is a

threat to our values, our way of seeing the world, our identity (Chapter 5) or our ability to satisfy needs, and this makes us see diversity as troublesome (the Other-Diverse becomes the Other-Different, who we later see as the Other-Enemy). This perception could be based on multiple factors: stereotypes and cultural norms in our context, social narratives and messages from the media that treat diversity as a threat, related personal experiences, etc.

TOOLS: Managing diversity in PVE and being able to support different experiences in the same context

Understanding the needs and feelings involved in both shared experiences and non-shared experiences.

Looking for synergic satisfiers that respond to needs while respecting diversity.

Synergic satisfiers that undo misunderstandings.

Questioning prejudice and stereotypes.

Detecting labels that limit oneself and the Other-Different.

Facilitating interaction between different experiences beyond tolerance and acceptance, so that effective communication can take place (Chapter 7).

Avoiding homogenisation as a community (opening spaces up to diversity).

GO DEEP AND GO BEYOND DIVERSITY is the name of a campaign and an exhibition of photographs and stories in which community experiences and reflection about those experiences are the starting point for stories that make us think about how to overcome: confrontation, time, first impressions, choice, space, tension, lack of trust and expectations, loneliness, silence, language, reflection, correction, acceptance and immobility. All of these aspects are part of the experience of diversity in communities and they are relevant to the complexity of diversity, to the challenge of managing within diversity while being a part of it, and to rejecting diversity¹¹⁰.

110. To find out more, watch the following video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CceAB3L6dEg> and the campaign: <https://godeepproject.org/godeepandgobeyond/>.

9.1.4 POWER AND BELONGING: THE DYNAMICS OF INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION

When we speak about community and participation, we also think about those not taking part, those who we do not invite to participate and/or feel they have not been invited. We activate the game of rank or power and the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion because when we define a community or discuss community mobilization we might consider that there are different degrees of belonging, of feeling comfortable in that group or social process, and that there may be people who are left out. This is especially relevant in contexts of high polarization where PVE must constantly ask itself who is left out.

Mindell defines rank as a conscious or subconscious feeling of power that people have in relation to their social status or their ability to remain psychologically and spiritually focused. Most people who possess a high rank are not aware of having that rank. We discover our rank when others are afraid of talking to us or when they suffer the consequences of our subconscious behaviour. Race, religion, nationality, sexual orientation, gender identity, economy, etc, trigger great powers (power relations). The world cannot change without individuals understanding more about their power and rank. Everybody has some kind of rank; even people from the lowest social conditions can wield great power.

TOOL/TIP: Awareness of the power dynamics in relationship or rank

Being aware of the rank (power) one has, building more collective power and using it to benefit society (to create collective synergic satisfiers) helps create positive mobilization and participation. The main problem with rank is when people abuse it for their own benefit or for the benefit of some over others¹¹¹.

Besides the power in people, we think the power of the community is also crucial. Thus, working on participation and mobilization in communities or territories beyond their own organisation is vital for social organisations promoting PVE when applied towards the just, democratic and sustainable future.

TOOL: Power with instead of Power over. Building power instead of competing for power.

Power with: Power built with other people. This is not a comparative power (your power versus mine), but a “summing” power (the power to transform things involving all parties).

Power over: Power one has over others. If we follow the logic of domination, it becomes a competitive power (your power versus mine) and produces power struggles or abuses of power.

THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS (CSOS)

Civil society organizations (CSOs) provide a space for constructive engagement between the state and its citizens. They can channel dissent and diverse opinions in a nonviolent way and ensure that governments have an effective feedback mechanism to understand the impact of their policies. Without this visible public channel, exclusion can foster anger and force dissent underground, where radicalisation that leads to violence can occur below the surface in communities¹¹².

111. MINDELL, A.; ESCORIHUELA, J.L. (2005). “Entrevista con Arnold Mindell. Trabajando el conflicto”. <http://www.briega.org/es/entrevistas/entrevista-con-arnold-mindell-trabajando-conflicto>

112. See also: INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SOCIETY ACTION NETWORK (2017). *10 reasons why Civil Society is an ally and not an adversary in the struggle against Violent Extremism*. (Global Solutions Exchange (GSX)). <http://www.icanpeacework.org/2017/09/19/10-reasons-civil-society-ally-not-adversary-struggle-violent-extremism/>

9.2 Mobilizing communities: important and necessary

9.2.1 MOBILIZING, BUT IN WHAT DIRECTION?

When talking about movement, one of the questions is whether that movement has a direction and who decides in which direction to move. In the case of PEV, we think it is necessary for communities to mobilize towards the ideal, sustainable kinds of future as described in Chapter 3. This is one of the keys

that distinguishes satisfaction of a community's need for participation and mobilization towards non-violent kinds of logic (from PVE) from satisfying that same need using VE logic.

We put forward a very flexible direction. Each community will have to decide and specify their path and direction for each context based on their own wisdom.

MANUAL FOR NONVIOLENT TRANSFORMATION

NOVACT, an organisation whose aim is to promote nonviolent social transformation towards more just, democratic and sustainable kinds of future, published a manual for drawing up strategies for mobilization and transformation based on their experience in the Euro-Mediterranean region⁵⁰.

9.2.2 MOBILIZE, BUT HOW? THE ROLE OF DREAM(S) IN A COMMUNITY

Go Deep and Go Beyond Campaign

For a moment there was no-one else—just me observing and you drawing.

The future was there in your small image and yet it was vast, like a square full of people and colour, as large as the Plaza de Los Pinazos, in which much of my now long life has been lived.

I thought, 'Can we truly grow without the spaces to dream?'

One of the driving forces or mechanisms that mobilize communities is dreams, which are a source of intrinsic motivation for people and groups. We move ourselves in order to fulfil collective and personal dreams, aspirations that connect with the foundations of this manual, with the synergic and collective satisfaction of needs. A common aspiration in many parts of the world is to have a good life. From a historical, ecological, social, economic, etc. point of view, it is important to point out that this means a good life within the biophysical limits of the planet.

ASKING ABOUT DREAMS

In certain situations, asking about dreams can be a challenge. On more than one occasion, people may answer that they "don't have dreams anymore" or that they "can't allow themselves to dream". In a way, being able to dream is a privilege. In our experience, despite these early reactions, if we give them time and act respectfully, dreams finally appear. They must be treated with care because not talking about them is a strategy to keep something precious hidden. This strategy helps avoid criticism and being ridiculed in contexts in which dreams are not seen as tools for change. But it is precisely in those dreams that we can find the nutrients needed to grow them, just like seeds have the matter they need to germinate inside them.

TOOL/TIP: Identifying the signs of dream

In a dialogue between several people or in a group, can we identify signs of dreams that nourish our day-to-day? What are they like? For instance, do they describe a better past or a future hope, inspiring images or examples from other territories or communities, etc.? When do these signs appear? We know they appear when there is an unfulfilled need for participation (and for feeling part of something), when there is a lack of common vision (in what direction we want to go together), when the dream acts as a refuge, survival or resistance to unfulfilment of other needs, etc.

113. You can find it here: www.novact.org.

The dialogue between high dreams and low dreams in maintaining participation and alerting about extremism

We can differentiate between two kinds of dreams. A high dream is the potential of the community, what we wish for and what we think we can achieve together at specific moments. This is the kind of dream that mobilizes the most.

However, there are difficult, challenging moments when it seems we have distanced ourselves from that potential. Those moments are low dreams. Both

kinds of dreams are important in understanding ourselves as a community and mobilising towards that desired future (more tangible in high dreams) without dogmas or exclusive purisms.

A community is an open system that receives feedback from the world, which is also vital for the way it works. It increases the community's resilience since it has tools in order to adapt to change and manage difficulties. It also prevents the idealisation of communities and the risk of pure dreams like utopias.

CRITICAL EDUCATION AS AN EXAMPLE TO PREVENT "PURITY" AS THE DREAM BEHIND EXTREMISM

What is clear is that the twin drivers of violent extremism are absolutism (single truths, simple dualisms, black and white certainties, friend or foe) and the search for perfection, utopia or purity. Both absolutism and perfectionism may be promoted by education rather than challenged. The current obsession with excellence and standards may actually be conducive to violent extremism. This does not teach people to be at ease with ambiguity or with the notion of a school or pupil being "good enough". Critical education is founded on the principle of accepting multiple realities, feeling comfortable with ambiguity and searching for multiple truths, not one truth.

Many methods of community participation, stimulation or mobilization have dreams as their core element. Such is the case of methods such as the Oasis (Brazil) and the Dragon Dreaming (Australia) methods, but also other approaches in which the desired future is used as the core element, as is the case in the Futures Workshops. In polarised contexts, VE narratives also use dreams as a driver.

9.3 Examples of techniques, methods and community focus

There are some methods or approaches whose goal is to mobilize a community. These methods may respond to different moments and contexts and result in the introduction of tools for participation in existing community spaces or in the community creating new spaces. One option does not exclude the other. In the context of PVE, we need to bear in mind the degree of polarization between social parties, experiences or points of view as part of the context.

9.3.1 OASIS¹¹⁴

The Oasis method consists of mobilizing the whole community in a specific area during a specific period of time in order to make a specific change. This method is not applied to large transformations but it is very useful as a complement to long-term community development and the mobilizing guidelines it

follows can be applied to more long-lasting processes. An Oasis process is divided into seven stages (in Chapter 10 we will see that the description of the stages involved in creating social cohesion have a lot in common with these seven steps):

1. THE APPRECIATIVE WAY OF LOOKING: Focusing on beauty and life. Paying attention to what makes us move, even in degraded environments, so we can extend it.
2. AFFECTION: Emotional bonds and relationships of trust are the starting point in establishing sustainable and cooperative relationships. Talking to people, looking for the person behind each beauty.
3. DREAMS: Both individual and collective dreams are the main drivers in transforming reality. We build images of the transformation we seek.
4. CARE: We walk or move together, looking after ourselves, each other and our common dream all at the same time. Preparing, organizing, looking for the resources we have and sharing them.

114. The Oasis game was created by the Elos Foundation and has been used in more than 50 countries. <https://www.elosfoundation.org/>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NdJBaFr4PjE>.

5. **ACTION:** Working together as a means to relive the enjoyment and power of cooperative action: Neighbours, friends...
6. **CELEBRATION:** Allowing for mutual acknowledgement of achievements. This is where collective conquests make even more sense. Celebrating success with all the community.
7. **REEVOLUTION:** After transforming, there is eagerness to continue. Momentum for a new cycle, we dream of new challenges.

KEYS TO ATTITUDE	
Beauty	Ability to perceive and create spaces and relationships that are pleasant and satisfying.
Empathy	Connecting with others.
Common Ethics	Focusing on common good.
Determination	Achieving goals.
Responsibility	Towards things that affect us, our choices and their consequences.
Balance in chaos	Organising creativity, maintaining focus.
Excellence	Ability to always give our best.

Table 9.1. **Techniques for mobilization and participation.**

OTHER EXAMPLES OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND MOBILIZATION TECHNIQUES	
General tools in group facilitation	Tools used to make decisions, organise assemblies and solve conflict. One interesting example in this area is the F-NET: Nonviolent Facilitation for Ecosocial Transitions, carried out by NOVACT ¹¹⁵ .
Tools in the Art of Hosting	Techniques that make the connection between perspectives possible. The main thing is to talk about what is important for people, thus connecting with their motivation ¹¹⁶ .
Open forums	Deep Democracy Open Forums are facilitated discussion forums. Very useful in addressing issues of public concern that create polarisation ¹¹⁷ .
Go Deep	Go Deep is useful for any group that is interested in the future of a community, to think and start small transformations in that community ¹¹⁸ .

Some of the keys to these methods can be summarised in a table as a source of inspiration for other processes that have their own methods and points of view.

115. For more information, see: www.novact.org.

116. For more information: <http://www.artofhosting.org>.

117. More information: <http://worldwork.org/about/open-forums/>.

118. Based on the Oasis method: <https://godeeproject.org>.

Table 9.2. **Connecting motivation with mobilization.**

KEYS TO MOBILIZATION THAT CONNECT WITH MOTIVATION

Doing together: Participation must not just be about talking (affection mobilizes).

Connecting with emotions that build (Chapter 7).

Obtaining small victories: The usefulness of what we do must appear in specific changes (in the satisfaction of needs). Organizing mobilization so it obtains small transformations which, in turn, will mobilize.

Having fun/ enjoying/ celebrating

Valuing own resources already existing in people and communities

Connecting with emerging or long-lasting existing processes

Knowing how to include new incorporations: Open participation at any stage in the process, without reprimanding those who arrive when the process is underway. Each person participates within their possibilities, whenever they can, etc.

Providing different ways of interacting: Community work can be organized by combining individual moments, couples, small groups and large groups. When working between groups we can also apply the same logic.

High collective expectations with operational realism: High dreams built collectively in combination with low dreams.

SHORT ACTIONS THAT HELP FAR-REACHING PROCESSES

In the game of Go Deep in Athens, thanks to street activities some children from an Iraqi family got involved and convinced their parents to take part the following day. They had been living in a neighbourhood in a house provided by the UNCHR for several months but they did not know the Action Aid centre, which was just around the corner. This connection allowed them to start taking part in the centre's activities. It also allowed people who only saw each other in the streets to have something in common and to start to participate together.

TOOL/TIP: Gender perspective, intersectionality and participation

It is important to understand the different privileges that exist within the group when participating so that we can balance them:

- Schedules that allow some people to participate more than others.
- Intergenerational spaces that are not compatible with the presence of children (when their presence is important) or of other people who need to be taken care of (this is normally carried out by women).
- Spaces with gender diversity where cultural codes condition their participation.
- People who find it easier to speak, to move around the space and to express feelings.
- People with better skills in artistic tasks, in reading, writing etc.

All of this gives us clues as to how we can facilitate inclusive spaces, particularly bearing in mind gender perspective and intersectionality (a combination of kinds of oppression through different kinds of discrimination such as gender, religion, race, ethnic group, social class, etc.).

Jinwar, a women's village in Syria, is an example of collective construction by women of different religions and backgrounds¹¹⁹.

119. More information: <http://www.hawarnews.com/es/haber/pueblo-femenino-de-jinwar-smbolo-de-la-eliminacion-de-la-mentalidad-masculina-h4937.html>

10

Building social cohesion

Summary

Socially united groups and communities that act together in solving their needs with the aim of building a more sustainable, just and democratic future are less permeable to VE.

10.1 Why promote social cohesion?

10.1.1 SOCIAL COHESION AND SATISFACTION OF NEEDS

Social cohesion refers to positive social relationships and interactions (in number and type) that occur in a given territory. A united society:

- Promotes the well-being of its members;
- Creates a sense of belonging;
- Promotes relationships of cooperation and collaboration among people/groups;
- Promotes trust;
- Works on managing differences through dialogue;
- Fights exclusion;
- Promotes equal opportunities for the development of its members;

In order for social cohesion to exist, members do not have to be equals in their elements of identity, values or interests. The diversity of its members can provide social value. However, it can sometimes prove to be a challenge that we need to work on (especially in processes of rapid growth and in communities of refugees, where prejudice and stereotypes may arise in both directions: in the people that were already living in the area and in the people or groups that have recently arrived).

Therefore, we can see **social cohesion as the “glue” that unites people and groups**. A united society which in turn shifts towards the kinds of future described in Chapter 3 (just, democratic and sustain-

able) is less prone to VE processes since its members are more capable and have more channels with which they can manage their differences and unease in nonviolent ways. They will fight to eradicate situations of exclusion, marginalization or poverty by offering collective synergic satisfiers, thus carrying out effective work in PVE. **Social cohesion promotes long-term relationships based on trust.**

As we have seen in previous chapters, one of the foundations of radicalisation processes that lead to VE is the lack fulfilment of fundamental needs on a social level. We are not only referring here to more material needs such as subsistence or shelter, but also to needs such as protection/security, affection, participation, identity, freedom, creation and idleness. The challenge is to find collective synergic satisfiers (Chapter 1) that satisfy more than one need at a time and that do so without preventing the satisfaction of other needs. **Social cohesion is a type of synergic satisfier** for many of those needs:

- By creating and promoting social cohesion, many of these needs may be satisfied (and therefore contribute to PVE).
- By satisfying a certain social need through collective satisfiers, this creates social cohesion which in turn helps satisfy other needs without preventing other people satisfying their needs (and thus contributing to PVE).

Table 10.1. **Needs and social cohesion.**

NEED	RELATION TO SOCIAL COHESION
Subsistence	Fights poverty and promotes the well-being of its members.
Protection/security	Community bonds generate a feeling of protection.
Identity	Builds new collective identities through practices based on a logic of collaboration. Allows for multiple identities; the diversity in each person and in each community.
Affection	Creates relationships of citizen collaboration and support, which help generate bonds of affection among the population. Promotes a sense of belonging through involvement in collective projects.
Understanding	Strengthens (and feeds off) effective communication and helps generate collective learning.
Participation	Creates channels and ways in which to work on proposals about social concerns or challenges.
Freedom	Creates opportunities for freedom of expression and self-affirmation without having to impose on others.
Creation and idleness	Often creates cultural and artistic opportunities.

Therefore, social cohesion **takes us from vulnerability to resilience**. How can we promote the satisfaction of needs through collective practices that strengthen social cohesion? We will work on this point throughout this chapter 3.

10.1.2 SOCIAL COHESION AND PVE INITIATIVES

Although social cohesion boosts PVE, there may be societies or groups with certain social cohesion involved in VE. What characteristics does social cohesion need in order to really promote PVE?

- Social cohesion must be based on collective synergic satisfaction of human needs. Therefore, it cannot favour some needs while going against others.
- Social cohesion does not only focus on creating unity among people with common identities (Others-Equal). It promotes the construction of a future in common with people and groups with diverse identities (the Others-Diverse or Others-Different), where what is shared is not identity but a future.
- Social cohesion must promote egalitarian, democratic, just, sustainable kinds of future based on nonviolence (Chapter 3).
- Social cohesion must try to eradicate exclusion by using mechanisms based on collaboration and not imposition.
- Social cohesion must favour social mobility, enabling the socio-economic development of the most impoverished sectors.

- Promotion of social cohesion must adapt to each context.

This perspective brings us closer to effective PVE, which focuses not only on the people most likely to be attracted to VE, but also on society as a whole; a more comprehensive and integrating perspective. We do, nevertheless, use this perspective to help the people with a higher risk of joining VE to find security, dignity and respect in their communities (as we have seen, these are some of the elements people look for when joining VE groups).

Effective PVE is impossible without getting communities involved¹²⁰. Promoting social cohesion makes communities and social groups get involved in the search for solutions to real problems and it favours their mobilization towards satisfying needs in a collective way.

120. RADICALISATION AWARENESS NETWORK YF&C (2017). *Strengthening community resilience to polarization and radicalisation*. (London: RAN Centre of Excellence.). https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/about-ran/ran-yf-and-c/docs/ran_yf_c_strengthening_community_resilience_29-30_06_2017_en.pdf.

Although we must reach commitments on a national and international level, research into PVE shows that there is not one unique solution for all circumstances and contexts. Therefore, in order to develop social cohesion strategies it is vital to focus on the local sphere and context. This adaptation to local contexts will help us understand the factors that favour VE and thus foster effective PVE.

Focusing on context:

- Makes local analysis and vision pass on information for decision-making.
- Strengthens strategies that begin by getting local agents involved.

10.2 Keys for social cohesion and community resilience

Although there is no unique strategy that can work in all contexts, there are a series of keys that help when working on social cohesion and community resilience in connection to radicalisation processes that lead to VE. We will now list **14 ideas and a precaution**¹²¹:

- 1. Creating spaces for the affirmation of positive local cultural identities:** Spaces that promote what one is, not by generating closed identities but ones that are open to what is new or what comes from outside. Working on status and empowerment using cohesion and community as our starting points. Working and improving the sense of belonging and pride in civil structures (set apart from the military).
- 2. Creating physical community spaces:** Spaces for sports, culture, etc. Spaces which do not represent one side of the conflict (especially in polarized places or where VE is present). These spaces act as social mobilizers and unifying agents. They improve the feeling of belonging.
- 3. Creating agreements or rules on how to cooperate:** It is important to agree on how information will be managed and how to involve the media etc., especially when dealing with sensitive topics.
- 4. Recognising the issues that are important to the community** and creating spaces for dialogue and understanding.
- 5. Identifying and expressing the roots and causes of conflict in combination with the communities:** In turn, promoting dialogue about the shared construction of desired futures.

121. These keys complement those seen in other chapters. They act as a summary of those more related to creating social cohesion. Creating safe spaces, inclusive collective identities, effective communication, taking care of relationships, and promoting participation and mobilization with tools for dealing with conflict (chapters 4,5,6,7 and 8) help promote social cohesion.

Programmes that have been designed by local agents, albeit with help from international agents, are more likely to connect with the community (focusing on the inter-personal and inter-group dimensions and a more structural dimension, as seen in Chapter 1).

Therefore, in order to strengthen the creation of collective practices that satisfy human needs, we need contextualisation and adaptation.

- 6. Promoting the diversity of agents** when developing community processes, collaborative projects and social cohesion: schools, local authorities, CSOs, cultural centres, sports groups, religious centres, social workers, cultural and artistic spaces, old people's centres, youth centres, etc. We may ask ourselves about voids: who is missing? There are different ways of getting in touch¹²² with certain social groups like gender groups or different age groups.
- 7. Creating effective collaboration between state and non-state agents** by:
 - Identifying, respecting and discussing each agent's needs and making them feel they each have the same conditions.
 - Gradually building trust among the groups.
 - Getting a wide range of parties involved.
 - Visibility and publicity must be well measured in each situation so as to avoid putting the groups at risk.
 - Paying attention to the financial issue. There are community initiatives that dislike projects funded by the government.
- 8. Detecting community and local communication channels**, and if they do not exist, helping to create them. These channels strengthen the feeling of cohesion.
 - Looking for communicators who are influential and have the skill to get messages across.
 - Amplifying the voices of the people who deal with similar issues or needs using *nonviolent means*.
- 9. Art and creativity are our allies.** They are tools that support the culture of dialogue and expres-

122. In chapter 6 (Conflict) we have some keys on how to work in polarized environments.

sion, that mobilize emotions and help work in a constructive way. Furthermore, art and creativity may help create new solutions to difficult situations. They promote changes in the collective imagination.

10. When working on social cohesion, we must **balance collective satisfaction with the satisfaction of individual needs and wishes**. We must maintain a focus on the individual: groups are combinations of people who have fears, frustrations, values, complaints, etc. It is vital to tackle the needs of the community's individual members in order to build community resilience.
11. From a community point of view on PVE, it is important not only to try to understand the factors and reasons for people joining VE movements, but also to know **the causes and motivations of the individuals and communities at risk** (Chapters 1 and 2) **when deciding not to join VE**. This helps strengthen the appreciative perspective towards groups and communities, and to learn from the strengths, agency skills and live power of these people and groups.

12. Looking for social connectors. It is vital to understand not only the aspects that divide but also the connectors in society: the spaces and people capable of bringing groups or people together. "Border identities" that share identity elements with different social groups can be great allies in processes of social cohesion. In different contexts, elder women have been identified as respected, credible and trustworthy by different agents.

13. Seeking long-term relationships rather than relationships based on developing a specific project. Although developing collaborative projects is very interesting, our goal must be to create relationships that transcend that particular project. This leads us to bear in mind that while working on community initiatives we must pay attention to results, processes and people.

14. Generating a useful, meaningful shift that satisfies needs. Celebrating small victories (one of the keys in Chapter 9) and uniting in the face of adversity (unsatisfied needs) in order to overcome it generates social cohesion, as well as and moments when people see each other as valuable for one another.

PRECAUTION

We should see ourselves (the people involved in PVE) **not only as promoters of PVE and nonviolence but also as researchers/apprentices**. We need to update our current knowledge and put it into context, so any community initiative that tries to prevent VE may contribute to improving our know-how and information in this area.

For this reason, it is important to think about these 13 keys, adapt them and create new keys for specific contexts of intervention, and we must share what we have learned.

10.3 Designing processes to promote social cohesion and community resilience¹²³

We will now explore a series of stages that may help in designing programmes and activities to promote community resilience. These stages must be adapted to each context. Their duration and specific methods will depend on each territory's characteristics. Although they are presented linearly as if they started from scratch while paying special attention to polarized contexts, they do not have to follow that order. They do not always start from scratch; they

could take place simultaneously and there are elements that might be less necessary in less polarized contexts.

On some occasions, the factor that triggers the process is in fact the satisfaction of a need and creation of a project that solves the problem (this is shown here as the last stage). Establishing relationships, processes of dialogue or paving the way often occur simultaneously.

¹²³. Stages based on the model described by in: RAN, YF. (2018). *Engaging with communities. Collaboration between local authorities and communities in PVE*. Chapter 9. (London).

TOOL: Global vision, external point of view even though one is an internal agent

All the stages we will now describe are expressed as though the process started from scratch. When working on prevention, we often do not start from scratch and the people working are not new to the community (external agents). This work is often carried out by the affected groups, though sometimes using less systematized processes. The stages described are easily adapted to these situations and they simply point out what we should bear in mind in each step. Having this “external” point of view, albeit from the inside, helps maintain a global vision of work on social cohesion within PVE.

10.3.1 PAVING THE WAY

Before beginning processes or initiatives that promote social cohesion and community resilience, it is vital to lay down the foundations: getting to know the context and being aware of the situation in the territory where we are going to act:

- Mapping the community and evaluating its demographic diversity through:
- The use of existing networks of relevant government and non-government organizations that may provide information and contact information about the communities (in the event that there is no previous contact).
- The search for online communities (social networks, websites, etc.).
- Identifying places in the city where the different communities can meet or communicate: libraries, supermarkets, youth centres, places of worship, sports clubs, etc.
- Discovering possible problems that may cause conflict now or in future. Considering whether there are tensions that could harm social cohesion.
- Understanding the characteristics of the people who live and work in the area and if those characteristics could change in future.
- Assessing whether there are high polarization processes and who is involved.
- Getting to know the history, events and important moments in the area.
- Learning from previous experiences (in that particular context and others) and being open to necessary adaptation in order to satisfy specific needs.
- Civil Society Organisations are crucial in analysing local contexts since they help to better understand what is going on.
- In turn, promoters of community resilience processes must ask themselves:
- What effects and results do we want to obtain through involvement and community participation?
- Can we establish short- and long-term goals that are easily measurable and easy to communicate? Are there any small victories/satisfied needs we can achieve? We may alter these goals during the process.
- What resources do we have? (Human, economic, etc.)

10.3.2 ESTABLISHING RELATIONSHIPS

Collaboration between different agents, institutions and communities in the creation of community resilience is based on trust. This step is therefore very important. Harm done at the beginning of collaboration takes time and effort to heal. In creating trust, we need to:

- Share relevant information openly.
- Have a transparent attitude (with no hidden agendas).
- Specify objectives and visions and be open to a shared review of both.
- Maintain confidentiality whenever it is important.
- Listen and acknowledge the needs and interests of the community and show genuine interest.
- Show our commitment to the process.
- Build a shared agenda that does not stigmatize any group and which is interesting for all the different stakeholders.
- Gradually build the relationship. We must be careful about not forcing the processes on the community or trying to make them evolve faster than possible.
- Not only focus on problematic elements, difficulties or conflict. We must acknowledge and work with the community’s potentials, strengths and opportunities.

In creating relationships and depending on the community or the kind of agents, we can: attend own events (parties, celebrations, open-door days), create shared spaces/meetings where needs can be discussed, etc.

Communities are diverse. Therefore, it is important to approach them through different key people. We can use different means and types of messages aimed at creating social cohesion. It is vital to approach communities and organizations with an egalitarian approach, thus avoiding condescension. Gender perspective is also a fundamental lens to look through in order to understand social situations. Indeed, understanding gender dynamics in the contexts where we want to develop social cohesion is vital in creating intervention strategies.

10.3.3 CREATING DRIVING TEAMS

Driving teams are needed in order to facilitate and stimulate processes and initiatives. They must be exemplary, provide momentum and invite new agents, groups or people to participate, thus working as multipliers. These teams can be created once the different agents have become familiar with each other. For those involved, it is important to:

- Try to understand what people or groups could help build social cohesion now and in the future.
- Have teamwork skills, be able to listen and negotiate.
- Explore people in different sectors (unions, associations, neighbourhood organisations, community organisations, environmental organisations, etc.).
- Have different types of participation or contribution in the process. Speak openly about those types so as to clarify each person's role: drivers, consultants and people for specific tasks, etc.
- Create work relationships of collaboration that respond to the problems the community is concerned about.
- Bear in mind that, although there may be short-term objectives, in order to promote social cohesion they must think about long-term relationships.
- Have an inclusive attitude.
- Identify existing or potential areas for development and make the best of current strengths.
- Use already-existing networks.
- Bear in mind the different kinds of work logic: certain formal or government organisations need bureaucratic processes that may be frustrating to members of communities. Patience and transparency are essential.
- In the event that they need information, it is vital to ensure confidentiality and to have clear rules and agreements so they can build a real process of trust among the different agents.
- Young people's role

- Young people are vital for social cohesion. They are the people who will experience future changes the most and in many cases they are more vulnerable to VE. They very often feel the need to promote social changes. They can therefore channel the impulse of change into building just, democratic and sustainable societies. Setting up spaces for their participation is very important (they cannot often participate). In order to get youth involved, we can:
 - Use already-existing youth programmes.
 - Go to formal (schools) and non-formal places¹²⁴ where they spend their time.
 - Use types of language (both in content and form) that are appropriate to their interests.
 - On many occasions, we must collaborate with social workers, educators and volunteers who work with young people. This is vital in long-term transformation work.
 - Consider the possibility of creating peer groups or groups of equals when getting work started (for example, young people who enter a space dominated by adults or vice versa).
 - Acknowledge young people's needs with respect and dignity and try not to see them as mere victims of VE.
 - Embrace a diversity of opinions.
 - Include their families whenever possible.

Women' rol

The inclusion of women in decision-making processes and in processes of promotion of social cohesion and PVE is vital. Since they live in predominantly androcentric and sexist societies, it is important to pay attention to creating specific channels for the inclusion of women in these initiatives. We must bear in mind that:

- Many women have played a crucial role in community resilience and within families. Acknowledging this role is important, but initiatives that work with women must focus on avoiding stereotypes and not reducing their role to mere carers.
- It is vital to take an approach that includes a feminist perspective based on the empowerment of women.
- Work can start with the women who are already organised or with the community leaders. In this case, we must help develop their strengths and talents. We can also start to work with already-existing women's organisations and networks.

124. These informal spaces depend greatly on context. They are the places where they meet or get together. If they are spaces with strong identities (places in the streets where only they go) it is a good idea to approach the space with someone who acts as a connector (someone who accompanies and is recognised by the group).

- It is vital to build trust and care, designing strategies in that sense.
- A utilitarian approach is not to be encouraged: working with women is not only a means towards PVE. The well-being of women and their empowerment is an end in itself.
- We must acknowledge the empowerment they already have: paternalistic relationships must be avoided. They must be recognised as equals in the work to satisfy needs and generate social cohesion.

Local leaders' rol

Getting local leaders involved is very important since they are highly influential among other parties and have great skills in spreading messages. It is important to find the best role for leaders (the role may be different depending on the context and previous relationships between institutions and organisations). When we think of leaders, we mean:

- Formal local leaders (high ranks in organisations or public institutions).
- Religious leaders, especially in contexts where people involved in VE have spread religious messages. It is important to build dialogue between these leaders and politicians.

- Emotional leaders: people who are loved by the community.
- Community leaders: people who are influential or have a wide vision of the community.

10.3.4 PROCESSES OF DIALOGUE

On occasions, before starting to implement shared projects or initiatives to satisfy certain needs, it is necessary to create spaces for dialogue. This is especially so in polarized contexts or in contexts of pain. Firstly, it is important to be able to talk about it in a way that embraces all voices and that encourages collaboration and listening. All of the different parties should benefit and be committed to the process.

These spaces are important because they show there are alternatives to violence when working on conflict or differences. They also help reach agreements since they eliminate the idea of "the other as an enemy" and stimulate strategic thought about how to co-exist with other points of view. All of this helps build long-term relationships and bonds.

When creating dialogue processes about important issues, we must pay attention to four important dimensions:

Table 10.2. **Four dimensions.**

What is discussed and when	Establishing shared schedules known by all parties.
Where dialogue takes place	A safe space for dialogue must be developed.
Who speaks	Their previous experience, histories and relationships among them.
How dialogue takes place	Norms, attitudes and guidelines that help moderate the dialogue.

Keys for facilitating dialogue are given in Chapters 5 and 7.

10.3.5 CREATING JOINT PROJECTS/ACTIONS TO SATISFY NEEDS AND DESIRES

In this stage, we are ready to implement collaboration actions and projects among different agents. In communities or territories where VE has not caused polarization or harm, or where the specific groups or communities we are working with have not been badly affected, this phase may start earlier.

We now begin to develop or promote ideas that satisfy the territory's needs, desires or problems. We

need projects or ideas that can be collectively implemented and seek a positive impact in the territory. We now focus not on analysing causes or problems (which we have already done in previous stages) but rather on projecting a common, desired future. We promote needs satisfaction through collective initiatives that may satisfy them in a synergic way:

SYNERGIC SATISFACTION OF NEEDS

A vegetable garden can satisfy the need of subsistence by providing quality food at a low cost, but it can also satisfy the needs of participation, creation, idleness and even affection. Therefore, a process that was intended as a way to improve a family's subsistence can also improve their interactions and relationships with the neighbours (thus promoting social cohesion).

There are many types of initiatives or projects that strengthen social cohesion depending on the needs and context:

Table 10.3. **Projects for social cohesion.**

Collective participation in restoring and transforming public spaces.	Oasis Santa Catarina ¹²⁵ .
Cooperative creation of economic income.	Micro-credits (e.g. Gramen Bank ¹²⁶).
Generation of alternative resources to money	Time Banks, Social coinage
Consumption	Agriculture supported by the community
Social or cultural initiatives	Casa Tomada (Salvador) ¹²⁷ . SALAM (Tunisia) ¹²⁸ .

In this stage, we must bear in mind the following points:

- Build community abilities, create spaces that appeal to the community and attract them towards taking part in planning and carrying out activities. Driving groups are important in getting more people involved.
- Once the main needs and desires of the community are clear, look for ideas that can be put into place in a collective way that encourages collaboration and creates excitement and motivation. Start with the ideas that are more widely shared.
- Focus on the solution and on collective construction of solutions to challenges or needs, not so much on past analysis.
- Look for inspiring images of the future or project that the community wants to build. Images can potentially stimulate imagination and people's desire to get involved.

- Set up creative spaces in order to look for solutions. In moments of creativity, every idea is acceptable. Later on, those ideas can be evaluated through a series of criteria so as to choose the most satisfactory actions or ideas.
- Once the best ideas have been selected (those that best satisfy the needs or objectives, those that create social cohesion, etc.), build a prototype, test it and improve it (if possible).
- Have the ability to adapt to things that come up that were not planned.
- Create spaces where group learning can be gathered. We gather learning by creating follow-up and assessment spaces for our initiatives.
- Design tasks for different agents and people, so that different people can participate and feel that they are part of the process.

And don't forget one important thing! Enjoy the process and get people to enjoy it, too! Social cohesion helps make our lives stronger, easier and happier.

125. <https://vimeo.com/17337520>.

126. <http://www.grameen.com/>.

127. <https://ccesv.org/la-casa-tomada/>.

128. <https://novact.org/2018/12/salam-prevenir-tota-mena-dextremismes-violents-a-tunisia-un-enfocament-basat-en-els-drets-humans-i-la-consolidacio-de-la-pau/?lang=en>.

