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O género na agenda de contraterrorismo da União Europeia (2004-2022)

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Dissertação realizada no âmbito do Mestrado em História, Relações Internacionais e Cooperação, orientada pela Professora Doutora Joana Castro Pereira

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Declaração de honra

Declaro que a presente dissertação é de minha autoria e não foi utilizada previamente noutro curso ou unidade curricular, desta ou de outra instituição. As referências a outros autores (textos, trabalhos, ideias) respeitam escrupulosamente as regras de atribuição de autoria e encontram-se devidamente indicadas no texto e nas referências bibliográficas, de acordo com as normas de referência. Tenho consciência de que a prática de plágio e auto-plágio constitui um ilícito académico.

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Porto, setembro 2024

Marta Isabel Santos Temeroso

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Resumo

A presente dissertação analisa a política de contraterrorismo da União Europeia (UE) e a sua abordagem de *gender mainstreaming* através da teoria feminista das Relações Internacionais, questionando: De que forma(s) a União Europeia integra o género na sua agenda de contraterrorismo? Metodologicamente, o estudo baseia-se na análise da literatura científica relevante, em fontes documentais da UE e em vinte entrevistas com especialistas da elite académica nas temáticas de terrorismo e contraterrorismo da organização. Explora-se o papel da União enquanto ator global de contraterrorismo e de género, bem como os seus sucessos, desafios e lacunas no cruzamento de ambas as agendas. Conclui-se, à luz do feminismo institucional e liberal, que as estratégias de contraterrorismo da UE refletem um discurso e compromisso normativo para com o *gender mainstreaming*, procurando promover a integração do género, a igualdade de género e a agência feminina. Contudo, trata-se de uma agenda com uma aplicação prática ainda limitada. A integração do quadro normativo de género no quadro de ações do contraterrorismo da UE é ainda uma meta a atingir. Nesse sentido, esta dissertação desenvolve um conjunto de propostas para uma agenda futura das estratégias de contraterrorismo da UE.

Palavras-chave: União Europeia; Contraterrorismo; Género; *Gender Mainstreaming*; Feminismo

Abstract

This study This dissertation analyzes the counterterrorism policy of the European Union (EU) and its approach to gender mainstreaming through the feminist theory of International Relations: In what way(s) does the European Union integrate gender into its counterterrorism agenda? Methodologically, the study is based on an analysis of relevant scientific literature, EU documentary sources and twenty interviews with elite academic experts on the organization's terrorism and counterterrorism themes. It explores the EU's role as a global actor in counterterrorism and gender, as well as its successes, challenges and gaps at the intersection of both agendas. It concludes, in the light of institutional and liberal feminism, that the EU's counterterrorism strategies reflect a normative discourse and commitment to gender mainstreaming, seeking to promote gender integration, gender equality and female agency. However, this is an agenda with limited practical application. The integration of the gender normative framework into the EU's counterterrorism action framework is still a goal to be achieved. To this end, this dissertation develops a set of proposals for a future agenda for EU counterterrorism strategies.

Key-words: European Union; Counterterrorism; Gender; Gender Mainstreaming; Feminism

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Lista de abreviaturas e siglas

AI	INTELIGÊNCIA ARTIFICIAL DO PORTO
CGCC	CENTER ON GLOBAL COUNTERTERRORISM COOPERATION
CT MORSE	COUTER-TERRORISM MONITORING, REPORTING AND SUPPORTING MECHANISM
CVE	COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM
EEAS.....	EUROPEAN EXTERNAL ACTION SERVICE
EIGE	INSTITUTO EUROPEU PARA A IGUALDADE DE GÉNERO
ETA	EUSKADI TA ASKATASUNA
EU	EUROPEAN UNION
EUA	ESTADOS UNIDOS DA AMÉRICA
EUROPOL	AGÊNCIA DA UNIÃO EUROPEIA PARA A COOPERAÇÃO POLICIAL
ICCT	INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR COUNTER-TERRORISM
IRA	IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY
ISIS	ESTADO ISLÂMICO DO IRAQUE E DA SÍRIA
NATO	ORGANIZAÇÃO DO TRATADO DO ATLÂNTICO NORTE
ONU	ORGANIZAÇÃO DAS NAÇÕES UNIDAS
OSCE	ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE
P/CVE.....	PREVENTING AND COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM
PCSD	POLÍTICA COMUM DE SEGURANÇA E DEFESA
RAN	RADICALIZATION AWARENESS NETWORK
RI	RELAÇÕES INTERNACIONAIS
TE-SAT	EU TERRORISM SITUATION & TREND REPORT
UE	UNIÃO EUROPEIA
UNSC	CONSELHO DE SEGURANÇA DAS NAÇÕES UNIDAS
WPS	WOMEN, PEACE, AND SECURITY AGENDA

Introdução

Durante décadas, a política internacional revelou-se cega perante as questões de género, uma cegueira que tem sido fortemente criticada pela teoria feminista das RI (Aggestam & True, 2020; Alison, 2004; Carter, Rogers & Turner, 2023; Catic & von Hlatky, 2014; Lombardo & Meier, 2009; Lombardo, Meier, Verloo, 2017; Swaine, 2018a; Tickner, 2018). Todavia, no início do século XXI, a discussão sobre o género, lançada pelos feministas, entrou no domínio da política internacional; os Estados e as organizações internacionais começaram a mostrar-se recetivos a abordar as questões de género nas suas políticas, criando e desenvolvendo agendas de promoção da igualdade de género, e assumindo um compromisso de combate à desigualdade de género em diversos campos da política, nos quais se incluem os campos da segurança e do contraterrorismo.

A segurança conhece uma agenda, desenvolvida em 2000 pela Organização das Nações Unidas (ONU), que para além de procurar uma igualdade de género, promove a agência feminina nas ações e missões da paz e resolução de conflitos, entendendo que é essencial a participação feminina nas questões de segurança. É com esta agenda global da ONU que o contraterrorismo mostra abertura para se juntar ao compromisso de género (Landgren, 2018; Meger, 2019; Ní Aoláin, 2016; Swaine, 2018b; Theidon, 2018; Tickner & True, 2018; Tryggestad, 2009).

A par destas transformações de género, o contraterrorismo tem nestas duas últimas décadas tentado acompanhar a evolução do terrorismo, fenómeno que se transformou profundamente, já não se tratando de um terrorismo tradicionalmente centralizado, hierárquico e masculino. A globalização, a livre circulação e o desenvolvimento tecnológico criaram um espaço fértil para o terrorismo, para a difusão das narrativas terroristas e das atividades terroristas, abrindo portas à circulação de recursos humanos, materiais e financeiros. O terrorismo apresenta uma configuração transnacional e descentralizada, com uma diversidade de agentes, combatentes e apoiantes, e uma diversidade de ideologias, métodos de radicalização e de

recrutamento, instrumentos e armas (Bird, 2019; Cook, 2019; Forest, 2023; Gasztold, 2020; Gentry & Sjoberg, 2023; Gentry, 2019a; Lyness, 2014).

Nos estudos de terrorismo, encontramos inúmeros debates, desde a sua definição, aos seus agentes, à motivação e aos fatores de radicalização. Aa resposta a esse fenómeno origina novos debates, sobre a eficácia das políticas e ações, sobre os atores e instituições envolvidos, e o impacto que o contraterrorismo tem na sociedade. Apesar de terem ocorrido mudanças na segurança e no contraterrorismo, as críticas feministas entendem que, a nível político e académico, a segurança, o contraterrorismo e o terrorismo continuam embebidos em estereótipos de género, construções enviesadas de género, e o não reconhecimento da agência da mulher no terrorismo e no contraterrorismo permanece.

A UE assume, após o 11 de setembro, uma solidariedade para com a causa dos EUA na sua luta contra o terrorismo, porém, será apenas em 2004 que esta irá adotar uma estratégia de contraterrorismo mais assertiva. Após os ataques de Madrid em 2004 a UE vê pela primeira vez, no século XXI, os seus valores e liberdades serem ameaçados, ameaça que não tardou a aumentar com os ataques de Londres de 2005. Será então após estes dois eventos que a União desenhará a sua estratégia de combate ao terrorismo, caracterizada pela sua multidimensionalidade e pela sua ação interna e externa. Ao longo das últimas duas décadas, a UE veio a conquistar o seu papel de ator global de contraterrorismo.

A par de ser um ator global de contraterrorismo, a UE assume-se também como um ator global de género. A partir, sensivelmente, de 2018, começa a cruzar as duas agendas, adotando um quadro de integração do género e da mulher na segurança e no contraterrorismo, tendo em vista a aplicação de uma perspetiva sensível ao género e combater os viés de género.

Os estudos feministas através das lentes de género analisam o género nas Relações Internacionais (Sjoberg, 2018; Aggestam & True, 2020; Cardinale & Winer, 2022; Grecco, 2020; Kenny & Mackay, 2018; Kiguwa, 2019). Com este estudo pretende-se compreender o contraterrorismo da UE através da aplicação da lente feminista e da variável de género, articulando-se o feminismo liberal e institucionalista. Com o feminismo liberal procura-se a introdução da igualdade de género e do reconhecimento

da agência da mulher no contraterrorismo; já com o feminismo institucional o objetivo é perceber como a agência da UE no contraterrorismo é moldada pela sua conceção de género. A questão orientadora desta investigação é: *De que forma(s) a União Europeia integra o gender mainstreaming no contraterrorismo?* Tem-se como objetivos: perceber como se dá o cruzamento das agendas de contraterrorismo e de género; perceber a integração e a aplicação da variável e da perspetiva de género, do *gender mainstreaming*, no contraterrorismo da UE; em que moldes é promovida a igualdade de género e a agência feminina no contraterrorismo da UE; identificar os sucessos e as lacunas das estratégias e da UE enquanto ator global de contraterrorismo e de género.

Tem-se como baliza temporal o período compreendido entre 2004 e 2022: 2004 é o ano em que ocorrem os primeiros ataques terroristas em solo europeu no pós-11 de setembro, os ataques de 11 de março em Madrid, evento que marca o início de uma ação mais significativa da luta contra o terrorismo da UE, com a publicação da Declaração de Combate ao Terrorismo (Conselho da União Europeia, 2004). Já 2022 marca os dois anos desde a publicação da mais recente estratégia de contraterrorismo da UE (Comissão Europeia, 2020a) e da estratégia para a igualdade de género (Comissão Europeia, 2020d). Ressalva-se que, quando se refere a UE enquanto ator global, entende-se que esta não é um ator tradicional, pois resulta da cooperação entre os vinte e sete Estados-Membros (vinte e oito Membros até janeiro de 2020).

A investigação resulta da articulação entre a base teórica e empírica, tendo-se trabalhado com a literatura científica, fontes documentais da UE e vinte entrevistas com académicos, procurando-se compreender o processo e a relação do contraterrorismo com as abordagens de género e como estes se articulam nas estratégias e políticas da UE.

O estudo do cruzamento das agendas de contraterrorismo e de género ainda é alvo de pouca investigação (Fink & Davidian, 2018; Fisher & Lee, 2019; George, Lee-Koo, Shepherd, 2019; Heathcote, 2018; Ní Aoláin, 2016) e, no contexto da UE é quase inexistente (White, 2020a, 2020b, 2021, 2022, 2023). As investigações feministas e de género têm apenas estudado as políticas mais amplas de segurança e defesa (Chappel & Guerrina, 2020; Debusscher & Manners, 2020; Guerrina, Haastrup & Kathaine, 2023; Haastrup, Wright & Guerrina, 2019; Rolandsen Agustín, 2012).

Dado que os académicos feministas têm, ao longo de décadas, criticado os campos da segurança, do terrorismo e do contraterrorismo pela sua cegueira e viés em relação ao género e à agência da mulher, o facto de hoje existir uma ligação entre o contraterrorismo e o género revela uma transformação positiva, um passo em frente no longo e complexo processo de alcançar um contraterrorismo multidimensional, holístico e sensível às questões de género. Contudo, apesar de a UE apresentar um discurso de género no seu contraterrorismo, a sua aplicação prática é ainda muito superficial. Como veremos, é um contraterrorismo que, embora aberto a abordagens de género, continua embebido num conjunto de viés, não havendo uma aplicação da teoria na prática, pelo que a agenda normativa não se traduz na agenda prática de contraterrorismo.

Este estudo encontra-se dividido em cinco capítulos. No primeiro, faz-se uma revisão da literatura existente sobre os tópicos do terrorismo e contraterrorismo, enquadrando literatura tradicional e feminista. No segundo capítulo, apresenta-se a teoria feminista e uma descrição do feminismo liberal e institucional, expondo-se também a metodologia e os métodos adotados. No terceiro capítulo, aborda-se o papel da UE enquanto ator global de contraterrorismo, como foi construída a estratégia e a sua evolução de 2004 a 2022. No quarto, analisa-se o papel da União enquanto ator global de contraterrorismo e de género, como é feita a integração do *gender mainstreaming* na agenda de contraterrorismo, percebendo-se os seus sucessos e lacunas. No quinto capítulo, discute-se o cruzamento das duas agendas e apresentam-se propostas para uma agenda futura de contraterrorismo na UE baseada, principalmente, nos dados obtidos na análise das entrevistas realizadas.

1. Género e terrorismo

Estudos de terrorismo

O terrorismo tem sido objeto de estudo de diversos campos do saber. Ao longo das décadas foram publicados diversos estudos que analisaram, interrogaram e teorizaram o terrorismo: desde as ciências naturais, às exatas e às sociais, encontramos estudos orientados para a economia, para a história, para a psicologia, a sociologia, a medicina, etc. No campo das ciências sociais, e mais concretamente na disciplina das RI, os estudos sobre terrorismo têm sido alvo de análise pelas diferentes teorias da disciplina.

A subárea que se dedica ao estudo do vasto fenómeno do terrorismo é conhecida como Estudos sobre o Terrorismo. Ao longo das duas últimas décadas, este campo de estudos tem tratado múltiplos tópicos, como o terrorismo suicida, o processo de radicalização, o uso da internet por parte de grupos terroristas, entre outros. Este campo tem sido analisado e discutido na disciplina de RI à luz de teorias e concepções mais tradicionais e de teorias ou abordagens críticas.

Chenoweth e Gofas (2019) definem três momentos que marcam o campo de estudos do terrorismo: o terrorismo revolucionário da década de 1970, o fim da Guerra Fria e o 11 de setembro, os quais redirecionaram o campo, moldando-o e abrindo novas portas à compreensão do fenómeno. Um quarto momento será a criação e adoção da *Women, Peace and Security agenda* (WPS), através da Resolução 2242 da ONU, em 2015, resolução que pauta a integração da agenda WPS no contexto da luta contra o terrorismo e extremismo violento.

Estudos feministas

As teorias feministas, ao contrário das teorias tradicionais, afastam-se do foco nas relações interestatais, focando-se numa análise de atores transnacionais, atores não estatais, nas mulheres e naqueles cuja voz se vê, em geral, marginalizada (True, 2022). Estudam os corpos, o significado do género enquanto categoria de identidade, a relação entre género e poder e, em particular, o género como um elemento influenciador da política global (L. J. Shepherd, 2023). O género, enquanto categoria analítica, permite

uma melhor compreensão das relações de poder, da política e do sistema internacional. O feminismo, independentemente da sua perspectiva ou abordagem, tem como objetivo final reinterpretar e reconcetualizar as relações internacionais.

Define-se género como a construção social hierárquica daquilo que é masculino e feminino (Sjoberg, 2009b; Gaztold, 2020; White, 2020). Esta construção social de género é condicionada «*by stereotypes, roles, and behaviors adopted by men and women in a specific historical period and in a given culture, language, or civilizational circle*» (Gaztold, 2020, p. 17). White (2020) acrescenta que é uma interpretação social baseada no sexo biológico do indivíduo. True (2022, p.297), à luz dos feminismos, define género como

masculine and feminine identities, attributes, constraints and opportunities associated with being male and female. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and learned [...]. Gender relations are integral to power relations within and across societies; they determine what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man or collective institutions in any given context.

Através de uma lente de género, é possível reconhecer que a política e os Estados assumem um poder masculinizado, um domínio que marginaliza a mulher e o seu envolvimento na sociedade (Ortbals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2018b).

À luz das lentes feministas, entende-se que predomina na segurança, no sistema internacional e em todas as relações de poder a nível internacional um viés masculino, um viés de género. A segurança internacional é tradicionalmente considerada como neutra quanto às questões de género; porém, os feminismos mostram-nos que a segurança é espelho de noções, conceitos e vieses de género presentes na sociedade, sendo a segurança resultado de um processo de construção social (Whitworth, 2018). Os estudos feministas têm vindo a focar-se no impacto da guerra, no impacto dos conflitos armados nas mulheres e noutros atores marginalizados, assim como nas experiências vividas por mulheres nesses mesmos contextos de guerra, quais os seus papéis, muitas vezes considerados “invisíveis”, nesses conflitos. Procura-se reconhecer a agência feminina: mulher enquanto vítima de insegurança e como ator de violência (Whitworth, 2018; Gentry & Sjoberg, 2023; Ortvals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2014; Ortvals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2018b; Sjoberg, 2009; Bloom & Lockmanoglu, 2020; Aolàin, 2013;

Rentschler, 2015; Phelan, 2023). O feminismo analisa a segurança para lá do Estado e a sua relação com a mulher (Alison, 2004). Sjoberg (2009) conclui que discussões de género e o seu impacto no terrorismo não têm sido consideradas no âmbito das teorias tradicionais e nas principais obras sobre terrorismo.

A definição de terrorismo

Em ambos os campos de estudo, quer nos de terrorismo tradicionais e críticos como nos de feminismo, um dos grandes debates que continua a ocupar muitos académicos e autores é a questão da definição de terrorismo, uma questão controversa no mundo académico e político; não gera consenso entre instituições, académicos, organizações e Estados: «*The quest for a satisfactory definition of terrorism, described by Nicholas J. Perry as the search for the “Holy Grail”, is one pursued by law and various other branches of the social sciences*» (Greene, 2017, p. 413). O grande debate da definição de terrorismo resume-se a uma busca pela perfeição, sendo também um *puzzle* (Poloni-Staudinger & Ortvals, 2012, p.3) e uma guerra de palavras (Turk, 2004, p. 272). Todos procuram as melhores palavras para estabelecer um consenso sobre um fenómeno que hoje se dá em múltiplas formas, em diferentes escalas e transnacionalmente. Tradicionalmente, o terrorismo é entendido como uma ameaça do uso de violência por atores não estatais, uma ameaça que provocará o medo e o terror; a ameaça do uso da violência e da força tem como objetivo coagir, persuadir ou influenciar Estados, instituições, organizações, tendo em vista transformações políticas (Rogers, 2018, pp. 397-398).

Uma vez que o terrorismo utiliza a violência como um instrumento de ação e é um ato de violência política, o que é que diferencia o terrorismo de violência política? A violência política é um fenómeno, evento, ou ação em que a política e a violência são o expoente, denominadores comuns; é um ato em que a violência e a força são usadas contra algo ou alguém enquanto ferramenta por motivações políticas (Poloni-Staudinger & Ortvals, 2013, p.3). Statis Kalyvas (2019, pp. 11-12) caracteriza a violência política como um fenómeno multifacetado; dadas as suas múltiplas formas é necessário olhar de forma ampla para os diferentes ângulos conceptuais, de forma a ser possível a melhor compreensão e estudo da violência política. A violência política pode assumir diferentes

formas desde o terrorismo, ao crime organizado, à guerrilha, à violência de gangues, etc. Neste sentido, «*[p]olitical violence refers to a situation associated with politics in some way in which force is used as a means of inflict harm on others. Terrorism is a subset of political violence*» (Poloni-Staudinger & Ortvals, 2013, p. 3).

Arce e Sandler (2005, p.183) definem terrorismo como «*the premeditated use or threat of use of violence by individuals or subnational groups to obtain political, religious, or ideological objectives through intimidation of a large audience usually beyond that of the immediate victims*». Para Bossong (2013, p.20), é uma forma de violência direcionada a um alvo em relação ao qual se pretende exercer influência política; é uma forma de comunicação que usa meios violentos e um meio para disseminar uma mensagem política.

O terrorismo é também entendido como um fenómeno comunicativo, um ato pelo qual se pretende passar uma mensagem, mensagem dirigida à sociedade, mais concretamente às populações civis que testemunham o ato, mas também aos governos. A estratégia passar por selecionar alvos específicos que tenham impacto, e que esse impacto se repercuta com o espalhar das suas mensagens, causas e narrativas pelas sociedades, publicitando uma causa e instaurando o medo (Ramakrishna, 2022, pp. 161-163).

No contexto do sistema internacional, a ONU considera que o terrorismo consiste em

criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act, which constitute offences within the scope of and as defined in the international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism, are under no circumstances justifiable by considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other similar nature, and calls upon all States to prevent such acts and, if not prevented, to ensure that such acts are punished by penalties consistent with their grave nature (UNSC, 2004, p. 2).

Dentro da teoria feminista, alguns académicos dedicam-se ao conceito e definição de terrorismo, escrutinando as diferentes definições através de uma análise feminista e/ou de uma análise de género. Gentry e Sjoberg (2023) entendem que uma

definição universal de terrorismo é ilusória, não é algo possível de aplicar, porque a noção, a definição e a conceção de terrorismo se encontram embebidas em lentes binárias e hierárquicas, uma visão binária de Vestefália, em que os Estados são masculinos e legítimos, enquanto os atores não estatais, os terroristas, são emasculados e ilegítimos. As definições que assumem estas dicotomias entre o bem e o mal, o legítimo e o ilegítimo, o forte e o fraco impõem uma noção de género, de elementos determinantes associados à construção social de homem e mulher, e à biologia dos géneros.

Sjoberg e Gentry (2011, p. 7-8) defendem que, quando se trata o terrorismo como um objeto de estudo, é importante que se assuma um pensamento crítico sobre o que é o terrorismo e as repercussões sociais e políticas deste tipo de violência. Para as autoras, as definições de terrorismo assentam em cinco pilares: objetivo, estratégia, audiência, efeitos, alvos. «*[T]he definitions offered had commonalities: terrorism's goals are political, it is strategic in nature, it is directed at a wider audience, it has a psychological impact, and it is directed at civilians and/or noncombatants*» (Sjoberg & Gentry, 2011, p. 8).

Contudo, neste extenso debate, alguns académicos defendem muitos são os elementos que não garantem o consenso para uma definição comum (Dumitriu, 2004; Greene, 2017; Schmid, 2004). Greene (2017) sugere que sejam desenhadas múltiplas definições de terrorismo, que se apliquem a contextos e quadros específicos, e que permitam a articulação entre políticas nacionais, regionais e internacionais de contraterrorismo.

Já Anthony Richards (2005) e Silke (2020) dizem-nos que, do ponto de vista político do sistema internacional, é essencial existir um consenso e estabelecer uma definição universal, no sentido de estabelecer uma melhor cooperação e coordenação entre os diferentes Estados, instituições e agências no combate ao terrorismo:

a powerful reason for endeavoring to generate a universally agreed definition of terrorism is that, if one accepts that international cooperation is essential in countering it, then logically there needs to be international agreement as to what it is that is being countered (Silke, 2020, pp. 13-14).

Contudo, Ní Aoláin (2016) considera que a definição da ONU é ambígua, abrindo espaço para a interpretação e, conseqüentemente, para a discriminação.

Embora alguns teóricos, como Dumitriu (2004) e Greene (2017), entendam que a multiplicidade de definições de terrorismo e a falta de consenso sejam algo negativo e pejorativo para os estudos sobre o terrorismo, assim como para os campos jurídico e político, Gentry (2020, p. 28) relembra-nos que esta questão de um debate concetual não se aplica, não se restringe apenas ao terrorismo.

Para a presente investigação, entende-se o terrorismo como um método, uma ferramenta que os indivíduos/atores podem utilizar para atingir um fim; independentemente do tipo de terrorismo utilizado, o fim é atingido através do uso da violência, seja ela física ou psicológica ou ambas, violência essa que é intrinsecamente instrumental (Gentry, 2020, p. 28).

A radicalização e a agência

Um outro debate centra-se na procura das causas que levam os indivíduos a associar-se ao terrorismo; por outras palavras, o que os leva a escolher o terrorismo como instrumento ou ferramenta para atingir os seus objetivos (LaFree & Ackerman, 2009; Turk, 2004; Phelan, 2023). Porque é que os indivíduos se juntam a grupos terroristas? Por coação ou opção? Quais os motivos? Um dos motivos é a perceção de que a pertença à associação traz benefícios. A literatura sugere que é um processo dinâmico e individualizado, não há um perfil único ou claro do que é um terrorista; contudo, têm vindo a descobrir-se algumas tendências: a procura pela sua identidade e pelo seu lugar no mundo torna os indivíduos vulneráveis às mensagens terroristas; a violência será a única forma de por fim ao seu sofrimento interior: «*[p]eople learn to accept terrorism as a political option when their experiences lead them to see truth in messages that defending their way and kind cannot be accomplished by nonviolent means*» (Turk, 2004, p. 272). É mais provável um indivíduo juntar-se a uma associação terrorista se um familiar ou amigo já estiver associado a um grupo; a estes elementos ainda se somam os motivos económicos, religiosos e as desigualdades sociais (Brown, 2021; Martín, 2017; Patel, 2022; Phelan, 2023; White, 2021). Segundo Phelan (2023), os

estereótipos de género moldam a forma como se percecionam as motivações, os objetivos, a radicalização e a participação em atividades do tipo terrorista.

Byman (2019) alerta-nos para o facto de, no pós-11 de setembro, os estudos sobre terrorismo terem vindo a focar-se nos atores, nas organizações terroristas, nos militantes das causas, na radicalização, entre outros, deixando em segundo plano aqueles que procuram combater e travar o terrorismo, como os legisladores e decisores políticos. A par desta negligência, encontra-se a omissão da agência da mulher (Ortbals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2014; Sjoberg, 2009; Bloom & Lockmanoglu, 2020; Aolàin, 2013; Rentschler, 2015; Gentry & Sjoberg, 2023; Auchter, 2012; Jacques & Taylor, 2019). Logo, abre-se um debate sobre a agência política e de violência das mulheres no terrorismo. Entende-se por agência a capacidade de um indivíduo, ou grupo, tomar decisões e de agir, adotando uma perspetiva de género, soma-se a capacidade do indivíduo de negociar o poder (Bloom & Lokmanoglu, 2023, p. 402).

A agência da mulher no terrorismo não é uma descoberta recente; o que é novo é o reconhecimento dessa mesma agência pelo mundo académico e político, pelos média e pela sociedade em geral (Hearne, 2009; Gentry & Sjoberg, 2023; Gentry, 2019b; Banks, 2019). O reconhecimento da agência da mulher ao longo da história é-nos trazida por estudos em que se destaca a participação feminina terrorista em grupos como a Resistência Palestiniana, o ISIS, o Boko Haram, o Hamas, entre outros (Gentry, 2019a; Gentry, 2019b; Hearne, 2019; Alison, 2004; Blomm & Lokmanoglu, 2023). Também eles usaram a violência, o medo e a coação como uma estratégia, um instrumento para as suas causas.

Segundo Gentry (2019b), as principais narrativas nos estudos sobre terrorismo que identificavam mulheres enquanto participantes ativos em violência política caracterizam-nas como indivíduos irracionais ou instrumentos do homem terrorista. A imagem ocidental da mulher naturalmente pacífica afasta a capacidade de a mulher enveredar por atos de violência, por exemplo, violência política e terrorismo.

Alison (2004) traz-nos uma outra perspetiva sobre a mulher enquanto agente terrorista. As mulheres, enquanto combatentes em grupos terroristas ou grupos de violência política, procuram fazer frente às dificuldades causadas pelos Estados, em

particular à insegurança que os Estados causam, isto é, os Estados permitem que as crises sociais (as desigualdades sociais, os problemas económicos, entre outros) se prolonguem no tempo. O terrorismo é a ferramenta que as mulheres encontraram para fazer face às inseguranças causadas pela sociedade masculinizada; porém, também elas passam a representar uma insegurança para a sociedade.

Robert Pape (2005) avançou com uma teoria sobre o terrorismo suicida. No seu modelo, Pape inclui homens e mulheres, mas Sjoberg e Gentry (2008) entendem que esta é uma teoria que ainda aplica termos de género associados à esfera do masculino e lógicas binárias de género. Pape argumenta, na sua tese, que as ações do homem enquanto terrorista suicida são o resultado de uma decisão racional, enquanto a da mulher é mais emocional, uma clara percepção do viés de género, dicotomia de homem/mulher, racional/emocional.

Thomas (2021) estabelece uma relação entre as normas de género e o terrorismo suicida no espectro feminino, explora a letalidade de um ataque terrorista tendo em conta o género do perpetrador e tenta perceber se ataques terroristas perpetrados por mulheres são tão letais quanto aqueles perpetrados por homens.

Alguns académicos defendem a tese de que a participação das mulheres em atos de terrorismo traz vantagens para o fenómeno e para aqueles envolvidos no mesmo (Thomas, 2021; Rothermel & L. J. Shepherd, 2022; Laster & Erez, 2015; Carter, Rogers & Turner, 2023). Recentemente, os grupos terroristas têm vindo a recrutar mulheres e crianças devido à sua “aparência” inocente; há aqui um viés em que se percebe a mulher como alguém incapaz de empregar a violência, sendo, sobretudo, vítima comum da violência política. Bloom e Lokmanoglu (2023) questionam se os papéis das mulheres terão mudado nas organizações e grupos terroristas. As autoras entendem que os grupos terroristas têm vindo a aproveitar-se da sociedade estereotipada do Ocidente em relação ao género. O facto de o Ocidente continuar com uma visão estereotipada sobre a mulher permite aos grupos terroristas criar espaço para uma agência feminina.

Laster e Erez (2015) argumentam que o novo terrorismo, um terrorismo caracterizado pelo fundamentalismo religioso, ao trazer mulheres para as suas organizações, mulheres essas que assumem um papel ativo nos atos terroristas como

agentes e combatentes, refuta e desafia as teorias tradicionais que defendem a passibilidade e submissão do género feminino em culturas fundamentalistas.

Contraterrorismo

No campo do contraterrorismo, isto é, a gestão do medo causado pelos ataques e o impedir da disseminação de ideologias extremistas, combatendo a radicalização (Bossong, 2013, p. 22), procura-se identificar quais as estratégias de contraterrorismo existentes em diversos contextos geográficos, à escala global, internacional e nacional, isto é, como são aplicadas e quais as suas taxas de sucesso (LaFree & Ackerman, 2009). No entanto, a análise do sucesso e/ou fracasso das políticas de contraterrorismo da UE, assim como do papel da União enquanto ator de segurança, são ainda tópicos pouco abordados, segundo Argomaniz, Bures e Kaunert (2015).

O contraterrorismo adota diferentes linhas de ação, ou estratégias, perante os diferentes tipos de ameaças e de terrorismo (Rogers, 2018; Pillar, 2018). O contraterrorismo pode ser entendido em três abordagens: o contraterrorismo tradicional, no qual se inclui a ação da política, da inteligência e da segurança; o contraterrorismo militar, a ação das forças armadas; e o contraterrorismo em que se tenta identificar as motivações dos grupos terroristas e o ambiente, sociedade no qual esses grupos recrutam (Rogers, 2018, pp. 399-400). Nos países europeus, os governos desenvolvem medidas sociais, económicas e políticas para minimizar a possibilidade de os indivíduos encontrarem no terrorismo a única solução para as suas dificuldades (Pillar, 2018). Sjoberg (2015), por exemplo, concluiu que os Estados deveriam transferir o seu foco e atenção do terrorismo transnacional para o terrorismo na esfera doméstica do indivíduo, percebendo a violência doméstica como um ato de terrorismo.

Pillar (2018) argumenta que o contraterrorismo se encontra numa fase em que se dá primazia a medidas de pacificação ou resoluções de negociação. Nesta questão, as autoridades governamentais dividem-se: por exemplo, os EUA recusam qualquer negociação com terroristas, enquanto Itália está disposta à negociação para a sua segurança nacional.

As agendas de contraterrorismo no sistema internacional, segundo Griffin e Khalid (2022), podem ser entendidas como «genderizadas» e racializadas; as questões

de género são muitas vezes ignoradas e espelham um racismo especialmente dirigido à etnia árabe. Alimahomed-Wilson e Zahzah (2023) corroboram esta questão da islamofobia no contraterrorismo e dizem-nos ainda que existe também uma islamofobia de género no contraterrorismo.

Neste sentido, os estudos feministas defendem que quer os governos e organizações de contraterrorismo, quer os estudos de contraterrorismo, necessitam de discutir abordagens em que se inclua a mulher e o género, de forma a conseguir-se atingir uma igualdade de género (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2023; Rothermel & L. J. Shepherd, 2022). White (2020a; 2020b) sublinha ainda que não existe uma clara perceção sobre o que é o género nas medidas de contraterrorismo e como este afeta a construção da segurança, da violência e da sociedade, daí a importância do uso de uma lente de género para a construção de uma política de contraterrorismo eficaz.

Contraterrorismo da União Europeia

No debate em relação ao papel da UE no contraterrorismo, emergem diferentes perspetivas e abordagens. Uns consideram que a UE não teve um papel relevante nas primeiras décadas do século XXI (Keohane, 2007; Coolsaet, 2010). MacKenzie e Kaunert (2022) argumentam que tal afirmação não se aplica aos dias que correm, pois a UE tem vindo a desenvolver-se como um ator de contraterrorismo perante os contextos de ameaça e ataques terroristas que tem enfrentado.

A luta contra o terrorismo na UE ia refletir, inicialmente, a sua ação ao nível intergovernamental, evoluindo para a cooperação policial e judicial, levando a União a emergir como um ator internacional no contraterrorismo, papel esse que se deve à fortificação de políticas internas (Monar, 2015), O Tratado de Lisboa representou o ponto de viragem das políticas e ação do contraterrorismo da UE (Argomaniz, Bures & Kaunert, 2015). Após 2015, a UE procurou uma articulação entre as medidas internas e externas de contraterrorismo, articulação essa necessária para responder aos desafios colocados pelo terrorismo transnacional (Sellier, 2018) e pela nova ameaça, o terrorismo de extrema-direita (Makenzie & Kaunert, 2022). As políticas mais recentes dedicam-se ao combate à radicalização e ao financiamento do terrorismo (Cesari, 2006).

Com a Política Externa e de Segurança Comum e a Política Comum de Segurança e Defesa (PCSD), a UE procura uma cooperação, uma securitização coletiva e uma política comum de contraterrorismo entre todos os Estados-Membros (Sellier, 2018). Kaunert e Léonard (2019) destacam que, embora se procure a securitização coletiva, as medidas e políticas de contraterrorismo continuam a ser individualistas, isto é, os Estados-Membros dirigem as políticas de contraterrorismo para o contexto nacional. A PCSD é a cooperação de todos os Estados-Membros e instituições da União em matéria de segurança e defesa, caracterizada pela sua assimetria e fragmentação (Lonardo, 2023).

Género na segurança e no contraterrorismo

Muehlenhoff (2017) argumenta que, nas políticas de segurança da UE estão patentes as relações de poder de género, as dicotomias de género, o estereótipo de género e, embora a UE advogue os direitos das mulheres e a sua igualdade, as políticas de segurança acabam por ignorar a mulher, as desigualdades de género e como essa desigualdade contribui para a intensificação dos problemas associados ao conflito armado.

Através de uma lente feminista e de género, Withworth (2018) e Sjoberg (2009) concluem que a guerra contra o terrorismo é espelho de medidas, decisões e ações tomadas por uma política com um enquadramento masculinizado, subentendendo-se que, ao optar por este tipo de políticas masculinas, com viés masculino, fecha-se um leque de outras opções, opções essas conhecidas como estratégias de integração de género.

Nas últimas décadas, os Estados, as organizações e as instituições que tutelam a luta contra o terrorismo e o extremismo violento começaram a ter em conta as problemáticas do género e da igualdade de género. Os estudos têm vindo a analisar como tem sido feita essa integração das questões de género, da igualdade e representação da mulher nas políticas, programas e agendas de contraterrorismo, aos níveis nacional, regional, internacional e global (Rothermel & L. J. Shepherd, 2022; Asante & L. J. Shepherd, 2020; Deiana & McDonagh, 2018; Fisher & Lee, 2019; Heathcote, 2018; Muehlenhoff, 2017; Ortals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2016; Ortals &

Poloni-Staudinger, 2018; Patel, 2022; Rothermel, 2020; Rothermel, 2022; True, 2016; Trysstad, 2009; White, 2020a; Sjoberg, 2009).

Esta integração do género e da mulher é conduzida pela agenda da WPS, a agenda que mais advoga a mulher e o género, mas a sua eficácia não alcança todas as fronteiras (Aoláin, 2016; Asante & L. J. Shepherd, 2020; Holvikivi & Reeves, 2020; Lorentzen, 2021). White (2022) reconhece que as políticas de contraterrorismo, embora tenham tentado incorporar e integrar as mulheres, continuam a ser alheadas, alienadas no que toca ao género e, embora a WPS trouxesse as mulheres para o palco político da segurança, esta conduziu a um debate em relação à aplicação prática da agenda (White, 2020a).

Heathcote (2018) critica o foco da WPS no feminismo liberal e radical, ignorando ou esquecendo outras perspetivas feministas, como é o caso do feminismo pós-colonial que olha para os sujeitos mais periféricos, os grupos marginalizados; critica o legado colonialista que contorna a ONU, os seus membros e, conseqüentemente, a sua agenda, procurando contrariar a tradição colonialista de género e de vozes a serem ouvidas. Alimahomed-Wilson e Zahzah (2023) argumentam no mesmo sentido, sustentando que a WPS se afirma como um grande sucesso do feminismo liberal, por implementar uma retórica liberal.

Muehlenhoff (2017), através do feminismo pós-estruturalista, discute a construção de género da UE nas suas políticas de segurança e a integração da Resolução 1325 da ONU da WPS de 2015, questionando se, na União, existe uma governação neoliberal. Isto é, uma governação em que a igualdade de género é um recurso para o desenvolvimento económico, entendendo-se, também, que a economia e as racionalidades económicas estão presentes em todas as fases da vida de um indivíduo e da governação. Ainda, uma governação neoliberal não questiona as causas da guerra e o uso das forças armadas.

Deiana e McDonagh (2018) consideram necessária uma concetualização sobre o que é a WPS, tendo concluído que agentes da PCSD interpretam e aplicam a WPS de forma diferente, não havendo uma noção clara sobre a WPS e o que esta significa.

De entre as várias abordagens e perspectivas feministas no que concerne à questão do terrorismo e contraterrorismo articulado à WPS, encontram-se diversos estudos que optaram pelo institucionalismo. Entende-se por institucionalismo feminista a abordagem que considera que as instituições são resultado das dinâmicas e relações de género; este analisa a construção discursiva de género das instituições, considerando que, para percebermos uma instituição, devemos perceber como se dão as dinâmicas e discursos de género, os quais estão presentes na construção das instituições, das ideologias, dos atores, das práticas, etc. (Rothermel, 2022; Patel, 2022; Deiana & McDonagh, 2018; MacRae & Weiner, 2021). Rothermel (2022) apresenta o institucionalismo feminista como uma abordagem para as políticas e organismos de contraterrorismo, pois iria permitir a identificação de representações, construções e dinâmicas de género pré-existentes no contraterrorismo, como estas afetam as políticas e como se pode reintroduzir o género de uma forma eficaz. Patel (2022), à luz do institucionalismo feminista, e debruçando-se sobre os discursos e práticas de contraterrorismo e do que eles reproduzem acerca das mulheres e do género, conclui que existe uma instrumentalização do género. O número de políticas de contraterrorismo que integre e aplique o género desde a sua formulação à aplicação no terreno é reduzido, o que se encontra é uma instrumentalização do género nas narrativas de contraterrorismo, não há uma efetiva aplicação de uma abordagem sensível ao género.

Um debate mais recente na literatura feminista discute a possibilidade de as agendas WPS e P/CVE (*Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism*) representarem a instrumentalização da mulher e da sua agência, tornando-a numa ferramenta para combater o terrorismo, um meio para fins políticos (Lorentzen, 2021; Salman, 2015; Auchter, 2012). O P/CVE é trata-se de um dos pilares das estratégias de contraterrorismo, é o pilar que se foca na prevenção e combate à radicalização e à disseminação dos extremismos violentos.

Ao debate da instrumentalização soma-se o debate que traz para a esfera do terrorismo e contraterrorismo a questão dos direitos das mulheres (Harris & Milton, 2016; Carter, Rogers & Turner, 2023). Este debate coloca a possibilidade de usar a promoção dos direitos das mulheres para travar a escalada da radicalização e do

terrorismo, estabelecendo-se o paralelo de que os direitos humanos serão um “tampão” da escalada do terrorismo. Será que os direitos das mulheres serão uma estratégia eficaz de contraterrorismo? Harris e Milton (2016) testaram esta teoria, tendo concluído que tal relação não se reflete na prática; o reconhecimento e melhoria dos direitos das mulheres produzem efeitos distintos em diferentes contextos geográficos e sociais, e nos diferentes tipos de terrorismo. Embora defendam que os direitos das mulheres não serão a melhor estratégia de contraterrorismo, reconhecem que estes direitos permitem uma redução do terrorismo, pois uma igualdade social e uma igualdade de oportunidades reduzem a necessidade de recorrer a recursos violentos. Seguindo a mesma linha, Carter, Rogers e Turner (2023) defendem a tese de que a desigualdade que a mulher sente e sofre na sociedade está intimamente relacionada com o papel que esta pode ser forçada a adotar no terrorismo, vítima ou combatente terrorista. Para os autores, a solução para travar o terrorismo e até outras formas de violência política seria os Estados apostarem nos direitos e igualdade das mulheres, pois o terrorismo terá uma maior presença em sociedades em que a desigualdade de género é mais significativa e em sociedades onde existe um número elevado de violência dirigida às mulheres.

Estudos feministas têm avançado o debate da formulação e definição de políticas quer ao nível nacional quer ao nível internacional, através de perspetivas de género e de igualdade. Muitas políticas não apresentam neutralidade, muitas vezes apresentam um viés masculino, o que gera a desigualdade de género e a desigualdade social. Com este debate, procura-se trazer a mulher para as mesas de decisão (Lombardo, Meier & Verloo, 2017; Smith 2020; Ortobals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2016; Bustelo, 2017).

O facto de a política internacional ter desenvolvido estratégias de igualdade de género e normas pró-género permitiu olhar para outras questões para verificar a integração, envolvimento e agência da mulher, por exemplo, na violência política (Bloom & Lokmanoglu, 2023). Por outro lado, embora exista este viés de género em relação ao emprego da violência, Höglund (2003) aponta que, mesmo entendendo as mulheres como indivíduos pacíficos, estas continuaram a não ocupar muitos lugares nos processos de negociação de paz. Aponta-se a culpa para as normas de género, aquilo que se entende como masculino e como feminino na cultura.

Smith (2020) enaltece as lacunas na literatura sobre aqueles que tomam decisões, lacunas essas associadas à falta de representação das mulheres ou a mínima representação das mulheres; o papel da mulher na decisão política não tem sido abordado. Para Smith, as mulheres deveriam estar presentes ao mesmo nível dos homens nos processos de tomada de decisão. Falta à literatura o debate sobre a representação feminina no que diz respeito a esta dimensão nas mais diversas áreas políticas, onde se inclui também a tomada de decisão sobre o contraterrorismo (Ortbals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2016; Aggestam & True, 2020).

Jarvis e Lister (2017) defendem que, ao longo dos anos, a política social sofreu uma recolonização e o mesmo é comprovado pelas experiências reportadas por *focus-groups* do Reino Unido em relação ao contraterrorismo. Identificam nas políticas de contraterrorismo do Reino Unido quatro identidades: muçulmano, mulher, não afetado e alvo. Ortvals e Poloni-Staudinger (2018) e Patel (2022) entendem que a participação das mulheres em processos de tomada de decisão no campo do contraterrorismo conduz à adoção de *soft measures*, assumindo-se assim que a WPS e a P/CVE são estratégias de *soft power*.

Lorentzen (2021) e Ortvals e Poloni-Staudinger (2016) trabalham a mesma temática da presente investigação, porém com diferenças. Lorentzen (2021) trata a sociedade civil e as representações governamentais femininas do Mali no contexto da agenda da WPS e da agenda P/CVE. O principal objetivo de Ortvals e Poloni-Staudinger (2016) foi questionar se as mulheres estavam presentes nas políticas de contraterrorismo no País Basco e, quando presentes, qual foi o impacto do terrorismo na vida pessoal dessas mulheres. Também procuraram perceber como as mulheres envolvidas nas políticas de terrorismo entendem e interpretam as questões de género. Concluem que a representação feminina na tomada de decisão relativamente ao contraterrorismo no País Basco não é igualitária e, ainda, que as opiniões se dividem entre uma agência feminina e feminista. Uma agência feminina aponta para as mulheres que consideram que a sua agência se circunscreve à vida privada, ao papel de mãe e esposa, a sua agência é invisível ou consideram não ter qualquer agência; a agência feminista é aquela que destaca a importância dos direitos das mulheres, a emancipação

e empoderamento das mulheres em sociedades dominadas pelos homens, apontando para a agência política (Poloni-Staudinger & Ortvals, 2013, p. 79).

Embora Ortvals e Poloni-Staudinger (2016) e Lorentzen (2021) tenham estudado a questão das mulheres nas políticas de contraterrorismo, o trabalho destas autoras foca-se apenas nas elites do País Basco e do Mali, enquanto a presente investigação aborda a UE e as suas políticas de contraterrorismo, concentrando-se nas elites políticas femininas da União.

Após esta revisão da literatura, entende-se que os estudos feministas concluem que a sociedade, a política, a academia, o terrorismo e o contraterrorismo se encontram repletos de narrativas estereotipadas pelo género, pela cegueira da dicotomia racional/emocional, legítimo/ilegítimo. Conclui-se que a mulher tem agência enquanto ator da violência política, enquanto terrorista, combatente; tem agência indireta enquanto ativista, enquanto elemento das forças de segurança, enquanto decisora política. A mulher tem agência na violência política, sendo também uma vítima da violência política.

2. O feminismo na segurança

O feminismo liberal e institucionalista

Este estudo tem como lente orientadora a teoria feminista das RI, adotando-se a base metodológica associada a uma investigação feminista. A teoria feminista surge após a Guerra Fria, numa vaga de teorias críticas, como a Teoria Crítica, o pós-estruturalismo e o pós-colonialismo que questionam as teorias tradicionais das RI. Uma primeira vaga do feminismo focou-se na exclusão dos indivíduos como agentes das teorias tradicionais; na agência da mulher na política internacional; e na introdução da relevância das relações de género nas RI. A segunda aplica analiticamente o género e a feminilidade, o que revela a ausência da mulher em diversos contextos políticos e geográficos, quer no campo da segurança, quer no campo da política interna e externa. A terceira vaga de feminismo caracteriza-se pela sua articulação com outras bases teóricas, por exemplo, o feminismo pós-colonialista, o eco-feminismo, o feminismo pós-modernista, o feminismo da Teoria Crítica, o feminismo liberal, o feminismo radical e o feminismo construtivista. Introduce também o género como categoria empírica e adota uma abordagem normativa para a transformação das agendas políticas internacionais e globais (Sjoberg, 2009, 2018; Masters & Zalewski, 2023; Tickner & True, 2018; True, 2022; Johnston, 2022).

As três vagas resultam no feminismo empírico, analítico e normativo, três abordagens que se aplicarão no presente estudo: tornar visível a agência da mulher e as relações de género no contraterrorismo (feminismo empírico), a desconstrução das dicotomias, das categorias e das concepções de género no contraterrorismo (feminismo analítico) e o desenho de uma agenda futura para o contraterrorismo (feminismo normativo) (True, 2022).

O feminismo é uma lente que procura reconhecer, compreender e questionar as relações de poder desiguais entre o homem e a mulher, as concepções de homem e mulher, assim como transformar as relações de poder de género, já que estes aspetos determinam a agência e posição da mulher nas relações internacionais e, neste caso, no contraterrorismo (Kenny & MacKay, 2018, p. 94; Cook, 2019). Uma investigação

feminista procura reconhecer as lacunas no conhecimento tradicional e nas políticas, e reconhecer a cegueira de género (Johnston, 2022; Tickner & True, 2018). «*Feminism is the study of the place and roles of women in social and political life [...] Feminism's main premise is the refusal to accept social inequalities based on genders*» (Gasztold, 2020, p. 13).

Adota-se a abordagem do feminismo à segurança através da qual se aplica a lente de género (Sjoberg, 2018; True, 2022; White, 2020a) ao objeto de estudo, articulando-se o feminismo liberal e institucionalista. O feminismo liberal, profundamente ligado ao feminismo empírico e ao empirismo, tem em vista a integração da mulher nas estruturas políticas e sociais (Sjoberg, 2018), tornar visível a agência feminina, as relações de género e o género enquanto uma categoria, ou seja, «*look for women in the institutions and practices of global politics and observe how their presence (or lack thereof) affects and is affected by international policy-making*» (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2013, p. 208).

O feminismo institucionalista entende que as instituições não são neutras, resultando da construção e das dinâmicas de género, isto é, a instituição constrói o género e o género molda a instituição (Lowndes, 2019; MacRae & Weiner, 2021; Aggestam & True, 2020; Deiana & McDonagh, 2018). Este tipo de feminismo enaltece a relação entre os atores e as instituições na construção do género: «*[p]olitical institutions reflect but also help constitute the roles, relations and identities of women and men in the political arena*» (Lowndes, 2019, pp. 543-544). Essa conceção molda todo o desenvolvimento político e estratégico e a ação. Os estudos têm vindo a demonstrar como o viés de género é construído pelas intuições e atores políticos e, paralelamente, existe uma influência do viés na elaboração das políticas (Rothermel, 2022). O feminismo institucionalista procura perceber como os atores e as instituições são «genderizadas», «*looking at how they reproduce and consolidate gendered institutions through enacting rules but also generate change through adapting, resisting or intentionally reforming institutional rules*» (Lowndes, 2019, p. 545). Fá-lo através de quatro elementos identificadores: «*rules about gender*», identificar políticas relevantes e/ou sensíveis ao género; «*rules with gendered effects*», como essas políticas empoderam ou limitam os atores; «*gendered actors working with rules*», como regras, normas neutras ao género

podem causar efeitos à luz do género; «*gendered outcomes of action shaped by rules*», como os atores de género desenvolvem instituições baseadas na conceção de género (Lowndes, 2019, pp. 545-547; MacRae & Weiner, 2021, pp. 58-59).

Métodos, ontologia e epistemologias

Tickner (2006) defende que não existe um só método de investigação feminista, o que distingue a investigação é «*a distinctive methodological perspective or framework which fundamentally challenges the often unseen androcentric or masculine biases in the way that knowledge has traditionally been constructed*» (p. 20). Isto é, uma investigação feminista apresenta uma perspetiva que questiona e critica o conhecimento produzido com viés e dicotomias de género. Krystalli (2023, pp. 39-40) aponta para uma das características da metodologia feminista, a reflexibilidade, isto é, o reconhecimento de que o conhecimento é socialmente construído e que o poder também se manifesta durante o processo de investigação, a nossa relação enquanto investigadores com o poder afeta a investigação.

Na ontologia feminista, compreende-se o mundo e as relações de poder através de unidades de análise empíricas e analíticas, como os Estados e indivíduos, as instituições e organizações, e o género e as mulheres, entre outros, tendo como finalidade a transformação dessas relações de poder (True, 2022; Tickner, 2006; Johnston, 2022). «*Feminist ontologies (...) expand our notions of World politics to include the personal and previously invisible sphere, and that start from the perspective that subjects are relational (rather than autonomous) and that the world is constantly changing (rather than static)* » (Ackerly, Stern & True, 2006).

O que distingue uma metodologia feminista é esta ter o propósito de contribuir para a promoção de uma visão do futuro através da imagem do presente; uma análise do presente permitirá desenhar uma visão para o futuro e qual o potencial desta para a mudança (Tickner, 2006; Ackerly, Stern & True, 2006).

O feminismo apresenta três tipos de epistemologias: o empirismo, o *stand point* e o pós-modernismo (Ackerly, Stern & True, 2006). Para o presente estudo articula-se o feminismo empírico e o *stand point*. O feminismo empírico adota um quadro positivista que reconhece o conhecimento através da experiência, mas entende que não existe

neutralidade na perspetiva individual, afastando-se assim do empirismo tradicional que assume a neutralidade na análise do objeto de estudo. O feminismo empírico baseia-se no liberalismo e na ideia da igualdade entre os indivíduos (Gasztold, 2020, pp. 23-24). O feminismo *stand point* conhece a realidade social através do prisma da experiência das mulheres (Gasztold, 2020, p. 24).

Esta investigação resulta da conjugação de vários métodos. Através da análise da literatura científica acerca do contraterrorismo, terrorismo e género; através da análise de fontes documentais da UE que remetem para o contraterrorismo, terrorismo e género, num período compreendido entre 2004 e 2022, a baliza temporal estabelecida para a investigação; e através da realização de vinte entrevistas e a análise das mesmas. Os dados recolhidos das entrevistas foram depois triangulados com os dados dos documentos da UE e das suas agências, e com a literatura científica.

Na presente investigação, realiza-se uma análise qualitativa de conteúdo para as entrevistas e para as fontes documentais, em que se identificam os temas e padrões dos dados. Análise de conteúdo qualitativa é um método usado para descrever e interpretar os dados qualitativos, através da criação de categorias, temas ou tópicos que se foquem em aspetos e elementos relacionados com a questão de investigação; um método sistemático e flexível (Schreier, 2014; Lamont, 2015; Bardin, 2012).

Fontes documentais

Entre 2004 e 2022 a União publicou diversos documentos referentes à sua estratégia de contraterrorismo, as fontes em questão são agrupadas em três categorias temáticas de análise: a estratégia de contraterrorismo da UE; o combate à radicalização e ao recrutamento; e, por fim, os mais recentes desafios contemporâneos do contraterrorismo.

Na categoria sobre a estratégia de contraterrorismo da UE, analisaram-se os documentos que formulam o quadro orientador da ação de contraterrorismo da UE, em que são desenhadas as políticas, as medidas e a legislação. A *Declaração de combate ao terrorismo* de 2004 (Conselho da União Europeia, 2004) é o documento que enquadra a posição da UE na luta contra o terrorismo global; a *Estratégia da UE Contraterrorismo* de 2005 (Conselho da União, 2005) define o quadro estratégico de contraterrorismo das

duas últimas décadas; a *Diretiva (UE) 2017/541* apresenta a versão mais recente do quadro legal e legislativo sobre as infrações e atividades terroristas; a *Agenda da UE da luta contra o terrorismo* (Comissão Europeia, 2020a) pauta o quadro mais recente dos pilares de ação de contraterrorismo; e a ação externa de prevenção e de contraterrorismo da UE trata a atividade de contraterrorismo em países terceiros (Conselho da União Europeia, 2020).

No período temporal em que se trabalha há um número significativo de fontes que desenham o combate à radicalização e ao recrutamento, entre as quais, *Prevenir a radicalização que leva ao terrorismo e ao extremismo violento – Reforçar a resposta da UE* (Comissão Europeia, 2013), *Apoio à prevenção da radicalização que conduz ao extremismo violento* (Comissão Europeia, 2016a), e *Revised EU Strategy for Combating Radicalization and Recruitment to Terrorism* (Conselho da União Europeia, 2014). Somando-se ainda a estratégia para travar a radicalização e recrutamento de combatentes terroristas estrangeiros com cidadanias europeias (Conselho da União Europeia, 2015a).

As fontes referentes aos mais recentes desafios do contraterrorismo da UE visam o terrorismo online, com o *Regulamento (UE) 2021/784* (União Europeia, 2021), que define as medidas legislativas e jurídicas que se adotam para combater a presença e difusão de conteúdos terroristas nas plataformas digitais e redes sociais; as ameaças híbridas, com o *Quadro comum em matéria de luta contra as ameaças híbridas uma resposta da UE* (Comissão Europeia, 2016b), em que a UE procura combater a emergência de ameaças híbridas, nas quais se englobam as emergentes configurações das atividades terroristas; e o impacto da pandemia de COVID-19 no terrorismo e no contraterrorismo (Conselho da União Europeia, 2021).

Para além das três categorias acima referidas, foi ainda criada uma outra em que se analisam as fontes documentais da UE referentes ao género e à abordagem de género na segurança, publicadas entre 2018 e 2020. O *Women, Peace and Security – Council Conclusions* (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018) e o *EU Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) 2019-2024* (Conselho da União Europeia, 2019) são duas fontes documentais que introduzem a agenda da ONU no contexto da União. O *Terceiro Plano de Ação da EU em Matéria de Igualdade de Género (GAP III)* (Comissão Europeia, 2020c),

Uma União da Igualdade: Estratégia para a Igualdade de Género 2020-2025 (Comissão Europeia, 2020d) e *Igualdade de género na política externa e de segurança da UE* (Parlamento Europeu, 2020) visam a agenda da UE de igualdade de género e de promoção de uma abordagem de género nas suas políticas, instituições e agências, incluindo a estratégia e as medidas de integração na PCSD e no contraterrorismo.

A par das fontes documentais da UE foram analisados alguns documentos da ONU sobre a WPS. Trata-se da *Resolução 2242* (UNSC, 2015a), do relatório do Conselho de Segurança da ONU sobre a aplicação prática da agenda (UNSC, 2015b) e do documento que apresenta um quadro de medidas, um guião orientador para a integração do género na segurança dos Estados-Membros (UNSC, 2017), documentos que permitem uma maior compreensão sobre quais os principais objetivos e linhas gerais da agenda WPS.

Entrevistas

Através das entrevistas, o feminismo procura aprender sobre as experiências e as perspetivas das participantes (DeVault & Gross, 2006, p. 173). Uma entrevista que siga as metodologias feministas tem de ser dirigida às experiências das mulheres, enaltecer os seus conhecimentos, preocupações e opiniões (Harran, 2023, p. 660). *«Interviewing is a valued method for feminist researchers, allowing them to gain insight into the lives and experiences of their respondents and potentially helping others to understand a group of women»* (McHugh, 2020, p. 218).

Para esta investigação foram, então, conduzidas vinte entrevistas semiestruturadas, em inglês, através de meios telemáticos de comunicação síncrona (Zoom e WebEx). Optou-se por entrevistas semiestruturadas pois permitem uma liberdade de discurso ao entrevistado e a triangulação de dados (Lamont, 2015). Para as entrevistas foi selecionado um grupo da elite, *«[e]lite interviews also allow researchers to trace the policy process that underpins key political events»* (Boucher, 2017, p. 99), da elite académica, um grupo que fornecerá conhecimento especializado, reconhecendo-se que esse conhecimento será sempre limitado e parcial às experiências pessoais (Lokot, 2021; Landman, 2006; Johnston, 2022).

As entrevistas foram realizadas com professoras, doutoras e investigadoras que trabalham com as temáticas do terrorismo, do contraterrorismo e da UE; são mulheres do mundo académico de diferentes regiões da Europa e do globo, de diferentes portfólios teóricos, que trabalham ou trabalharam com as temáticas em análise. Foram selecionadas dado o seu contributo científico nos estudos de terrorismo e contraterrorismo, e pela diversidade dos seus portfólios de investigação, que englobam tópicos como a segurança internacional, a defesa, conflitos, a violência política, o ciberterrorismo, a radicalização, a propaganda terrorista, o género, a WPS, os processos de paz e os direitos humanos.

Apesar de se ter optado por entrevistar um grupo da elite académica, reconhece-se que a perspetiva da elite política do contraterrorismo da UE poderia contribuir significativamente para a análise da integração institucional e política do género no contraterrorismo, contudo, tal não foi possível devido à dificuldade de reunir um número de participantes relevante para a investigação. Tal como Ortals e Polini-Staudinger (2016) referem, as elites políticas são relutantes em abordar temas de segurança, como o terrorismo e o contraterrorismo.

As entrevistas tiveram, em média, a duração de 26 minutos, tendo sido conduzidas de abril a maio de 2024. Às participantes foi garantido o anonimato e a confidencialidade, de forma a permitir uma maior liberdade de expressão. Não foi imposta qualquer definição, legal ou académica, de terrorismo, de contraterrorismo ou de género nas entrevistas. As entrevistadas tiveram a liberdade de adotar a sua própria conceção de terrorismo, de contraterrorismo e de género, o que permitiu uma maior diversidade de perspetivas.

Para as entrevistas foi formulado um guião composto por onze questões (Anexo 1), que articulam as temáticas do terrorismo, contraterrorismo e género. As questões dividem-se em dois grandes blocos temáticos: o contraterrorismo, numa perspetiva global (Anexo 1, questões 1 a 5), e o contraterrorismo da UE (Anexo 1, questões 6 a 11). O bloco que cobre o contexto geral do contraterrorismo subdivide-se em dois tópicos: em questões cujo objetivo é perceber a agência feminina, a agência feminina no terrorismo e agência da mulher no contraterrorismo, e ainda, como a entrevistada entende a sua agência no campo do contraterrorismo; as outras questões remetem para

a dimensão do género no contraterrorismo, procurando-se perceber se existe uma instrumentalização do género e da mulher no contraterrorismo e pelos atores de contraterrorismo. O bloco dedicado ao contraterrorismo da UE subdivide-se em três tópicos: questões que permitem compreender qual a perspetiva das entrevistadas e como estas entendem a estratégia de contraterrorismo da UE; um conjunto de questões que cobrem a integração da abordagem de género no contraterrorismo da UE, se na perspetiva das entrevistas a UE aplica um quadro de igualdade e sensível ao género nas suas estratégias e programas de contraterrorismo; com a questão 10 (Anexo 1) procura-se desenhar uma agenda de propostas futuras para as estratégias de contraterrorismo da UE.

Do mesmo modo que se aplicou a análise qualitativa indutiva de conteúdo nas fontes documentais com a criação de categorias, o mesmo processo é aplicado à análise dos dados das entrevistas. Agruparam-se, assim, os dados das entrevistas por temas de análise: os elementos e características que definem e estruturam o contraterrorismo da UE; a instrumentalização do género e da mulher no contraterrorismo; a integração da abordagem do género no contraterrorismo da UE; e o reconhecimento dos papéis das mulheres e da agência feminina, quer no terrorismo, quer no contraterrorismo.

3. A União Europeia, um ator global de contraterrorismo

O contraterrorismo das duas últimas décadas reflete a tradição e retórica da Guerra Global ao Terror encetada pelos EUA no pós-11 de setembro, um contraterrorismo que combate essencialmente a ameaça do extremismo violento islâmico. Contudo, as ameaças não se limitam a esse extremismo religioso; de uma forma diversificada, os extremismos violentos têm vindo a escalar em diferentes polos políticos, desde a extrema-direita à extrema-esquerda (White, 2020b; Brattberg & Rhinard, 2014).

O contraterrorismo antes do 11 de setembro era muito centrado na segurança do Estado (Entrevistas 5 e 7), mas hoje apresenta uma configuração diferente:

the situation we have now is that a lot of counterterrorism efforts are aiming at preventing political violence from taking place, even preventing people from finding violent ideologies attractive, so that's a very different operating directive (Entrevista 5);

incorporating ideas around the leveraging of the development and prevention efforts to address the drivers of terrorism (Entrevista 7).

As políticas de contraterrorismo procuram combater e, em última instância, terminar com as insurgências terroristas à escala nacional e internacional, de grupos e indivíduos terroristas: «*[c]ounterterrorism has become primarily an effort directed against non-state terrorist groups. Most of the principles of counterterrorism, however, apply to both state and non-state varieties of terrorism*» (Pillar, 2018, p. 409). Este combate é feito através de medidas de *hard* e *soft power*, medidas que tentam fazer face a uma ameaça de longa-duração. Estratégias de *hard power* são aquelas direcionadas ao inimigo, passando muitas vezes pela intervenção militar, da inteligência, polícia, podendo também passar pela diplomacia coerciva, por exemplo, o desmantelamento de um grupo terrorista ou de um campo de treino. As medidas *soft power* são direcionadas à sociedade, passando por medidas de contra radicalização, desradicalização, combate às desigualdades sociais, à segurança das fronteiras e das infraestruturas, entre outras (Cook, 2020; Sinai, 2023; Arce & Sandler, 2005; White, 2020a, 2020b).

A relação da UE com o terrorismo e o contraterrorismo antecede os eventos do 11 de setembro 2001 e do 11 de março de 2004. Segundo a literatura (Kaunert,

MacKenzie & Léonard, 2022; Kaunert, 2009; Argomaniz, 2011; Bossong, 2013; Baker-Beall, 2016; Coolsaet, 2010), as origens do contraterrorismo da UE remontam à década de 1970, com a criação de grupos de cooperação contra o terrorismo, como o *European Political Cooperation* e o Grupo TREVI (*Terrorisme, Radicalisme, Extrémisme et Violence Internationale*); seguindo-se com o Tratado de Maastricht (1992) a introdução da luta contra o terrorismo como uma questão da segurança da UE, com estratégias que tinham em vista combater a atividade de grupos como o *ETA* (Espanha), do *IRA* (Irlanda e Reino Unido), das Brigadas Vermelhas (Itália) e do *Red Army Faction* (Alemanha).

Porém, após o 11 de setembro, o terrorismo é colocado como uma das prioridades da segurança internacional, e será em 2004, com os ataques de 11 de março em Madrid, que o combate ao terrorismo se insere, de forma mais vinculada, como um pilar da agenda de segurança e defesa da UE. A sua posição no contraterrorismo global é consequência de duas décadas de evolução, de aprendizagem, de sucessos e de fracassos; vinte anos de criação e desenvolvimento de instrumentos legais, instituições, agências e políticas dedicadas a combater o terrorismo. Hoje, a UE afirma ser um ator de contraterrorismo global, «[c]ounter-terrorism has increasingly become a policy issue for the EU, whilst the Union has come to be recognized as a significant counter-terrorism actor by others» (Kaunert, MacKenzie & Léonard, 2022, pp-19-20), pois, mesmo não se apresentando como um Estado tradicional, tem um impacto na política global (Brattberg & Rhinard, 2014). Procurando fazer face a terrorismos do tipo jihadista, etno-nacionalista e separatista, de extrema-esquerda e anarquista, de extrema-direita e de agentes isolados (Europol, 2005-2023).

Durante os anos 2000, o contraterrorismo global movia-se de forma multilateral e muito marcado pelo 11 de setembro; já na década de 2010, o foco foi direcionado para a prevenção da radicalização e para a forte atividade terrorista no Iraque, Síria e Afeganistão; desde sensivelmente 2015-2017, uma coordenação entre o *nexus* de paz e desenvolvimento humanitário tem sido aplicada (Rothermel, 2022). No contexto da UE, podemos traduzir a evolução do contraterrorismo em três fases semelhantes: 2004-2010, marcada pelo pós-11 de setembro e pós-11 de março, onde se estrutura uma estratégia de combate ao terrorismo; 2010-2017, período marcado pelo fenómeno dos combatentes terroristas estrangeiros; 2017-2022, fase em que a UE enfrenta novos

desafios tecnológicos e consequências da COVID-19, adotando uma nova estratégia de contraterrorismo. Entre 2015 e 2022 podemos ainda estabelecer uma outra fase, uma fase em que se introduz a WPS e o *gender mainstreaming*, fase essa que irá ser desenvolvida posteriormente no *Capítulo 4*.

3.1. O terrorismo na perspectiva da União e a questão da soberania

A abordagem de contraterrorismo será sempre orientada segundo o conceito, noção ou ideia de terrorismo (White, 2023) e, tal como mencionado anteriormente, um dos debates centrais nos estudos de terrorismo é a questão de definir o terrorismo.

Ao longo dos anos, a UE foi adaptando a definição de terrorismo às condições atuais do fenómeno. Segundo Kaunert, MacKenzie e Léonard (2022), a definição da UE de terrorismo foi concebida em duas dimensões, uma objetiva e outra subjetiva. Isto é, a dimensão objetiva define o que é que se pode considerar como atos de terrorismo ou atividade terrorista do ponto de vista da criminalidade, listando-se os crimes associados à atividade terrorista; já a dimensão subjetiva refere quais são os objetivos e os efeitos pretendidos dessas atividades terroristas.

A definição mais recente de terrorismo, que se encontra presente no artigo 3.º da Diretiva (UE) 2017/541 (União Europeia, 2013, p. 13), expressa esta mesma dualidade que Kaunert, MacKenzie e Léonard (2022) identificam, em que o terrorismo é percebido como uma série de infrações terroristas que conduzem a um objetivo final:

- a) As ofensas contra a vida humana suscetíveis de causar a morte;*
- b) As ofensas contra a integridade física da pessoa;*
- c) O rapto ou a tomada de reféns;*
- d) A destruição em massa de instalações governamentais ou públicas, dos sistemas de transporte, de infraestruturas, incluindo os sistemas informáticos, de plataformas fixas situadas na plataforma continental, de locais públicos ou propriedades privadas, suscetível de pôr em perigo vidas humanas ou de provocar prejuízos económicos consideráveis;*
- e) A captura de aeronaves, navios ou outros meios de transporte coletivo ou de mercadorias;*
- f) O fabrico, a posse, a aquisição, o transporte, o fornecimento ou a utilização de explosivos ou armas, incluindo armas químicas, biológicas, radiológicas ou nucleares, assim como a investigação e o desenvolvimento de armas químicas, biológicas, radiológicas ou nucleares;*
- g) A libertação de substâncias perigosas ou a provocação de incêndios, inundações ou explosões que tenham por efeito pôr em perigo vidas humanas;*

h) A perturbação ou a interrupção do abastecimento de água, de eletricidade ou de qualquer outro recurso natural fundamental que tenha por efeito pôr em perigo vidas humanas;

Constitui-se, assim, como infração terrorista a associação a um grupo terrorista, o recrutamento, dar treino, receber treino, financiamento, instigar atos terroristas, entre outros (União Europeia, 2017, pp. 13-15).

As ofensas terroristas têm como objetivos:

intimidar gravemente uma população, compelir de forma indevida os poderes públicos ou uma organização internacional a praticarem ou a absterem-se de praticar um ato, ou desestabilizar gravemente ou destruir as estruturas políticas, constitucionais, económicas ou sociais fundamentais de um país ou de uma organização internacional (União Europeia, 2017, p. 7).

A UE clarifica a sua posição em relação às questões de religião e do terrorismo, que o terrorismo não deve ser associado a nenhuma religião, nacionalidade e ou etnia. O terrorismo é resultado de ideologias políticas, extremistas e violentas (Conselho da União Europeia, 2017).

Tendo em conta este debate que atravessa os campos político, legal e académico, a União também entende que, para o contraterrorismo conseguir obter resultados, é necessário harmonizar as definições de terrorismo e infrações terroristas nos Estados-Membros (União Europeia, 2017). De forma a alcançar esta harmonia, os Estados-Membros estabelecem no campo nacional definições sobre o terrorismo como «*acts which aim to intimidate populations, compel states to comply with the perpetrators' demands and/or destabilize the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or international organization*» (Europol, 2013, p. 5).

No sentido desta harmonia normativa, por exemplo, na atividade de contraterrorismo da Europol e na produção dos relatórios anuais TE-SAT (*European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report*), as atividades terroristas são todas aquelas que os Estados-Membros identificaram à luz das suas estratégias nacionais: «*therefore reflects Member-States' definitions of terrorist offences according to national legislation, which may be broader (but not narrower) than the definitions set out in Directive (EU) 2017/541*» (Europol, 2023, p. 8).

É na sequência da definição de terrorismo e da aplicação de uma estratégia comum da UE que surge a questão da soberania dos Estados-Membros sobre a segurança.

A coletivização da segurança e do contraterrorismo da UE tem vindo, assim, a ser um longo processo, um processo que é desafiado pela visão acima descrita e pelo facto de que cada Estado-Membro tem soberania sobre a sua própria segurança, podendo ou não adotar nas suas políticas nacionais as medidas e políticas apresentadas pela União (Kaunert, MacKenzie & Léonard, 2022; Argomaniz, Bures & Kaunert, 2015; Monar, 2007). A integração não é obrigatória, a soberania sobre a segurança e o terrorismo pertence ao Estado, somando-se o contexto histórico e político: «*[m]ost of the powers and capabilities in the field of counter-terrorism still remain with the Member-States, are subject to national threat perceptions and political discourses and [...] notions of national sovereignty*» (Monar, 2007, p. 293).

3.2. A evolução estratégica do contraterrorismo (2004-2022)

3.2.1. 2004-2010: O pós-Madrid e os primeiros passos enquanto ator global de contraterrorismo

A Declaração de combate ao terrorismo (2004)

No final de março de 2004, a UE apresenta a sua Declaração de combater o terrorismo (Conselho da União Europeia, 2004), uma resposta aos ataques terroristas de 11 de março em Madrid, Espanha, reivindicados pelo *ETA*. Com este ataque, a União enfrentou pela primeira vez os efeitos da nova vaga terrorista que se sentia no pós-11 de setembro (Monar, 2015; Argomaniz, Bures & Kaunert, 2015; Kaunert & Léonard, 2019; Coolsaet, 2010). O ataque de Madrid obrigou a União a encarar o terrorismo com um carácter urgente no contexto da segurança europeia, em que «*[n]o country in the world can consider itself immune*» (Conselho da União Europeia, 2004, p2).

A Declaração de Combate ao Terrorismo (Conselho da União Europeia, 2004) põe em prática a estratégia desenhada previamente em 2001 no rescaldo do 11 de setembro. Lançando-se a proposta para o desenvolvimento de uma abordagem comum,

a grande premissa passa pela cooperação dos Estados-Membros, cooperação na resposta, prevenção, proteção e perseguição (Bossong, 2013). Esta declaração reafirma a intenção de acompanhar as propostas em matéria de contraterrorismo do Conselho de Segurança da ONU.

A Declaração apresentava sete objetivos para estabelecer a estratégia comum (Conselho da União Europeia, 2004, p. 9): alcançar um consenso internacional ao nível das ações de contraterrorismo e de partilha de informações e Inteligência; combater o financiamento ao terrorismo; reforçar as divisões, agências e instituições de contraterrorismo na União; reforçar a segurança nas fronteiras e nos meios de transportes (aeronaves e caminhos de ferro, uma prioridade após o 11 de setembro e Madrid); reforçar a capacidade de resposta a ataques terroristas; combater a radicalização e compreender os fatores de radicalização; cooperação internacional e ação externa de contraterrorismo. Um reforço do contraterrorismo à escala doméstica e a introdução da dimensão externa de cooperação com países terceiros (Cesari, 2006; Kaunert, MacKenzie & Léonard, 2022).

Uma das principais medidas inovadoras é a criação do cargo de Coordenador de Contraterrorismo (Conselho da União Europeia, 2004, p. 14), cargo que supervisionará e mediará o diálogo entre as diferentes instituições, órgãos, agências e delegações dos Estados-Membros no que concerne à estratégia de contraterrorismo. O Coordenador terá ainda a responsabilidade de produzir relatórios que avaliem a aplicação da estratégia e as atividades de contraterrorismo, demonstrando quais os pontos a melhorar e ou reforçar, os mesmos contemplarão diferentes propostas e abordagens a adotar (Kaunert, MacKenzie & Léonard, 2022, pp. 46-47). O primeiro Coordenador de Contraterrorismo, Gijs de Vries, ocupou o cargo entre 2004 e 2007, seguindo-se-lhe Gilles de Kerchove (2021-2024), estando o cargo atualmente nas mãos de Bartjan Wegter.

A Estratégia: Prevenir, Proteger, Perseguir, Responder (2005)

Ainda no rescaldo do ataque de Madrid, a UE viu-se novamente sobre um estado de alerta e emergência, já que a 7 de julho de 2005 Londres é alvo de quatro ataques terroristas, ataques perpetrados por bombistas-suicidas, afiliados à Al-Qaeda, em

transportes, metros e autocarro (Coolsaet, 2010; Kaunert & Léonard, 2019; Monar, 2015; Argomaniz, Bures & Kaunert, 2015; Brattberg & Rhinard, 2014). Ataques que conduzem à produção e implementação, a 30 de novembro de 2005, da Estratégia da UE de Contraterrorismo (Conselho da União Europeia, 2005). Com este documento, a União compromete-se a combater o terrorismo para lá das suas fronteiras, à escala global, apresentando-se, segundo Martín (2017), pela primeira vez, como um ator global. O documento apresenta pela primeira vez o terrorismo como um ato criminal, dá-se a criminalização de qualquer tipo de atividade terrorista (Monar, 2015, p. 337).

A Estratégia assenta em quatro pilares: *Prevenir, Proteger, Perseguir e Responder* (Conselho da União Europeia, 2005). O pilar da Prevenção é aquele dirigido à radicalização, à identificação e intercetação das causas que levam um indivíduo a radicalizar-se, um trabalho que se desenvolve na cooperação internacional. A Proteção é a dimensão que identifica e avalia as vulnerabilidades da segurança, procurando reforçar e modernizar a segurança da sociedade e das infraestruturas. O terceiro pilar, o Perseguir, consiste em identificar, investigar e, como o nome indica, perseguir aqueles que perpetraram os ataques, indireta ou diretamente; tendo, também, em vista o desmantelamento das operações e organizações terroristas, assim como o financiamento ao terrorismo. O último pilar, Responder, engloba todas as ações que são tomadas em resposta a um ataque, a coordenação e cooperação das respostas e o minimizar das consequências, procurando apoiar as vítimas do terrorismo.

A par dos quatro pilares, a questão da migração assume uma maior importância no contexto da segurança, as políticas de migração articulam-se pela primeira vez com o contraterrorismo. A gestão das fronteiras externas da UE está sob a alçada da agência Frontex, que a partir de 2005 passa a ter em conta o movimento do terrorismo no âmbito do pilar Proteção, através do SIS, Sistema de Informação Schengen, e das bases de dados sobre passageiros (Conselho da União Europeia, 2005, pp. 10-11). Uma relação que se irá intensificar com a escalada do terrorismo nos anos que se seguem (Argomaniz, Bures & Kaunert, 2015; Coolsaet, 2010).

Dada a importância que a prevenção representa na luta contra o terrorismo, este pilar recebe ainda em 2005 a sua própria estratégia, a *EU Strategy for Combating Radicalization and Recruitment to Terrorism*, sofrendo ao longo dos anos revisões e

atualizações (Conselho da União Europeia, 2014). Neste sentido, este tópico sobre a prevenção será desenvolvido com maior detalhe numa secção posterior (ver 3.3.2. A *Prevenção da Radicalização e o P/CVE*).

Os ataques de 2004 e 2005 representaram o momento em que a UE «*become[s] over more active in the field of counter-terrorism*» (Baker-Beall, 2016, p.1). A Declaração (Conselho da União Europeia, 2004) e a Estratégia (Conselho da União Europeia, 2005) são os dois documentos fundadores do contraterrorismo da UE do século XXI, dois documentos que orientam as futuras estratégias e ações de contraterrorismo. Embora se estabeleça o carácter de emergência e de retórica de luta contra o terrorismo, a implementação e ações de contraterrorismo revelaram um défice ao nível das medidas a longo-prazo, este défice é uma consequência da falta de articulação entre as diferentes políticas de segurança e entre as dimensões interna e externa, provocando um atraso na implementação das medidas. O défice será combatido com a aprendizagem e cooperação entre as instituições, as políticas e os Estados (Bossong, 2013, pp. 166-168).

3.2.2. 2010-2017: O fenómeno dos combatentes terroristas estrangeiros

A partir de 2011, a União começa a manifestar uma revisão da sua estratégia. Reconhece que uma abordagem tradicional ao terrorismo já não é eficaz, o tradicional contraterrorismo já não tem as ferramentas necessárias para fazer frente às configurações atuais da atividade terrorista, é necessário adotar abordagens mais amplas, multilaterais, multidimensionais e multidisciplinares (Argomaniz, Bures & Kaunert, 2015; Baker-Beall, 2016).

Como referido anteriormente, em 2005 é introduzida a medida de *soft power* de migração, em que se inclui o controlo da entrada e saída de indivíduos, recursos financeiros e materiais nas fronteiras. Este controlo e segurança das fronteiras é reforçado e intensificado com o grande fluxo de circulação de indivíduos radicalizados para espaços de conflito e de atividade terrorista, exigindo à UE uma maior cooperação internacional e um repensar da segurança em matéria da migração (Martín, 2017).

Em 2011, com o *EU Action Plan on combating terrorism* (Conselho da União Europeia, 2011), e, embora de uma forma ainda embrionária, a UE começa a perceber a possível manifestação de um novo fenómeno no terrorismo à escala internacional, os

combatentes terroristas estrangeiros: «*a significant number of radicalised people travel from the EU to conflict areas or are attending terrorist training camps and then returning to Europe. They pose a clear threat to internal security*» (Conselho da União Europeia, 2011). Mas será apenas em 2013, e nos anos que se seguem, que será publicada legislação em que se traduz o repensar da sua estratégia de contraterrorismo devido aos combatentes terroristas estrangeiros (Comissão Europeia, 2013; Conselho da União Europeia, 2014, 2015a).

Os combatentes terroristas estrangeiros que atravessaram fronteiras para se envolverem em atividade terrorista e que potencialmente regressam à Europa representam uma ameaça à segurança e são catalisadores para a emergência de uma nova geração de indivíduos radicalizados, a sua narrativa e mensagem (Comissão Europeia, 2013; Drewer & Ellermann, 2016; Martín, 2017; MacKenzie & Kaunert, 2022; A. J. K. Shepherd, 2021)). «*There is a growing threat from EU citizens, who, having travelled to conflict zones to engage in terrorism activity, return to the European Union with a willingness to commit acts of terrorism*» (Europol, 2014, p. 7).

Um evento que demonstrou claramente quanto o fenómeno dos combatentes é uma ameaça à segurança foram os ataques de 23 de novembro de 2015, em Paris. Segundo o TE-SAT de 2016,

[t]he carefully planned attacks demonstrated the elevated threat to the EU from a fanatic minority, operationally based in the Middle East, combined with a network of people born and raised in the EU, often radicalized within a short space of time, who have proven to be willing and able to act as facilitators and active accomplices in terrorism (Europol, 2016, p. 5).

Em 2015, a União exerce uma ação mais significativa na Síria e Iraque dada a forte presença do ISIS e do Daesh na região e à forte presença de combatentes terroristas estrangeiros de cidadania europeia (Conselho da União Europeia, 2015a). A ação de contraterrorismo na região aplica os quatro pilares da Estratégia de 2005 tendo em vista a estabilização da ameaça regional. O pilar que recebe maior atenção é o da *Prevenção* (externa) em que se procura perceber quais as motivações que levam um indivíduo a viajar para a Síria e para o Iraque enquanto combatente terrorista estrangeiro. Procura-se também combater o financiamento monetário, de armas e equipamento, e o recrutamento do ISIS e Daesh.

A presença na região manteve-se ainda em 2020, o que revela o quanto ainda é significativa a ação do Daesh e Al-Qaeda para lá das fronteiras europeias (Conselho da União Europeia, 2020).

Em 2011 é criado o projeto RAN, *Radicalisation Awareness Network* (Comissão Europeia, 2013), o sucessor do ENER (*European Network of Experts on Radicalisation*) criado em 2008 (Conselho da União Europeia, 2011, pp. 7-8), que se insere nos projetos do Programa Horizonte 2020, um programa de financiamento europeu de investigação na área da segurança. O RAN é um grupo de conhecimento especializado, um «*knowledge hub*» (Conselho da União Europeia, 2014, p. 12), composto por mais de 700 peritos e profissionais (psicólogos, educadores, académicos, membros de ONG's, entre outros), que se dedicam à criação de conhecimento no campo da radicalização e do P/CVE (Comissão Europeia, 2013). O RAN trabalha a par com os Estados-Membros e as instituições europeias na criação e difusão de conhecimento no tópico da radicalização, um tópico que continua a ser uma das grandes prioridades do pilar da *Prevenção*.

Será também em 2011 que a questão da cibersegurança ganha expressão na legislação e ação de contraterrorismo (Martín, 2017). É criado um projeto que monitoriza a atividade propagandista, através do qual se recolheu dados que ajudassem a combater a presença online de terrorismo (Conselho da União Europeia, 2011, pp. 5-6). O fenómeno dos combatentes terroristas estrangeiros é uma consequência direta da circulação e disseminação online das ideologias extremistas no offline e de uma forma cada vez mais notória e significativa, no online. O online permite uma difusão rápida e extensa de conteúdo propagandista. Quanto maior a circulação deste tipo de conteúdo maior será o risco e o número de radicalizados, recrutamento e por fim o crescimento do número de indivíduos envolvidos em atividades terroristas.

Com os ataques de 2015 e, posteriormente, com os ataques de Bruxelas em 2016, a UE viu-se obrigada a tomar novas medidas e rever a sua estratégia de contraterrorismo, sendo criado, em janeiro de 2016, o ECTC, *European Counter Terrorism Center*, e produzida a Diretiva 2017/541 (União Europeia, 2017), documento que define o que são infrações terroristas e as sanções a aplicar, medidas direcionadas aos combatentes terroristas estrangeiros, à radicalização, ao terrorismo no online e ao financiamento do terrorismo.

O ECTC é um centro da Europol dedicado ao contraterrorismo, que articula a ação de divisões pré-existentes, como, nomeando alguns, o Sistema de Informação da Europol (EIS), a base de dados que reúne todas as informações das investigações, processos e indivíduos ligados ao terrorismo e ao crime organizado; o Programa de Detecção do Financiamento do Terrorismo (TFTP); o Centro Europeu de Cibercrime (ECC) (Drewer & Ellermann, 2016; Europol, 2017, p. 59-61). Portanto, assegura uma plataforma de partilha de informação, um suporte em investigações e comunicação com países terceiros e entre Estados-Membros, «*through enhanced cross-border cooperation between relevant counter-terrorist authorities supported by a pro-active EU central information hub at Europol (ECTC)*» (Europol, 2016, p. 5); combate a circulação e radicalização de combatentes terroristas estrangeiros e, consequentemente, a atividade de radicalização, o recrutamento e o financiamento (Kaunert & Léonard, 2019; Europol, 2017, p. 59-61). O ECTC significou uma institucionalização do contraterrorismo, o que permitiu a «*routinisation of EU counter-terrorism practices*» (Kaunert & Léonard, 2019, p. 273), combatendo o défice sentido na primeira década dos anos 2000.

3.2.3. 2017-2022: Os desafios do pós-COVID-19 e os desafios da evolução tecnológica

Pós-COVID-19: as novas tecnologias e o online

O período pandémico do COVID-19 terá criado, segundo a União, um «*terreno fértil para a radicalização em vários espectros ideológicos*» (Conselho da União Europeia, 2021, p. 3), consequências que se manifestarão a longo-prazo. Um ambiente propício à recetibilidade a ideologias extremistas e violentas desenvolve-se devido ao impacto que as condições socioeconómicas, culturais, psicológicas e comportamentais têm nos indivíduos, abrindo portas a uma nova geração de radicalismos extremos. Este impacto terá, consequentemente, de ser neutralizado através de medidas de longo-prazo (Conselho da União Europeia, 2020, p. 4).

Da mesma forma que a COVID-19 terá um impacto na possível escalada da radicalização e da atividade terrorista, este período pandémico revelou também as limitações das autoridades de contraterrorismo da União. Um dos exemplos que a União

expressa como limitação da sua atividade foi a questão do online, de uma grande parte da informação, de dados sensíveis e confidenciais ter de ser transmitido por meios online, revelando que existiam limitações na encriptação, na confidencialidade da circulação das informações entre as entidades, instituições, etc. (Conselho da União Europeia, 2021).

Desde, sensivelmente, os finais da primeira década do século XXI que a ameaça tecnológica, nova e emergente, tem adquirido um espaço significativo nas políticas. Algumas das tecnologias que se incluem no risco de ameaça são os drones, a Inteligência Artificial (IA) e a Internet. Embora a inteligência artificial apenas tenha conhecido recentemente, 2024, legislação oficial por parte da UE, este risco de instrumentalização da AI para a atividade terrorista vem a ser discutida em documentação de contraterrorismo desde 2020 (Comissão Europeia, 2020a, 2020b, 2020c; Conselho da União Europeia, 2021).

A União vê a AI por dois prismas, um primeiro como uma ferramenta de apoio às ações de contraterrorismo, e de outras áreas, por exemplo, analisar a propaganda online através de algoritmos: *«desempenha um papel essencial no fornecimento de ferramentas que permitem uma identificação precisa e seletiva de ferramentas que permitem uma identificação precisa e seletiva de potenciais ameaças»* (Comissão Europeia, 2020a, p. 5). O outro prisma é o facto de a AI poder ser instrumentalizada pelo terrorismo, tal como acontece com outras tecnologias.

A pandemia foi palco da intensificação da circulação de propaganda, da radicalização, do recrutamento e do financiamento online. A presença online do terrorismo e das ideologias não é nova, mas torna-se mais expressiva. Emergem novos meios de financiamento, como cripto moedas, e novos meios de comunicação e recrutamento como aplicações encriptadas, *chat rooms* de videojogos online, entre outras (Conselho da União Europeia, 2021, p. 4).

A estratégia: Antecipar, Prevenir, Proteger, Responder (2020)

Em 2020 a UE lança a nova Estratégia de Combate ao Terrorismo, uma estratégia que vem reforçar e paralelamente reformular os quatro pilares da Estratégia de 2005,

apresentando uma nova linguagem: *Antecipar, Prevenir, Proteger, Responder* (Comissão Europeia, 2020a).

O pilar *Antecipar* consiste na avaliação das ameaças, dos riscos; após essa avaliação reúnem-se as informações estratégicas e reforça-se a capacidade de detetar possíveis ameaças futuras. O pilar é reforçado pela iniciativa da União em investir na investigação no domínio da segurança (Comissão Europeia, 2020a, p. 4), procurar compreender as ameaças e tendências terroristas atuais e emergentes no panorama europeu e internacional; antecipar o terrorismo no sentido de entender quais os comportamentos atuais dos grupos e ideologias de tipo terrorista que circulam dentro e fora da Europa, sendo essa análise realizada através de uma cooperação multidisciplinar. O pilar *Prevenir* segue as mesmas linhas de 2005, visa o combate à radicalização das ideologias do tipo terrorista; procura impedir o enraizamento da radicalização; somando-se o combate da disseminação de ideologias extremistas no online; a prevenção é uma dimensão que pede a colaboração entre Estados, a sociedade civil, as elites políticas, as forças policiais, etc; o apoio aos intervenientes, como os educadores, em comunidades mais férteis à radicalização; mais uma vez, o investimento no conhecimento, «*criação de um polo de conhecimentos da UE sobre a prevenção de radicalização*» (Comissão Europeia, 2020a, p.10). O pilar *Proteger* reforça a segurança nas fronteiras, com uma forte atuação da Frontex, nas infraestruturas críticas para a sociedade e em espaços públicos: «*[o] aumento do terrorismo desencadeado por extremismo político ou ideológico tornou esta ameaça ainda mais premente, requerendo uma maior proteção física desses locais e sistemas de deteção adequados, sem prejudicar as liberdades dos cidadãos*» (Comissão Europeia, 2020b, p. 10). O SIS continua a ter um papel importante no intercâmbio de informações ao nível interno e externo sobre a circulação de combatentes terroristas estrangeiros (Comissão Europeia, 2020a, p. 15). O último pilar, *Responder*, continua a procurar minimizar os efeitos negativos que um ataque terrorista causa; reforça o mandato da Europol em matéria de contraterrorismo, e destaca a importância da atividade do ECTC; o apoio às vítimas de terrorismo continua a ser de extrema importância, as vítimas poderão ser uma importante ferramenta para o combate à radicalização e desradicalização (Comissão Europeia, 2020a, p.18).

A nova estratégia tem como grandes objetivos: levar os combatentes terroristas estrangeiros à justiça; gerir a complexidade securitária e humanitária dos centros e campos de detenção na Síria; promover a investigação e inovação científica no âmbito da segurança, através de novos programas do Horizonte Europa; capacitar os profissionais da sociedade civil e do campo político para a deteção precoce de sinais de radicalização, recrutamento e outras atividades terroristas; apostar na educação não-formal, no sentido de baixar a probabilidade de recetibilidade a ideologias e narrativas terroristas (Conselho da União Europeia, 2020).

As ameaças híbridas

Um dos grandes desafios a que a UE tem vindo a prestar a atenção, desde 2016 (Comissão Europeia, 2016b), são as ameaças híbridas, preocupação que se intensificou com a COVID-19 (Comissão Europeia, 2020a, 2020b). As ameaças híbridas são

a combinação de atividades coercivas com atividades subversivas, de métodos convencionais com métodos não convencionais (ou seja, diplomáticos, militares, económicos, tecnológicos) que podem ser utilizados de forma coordenada por intervenientes estatais ou não estatais para atingir objetivos específicos, mantendo-se, no entanto, abaixo do limiar de uma guerra formalmente declarada (Comissão Europeia, 2016b, p. 2).

São atividades que combinam, por exemplo, um ciberataque que danifique uma infraestrutura crítica, como a infraestrutura energética ou um hospital; estendendo-se também às narrativas e discursos políticos de radicalização (Comissão Europeia, 2020b, p. 4); um outro exemplo é o bioterrorismo (Comissão Europeia, 2016b).

Embora de uma forma menos significativa, a ameaça do terrorismo químico, biológico e nuclear (QBRN) é uma constante na legislação e estratégias de contraterrorismo (Comissão Europeia, 2020a, 2020b). Embora a ameaça de ataques terroristas em que sejam usados agentes biológicos, químicos, nucleares ou radiológicos permaneça baixa, a possível instrumentalização desses elementos por grupos ou indivíduos terroristas começa a ser mais visível, «*o recurso a ataques QBRN ocupa lugar de destaque na propaganda terrorista*» (Comissão Europeia, 2020b, p. 17), mantendo em alerta as autoridades nacionais e da União para um possível ataque híbrido.

Neste sentido, e como a UE defende, as políticas de contraterrorismo não são aplicadas de forma isolada, tem de existir uma cooperação de políticas de segurança, «*counter terrorism cannot work in isolation from wider political processes*» (Conselho da

União Europeia, 2015a, p. 2), as políticas que visam combater as ameaças híbridas articulam-se com as políticas de contraterrorismo; como é exemplo o quadro de combate ao financiamento do terrorismo e o de combate à radicalização (Comissão Europeia, 2016b).

3.3. Dinâmicas do contraterrorismo da União Europeia

Destaca-se da estratégia e da atividade de contraterrorismo da UE a evolução do seu *nexus* interno-externo e do combate à radicalização e recrutamento.

3.3.1. O *nexus* interno-externo

A estratégia da UE reforça, ao longo dos anos, que o terrorismo é uma ameaça que ultrapassa fronteiras, o terrorismo é uma ameaça interna e externa, configurando as ações de contraterrorismo nessas duas dimensões: «*EU's fight against terrorism calls for internal instruments and externally oriented policies, structures and tools*» (Ferreira-Pereira & Martins, 2014, p. 11). As duas dimensões têm como elemento comum a cooperação. Internamente, com uma cooperação entre Estados-Membros e, externamente, como uma cooperação da União com países terceiros, instituições e organizações internacionais (Kaunert, MacKenzie & Léonard, 2022, p.6-13; Martín, 2017; A. J. K. Shepherd, 2021; Debusscher & Manners, 2020; Ferreira-Pereira & Martins, 2014; Kaunert & Léonard, 2012; Brattberg & Rhinard, 2014).

A dimensão externa do contraterrorismo tornou-se cada vez mais relevante com o aumento da ameaça terrorista em diferentes contextos regionais fora da Europa, contextos esses que representam uma ameaça para o espaço europeu: «*[t]errorism poses a direct threat to all countries [...]. In a globalized world, such threats can only be countered through international cooperation and determined national action*» (Conselho da União Europeia, 2015b, p.2). Para a UE, o *nexus* interno e externo é um dos elementos estratégicos mais importantes para a eficácia do contraterrorismo, logo investe na estabilização regional como uma estratégia a longo prazo (Conselho da União Europeia, 2017). Nas duas dimensões são aplicados os quatro pilares – *Antecipar, Prevenir, Proteger e Responder*, embora de forma distinta nos diferentes contextos históricos, políticos e geográficos (Conselho da União Europeia, 2017; Comissão Europeia, 2020a).

O contraterrorismo da União é, então, caracterizado pela relação «*inside-out*» e «*outsider-in*» (A. J. K. Shepherd, 2021), isto é, a segurança, mais concretamente o contraterrorismo, vai para além das fronteiras físicas dos Estados da União, é uma ação que conjuga a segurança interna e externa, a segurança interna do espaço da União depende da segurança externa (Kaunert & Léonard, 2012). Combater uma ameaça que não vê fronteiras implica estratégias e ação para lá das fronteiras. Por isso, é procurada uma cooperação e articulação entre as instituições e agências responsáveis pela segurança interna com as responsáveis pela segurança externa, por exemplo, uma cooperação entre as missões da Europol com a EEAS na região do Sahel ou nos MENA (Médio Oriente e Norte de África).

Uma das respostas ao porquê de a UE apostar numa dimensão externa de cooperação com países terceiros é apresentada por Monar (2016). O autor diz-nos que o facto de os grupos terroristas planearem, operarem, reunirem financiamento e recursos humanos fora das fronteiras dos alvos finais, pelo facto de existir um risco reduzido de vigilância das autoridades, leva a União a reforçar a sua presença nesses territórios para combater essas mesmas atividades: «*this rise of countries as a basis for carrying out attacks in others which gives global action against terrorism all its necessity and urgency*» (p. 181).

Dados os diferentes eventos vividos nas últimas décadas em matéria de segurança, como por exemplo o 11 de setembro e a Primavera Árabe, Lonardo (2023) entende que a geopolítica deveria ser um dos elementos fundamenais da base legal da União para as questões de segurança. O reconhecimento da importância geopolítica (a influência da geografia nas políticas dos Estados) garantiria um anteciper e até uma deteção precoce de potenciais questões securitárias. A geopolítica seria um dos elementos influenciadores que orientariam a política externa da União. Esta questão da geopolítica evidencia-se no contraterrorismo da União, mais concretamente na sua dimensão externa.

No «*esforço global de combate às organizações terroristas*» (Comissão Europeia, 2020a, p.25), a UE estabelece relações de cooperação, de investimento e financiamento em regiões onde existe um maior grau de vulnerabilidade à atividade terrorista, regiões e países onde a atividade terrorista e a radicalização ganharam uma maior expressão

nos últimos anos (Brattberg & Rhinard, 2014). Sendo essas regiões Norte de África (Argélia, Egito, Marrocos, Tunísia), Médio Oriente (Israel, Jordânia, Líbano, Arábia Saudita, Síria, Afeganistão), região do Sahel (Mauritânia, Mali, Níger, Chad, Burkina Faso), Corno de África (Somália, Etiópia, Eritreia, Djibuti). A relação com países terceiros inclui também a Turquia, a Geórgia, a Moldova, a Ucrânia, os Balcãs Ocidentais (Albânia, Bósnia-Herzegovina, Macedónia do Norte, Kosovo, Montenegro e Sérvia), e alguns países do Sudeste Asiático. Alguns dos principais atores destas relações são a Liga dos Estados Árabes (Arábia Saudita, Líbano, Egito, Iémen, Transjordânia, Iraque e Síria); a União Africana; e a Organização Islâmica de Cooperação. Algumas das organizações internacionais incluem a ONU, a NATO, a INTERPOL e o Fórum Mundial Contra o Terrorismo (GCTF) (Comissão Europeia, 2020a; Conselho da União Europeia, 2011, 2017; Monar, 2016; Brattberg & Rhinard, 2014).

Algumas destas relações de cooperação e as ações de intervenção podem ser clarificadas pela os dados do *Global Terrorism Index*, em que é possível verificar os cinco países com maior incidência de atividade terrorista num período compreendido entre 2013 e 2022.

Tabela 1 – Países com maior incidência de atividade terrorista (2013-2022)

Ano	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2021	2022
Posição	1	Iraque	Iraque	Iraque	Iraque	Iraque	Afeganistão	Afeganistão	Afeganistão
	2	Afeganistão	Afeganistão	Afeganistão	Afeganistão	Afeganistão	Iraque	Iraque	Iraque
	3	Paquistão	Nigéria	Nigéria	Nigéria	Nigéria	Nigéria	Nigéria	Somália
	4	Nigéria	Paquistão	Paquistão	Síria	Síria	Síria	Síria	Burkina Faso
	5	Síria	Síria	Síria	Paquistão	Paquistão	Paquistão	Somália	Síria

Fonte: Adaptado de Institute for Economics & Peace. (2014-2023). *Global Terrorism Index: Measuring the Impact of Terrorism*.

Partindo dos dados da *Tabela 1* entende-se que o Iraque, o Afeganistão, a Síria, Nigéria, Paquistão, Somália e, mais recentemente, Burkina Faso e Mali, são os países em que as organizações terroristas operam de forma mais intensa. Neste sentido, a ação de contraterrorismo da UE, com diversas missões e agências, tem-se dirigido a esses mesmos contextos nacionais e regionais.

A dimensão externa do contraterrorismo foi desenhada tendo em vista políticas de longo prazo, por exemplo, no caso da ação no Iraque e na Síria (Conselho da União Europeia, 2015a), minimizar o risco da ameaça terrorista proveniente da região; combater a disseminação das ideologias violentas; dismantelar grupos afiliados ao ISIS, *Daesh* e *Jabhat al-Nusra*; e promover a integração dos direitos humanos na região.

A influência do *Daesh* estendeu-se para além do Iraque e da Síria, sentindo-se também na região do Sahel e na África Ocidental, regiões fortemente instáveis e de grande atividade terrorista (Conselho da União Europeia, 2020, p.3).

3.3.2. A prevenção da radicalização e o P/CVE

Radicalização

O pilar da *Prevenção*, a integração de medidas de prevenção de radicalização e de extremismos violentos, mudou a orientação das políticas de contraterrorismo, a segurança não é apenas a do Estado, a do coletivo, introduz-se a segurança do indivíduo. Será a segurança do indivíduo que permitirá garantir a segurança do Estado (White, 2020a, 2023). Uma estratégia que analisa e aborda os problemas sociais, promove e procurar alcançar uma coesão social (Bossong, 2015, pp. 66-67) «*requires a comprehensive whole-of-security approach including consistent outreach to vulnerable populations*» (Conselho da União Europeia, 2020, p. 12). Embora não seja um grande passo ou até mesmo a melhor solução, a prevenção é uma clara mudança da abordagem de contraterrorismo, é uma abordagem ao indivíduo e ao local, uma clara tentativa de *bottom-up* (White, 2020a)

O foco principal das medidas de prevenção é o combate à radicalização e ao recrutamento, ações que, em última análise, procuram travar uma nova geração de indivíduos terroristas: «*[t]he EU is determined to take action against terrorism in all its*

forms and against radicalization and recruitment to terrorism» (Conselho da União Europeia, 2014, p.3).

A radicalização é um processo que resulta de fatores psicológicos, sociais e ambientais, e que levam um indivíduo a associar-se a ideologias e causas terroristas e ou extremistas violentas (Comissão Europeia, 2016a). Brown (2021, pp. 4-5) acrescenta que a radicalização é um processo complexo influenciado pelo género.

Apontam-se como fatores de radicalização: o contexto político, religioso, cultural e socioeconómico que um indivíduo experiencia, e problemas psicológicos. Incluindo-se: a alienação pessoal, as desigualdades sociais e económicas, a marginalização e a exclusão social, o desemprego, o acesso à educação, a xenofobia, o racismo (Comissão Europeia, 2016a, p. 4; Patel, 2022; Phelan, 2023). A radicalização é consequência das dinâmicas de poder de género e das experiências influenciadas pela conceção de género num determinado contexto (Phelan, 2023). Nenhum destes fatores se manifesta sozinho, o processo de radicalização dá-se na articulação desta teia de fatores. É, também, necessário perceber que, em conjugação com os outros fatores, a desigualdade de género contribui para a radicalização e para o extremismo violento (White, 2021).

A *Prevenção* passa então por compreender o que leva um indivíduo a radicalizar-se, quais são as questões sociais que levam à radicalização; mas também o porquê daquele indivíduo ser um alvo para o recrutamento; procura-se perceber quem são os grupos de risco; perceber o processo de radicalização e dar início ao processo de desradicalização; e reintegrar os que estiveram envolvidos em atividades e grupos radicalizados (Martín, 2017, p. 251; White, 2020, pp. 1194-1195).

Soft policies e o conhecimento

Como mencionado anteriormente, a prevenção é caracterizada pelas suas *soft policies*. Assim, o combate à radicalização e ao extremismo violento segue sete medidas de ação (Comissão Europeia, 2016a, p.3):

i) apoio à investigação, recolha de informação factual, monitorização e criação de redes; ii) combate à propaganda terrorista e ao discurso de incitação ao ódio na internet; iii) combate à radicalização nas prisões; iv) promoção do ensino inclusivo e dos valores comuns da UE; v) promoção de uma sociedade inclusiva e resiliente e envolvimento dos jovens; vi) a dimensão segurança do combate à radicalização; vii) a dimensão internacional.

Por isso, é necessário criar um equilíbrio entre as medidas de segurança e a promoção de um ambiente social menos propício à recetibilidade de ideologias terroristas (Conselho da União Europeia, 2014, p. 4).

Na tentativa de atingir uma coesão social e promover uma sociedade mais inclusiva e tolerante, a UE e os Estados Membros criam redes de cooperação e comunicação entre governos e com a sociedade civil e o setor privado, são aplicadas, essencialmente, no contexto local, regional e nacional (Comissão Europeia, 2016a). Nessas redes promove-se a igualdade de oportunidades, o ensino, a cultura e o desporto, isto é, promove-se o diálogo cultural, atividades culturais e desportivas nas comunidades de risco, especialmente direcionado às camadas jovens (Comissão Europeia, 2020b, p. 16-17; Conselho da União Europeia, 2014; União Europeia, 2017). Nos últimos anos, novas variáveis são introduzidas para a igualdade e inclusão social, a integração da igualdade de género e da integração da mulher nos diversos setores (Conselho da União Europeia, 2020; Comissão Europeia, 2020a, 2020b), tópico que se irá discutir posteriormente.

Através do ensino (escolas, educadores, professores e auxiliares de educação), formal e não formal, estimula-se e fomenta-se o pensamento crítico, no sentido de impedir que persista uma atitude passiva a mensagens propagandistas, e a literacia mediática, dois elementos fundamentais nas campanhas de prevenção junto dos jovens (Comissão Europeia, 2013); difundem-se contra-narrativas: «*convince those already engaged in violent extremism to abandon it, and dissuade those sympathetic to terrorist narratives from becoming actively involved in them*» (Conselho da União Europeia, 2014, p. 8).

As contra narrativas são essenciais, estas dão-se no domínio local, nas comunidades, promovem a tolerância e o espírito crítico, com o intuito de des-legitimar as narrativas das ideologias violentas (Conselho da União Europeia, 2014), «*to challenge terrorist narratives and their claimed ideology*» (Conselho da União Europeia, 2015a, p. 4). A par das escolas, as contra-narrativas são também produzidas e divulgadas pelos meios de comunicação social e figuras públicas e, ainda, o testemunho das vítimas de terrorismo (Conselho da União Europeia, 2020, p. 11).

A des-radicalização é um processo que está muito presente nas prisões e centros de reabilitação, feita junto de indivíduos que perpetraram atos terroristas, que estiveram associados a grupos terroristas ou de extremismos violentos e junto de jovens que foram seduzidos por narrativas terroristas (Comissão Europeia, 2016a; Comissão Europeia, 2020a). Por isso, são dirigidas aos agentes diretos e indiretos; aos atores dos atos, aos ativistas do terrorismo, àqueles que apoiam as ideologias e difundem a propaganda, os simpatizantes, aqueles indivíduos não-violentos (Sinai, 2023, p. 380-381). Porém, continua a pairar sobre a UE a dúvida sobre qual a melhor estratégia para responder aos indivíduos que foram radicalizados e aos que cometeram atos terroristas: devem estes ser condenados, reabilitados e reintegrados na sociedade (Entrevista 12)?

Uma das soft policies que também merece destaque é a do apoio e difusão de conhecimento especializado multidisciplinar (Comissão Europeia, 2016a). O conhecimento tem sido um grande apoio à UE, pois oferece «*valuable insights into the drivers of radicalization to terrorism*» (Conselho da União Europeia, 2014, p. 12). Anteriormente, referiu-se à produção de propostas estratégicas do RAN e a colaboração com os Estados, esta colaboração estende-se à sociedade civil, às comunidades e organizações locais (Comissão Europeia, 2020a). O RAN propõe o investimento na formação de profissionais, «*assistentes sociais, educadores, trabalhadores da saúde, polícia, pessoal penitenciário e agentes de reinserção social*» (Comissão Europeia, 2013, pp. 6-7), que lhes permita reconhecer os sinais e comportamentos de radicalização nos indivíduos na sua esfera profissional e ou social. Uma tentativa de sensibilização sobre a ameaça que representa a radicalização e o recrutamento do terrorismo (Comissão Europeia, 2013).

O combate ao terrorismo no online

A adaptação do terrorismo à era do digital, a transferência da propaganda, do recrutamento e, até, a vigilância de potenciais alvos, obriga a UE a conduzir uma abordagem multilateral e multifacetada no combate a atividades no online e no offline. Cada vez mais as ideologias encontram novos públicos, por exemplo, o das redes sociais (Comissão Europeia, 2013; Comissão Europeia, 2016a).

Conteúdo terrorista ou propaganda online é todo aquele que glorifica e promove a atividade terrorista, que induz ou alicia um indivíduo à prática terrorista; fornece informações sobre a fabricação ou construção de armas, explosivos, ou outro tipo de objetos nocivos ou mortais (União Europeia, 2017). Alguns exemplos de propaganda online são o discurso de incitamento ao ódio, seja ele religioso, étnico, sexual ou de género; ideologias extremistas que incitam a atos violentos e mortais (Comissão Europeia, 2020a). Forest (2023, p. 231) acrescenta ainda que usam o online *«for gathering information about the efforts of a government to combat the threat of terrorism»*, isto é, fazem um reconhecimento das estratégias e medidas dos Estados no contexto do contraterrorismo, para poder usufruir das lacunas existentes. O terrorismo no universo online resulta da agência informal de agentes isolados, grupos, organizações e células.

Foram criados regulamentos em que a União pede a cooperação com o setor privado dos prestadores de serviços digitais, incluindo-se as redes sociais e outras plataformas digitais (Comissão Europeia, 2020a). Estes regulamentos foram desenvolvidos em colaboração com o Fórum Mundial da Internet Contra o Terrorismo (GIFCT), uma colaboração que tem em vista um alinhamento e harmonização com as normas internacionais sobre o contraterrorismo online (Comissão Europeia, 2020a, 2020b).

3.4. Quem é a União Europeia como ator de contraterrorismo?

O contraterrorismo da UE caracteriza-se pela sua complexidade e governação supranacional, determinada pela cooperação entre os Estados-Membros e entre as instituições europeias e nacionais; pelo seu carácter normativo e legislativo, alinhado com a agenda de segurança e defesa; pelo seu carácter institucional e multidimensional. Um contraterrorismo que se compromete em garantir a segurança e proteger a sociedade e os valores fundamentais europeus (Wade, 2013; Lonardo, 2023; Baker-Beall, 2016; Kaunert, MacKenzie & Léonard, 2022). A atividade terrorista representa uma das maiores ameaças aos valores fundamentais da União, aos direitos humanos, à

liberdade (de expressão, religiosa e sexual), ao respeito pela liberdade, à democracia e ao Estado de direito (União Europeia, 2017; Comissão Europeia, 2020a).

A luta contra o terrorismo encabeçada pela União não se trata apenas da implementação de medidas políticas e legais que articulam a segurança nacional com a segurança regional, internacional e humana, trata-se também de um discurso político na senda internacional de uma luta global ao terrorismo, uma linguagem discursiva assente na identidade e nos valores europeus (Baker-Beall, 2016).

Os principais atores da UE em matéria de contraterrorismo são a Comissão Europeia, o Parlamento Europeu, o Coordenador de Contraterrorismo, a Europol (Agência da União Europeia para a Cooperação Policial), a EEAS (*European Union External Action Service*), a Frontex (Agência Europeia da Guarda de Fronteiras e Costeira), a Cpol (Agência da União Europeia para a Formação Policial), o Eurojust (Agência da União Europeia para a Cooperação Judiciária Penal) e o Conselho da UE de Justiça e Assuntos Internos (Kaunert, MacKenzie & Léonard, 2022; Comissão Europeia, 2020a, 2020b; União Europeia, 2017).

A UE desenvolve uma estratégia multidimensional de contraterrorismo, que assenta nas bases da sua estratégia de 2005 (), da qual resultam os quatro pilares de ação: antecipar, avaliando-se as potenciais vulnerabilidades na sociedade, nas infraestruturas e nas instituições; prevenir, combatendo-se a radicalização e o recrutamento terrorista; proteger, colmatando as vulnerabilidades identificadas; e responder, todas as ações de minimização do impacto de um ataque terrorista, procurando apoiar as vítimas. Caracteriza-se, também pelo seu *nexus* interno-externo, em que aplica os quatro pilares base nos contextos internos, no espaço da União e nos seus Estados Membros, e no contexto externo, na sua cooperação com países terceiros, promovendo-se uma estratégia de combate global ao terrorismo.

A UE, dadas as suas múltiplas dimensões, elementos e fatores que compõem o seu contraterrorismo, assume uma abordagem holística (Baker-Beall, 2016; Debusscher & Manners, 2020). É uma abordagem que considera nas suas atividades e ações de contraterrorismo: a prevenção, a igualdade de género, a educação, entre outras. Esta perceção de carácter holístico do contraterrorismo da UE é também identificada pelas

Entrevistas 7, 8 e 19; *«I would describe it as holistic, encompasses prevention and sort of law enforcement centric counterterrorism approaches»* (Entrevista 7); *«the counterterrorism response general in the EU, tends to be, and must continue to have consideration for such, have quite an holistic and comprehensive action, making sure that there is not isolated, that you're taking into account the multiple factors»* (Entrevista 19).

Com a abordagem holística a UE trabalha a cooperação bilateral e multilateral, cooperando com países terceiros e organizações, o *nexus* interno-externo, assim como, com a sociedade civil e as academias. Como mencionado anteriormente, muitas vezes, o RAN faz a ponte entre esses atores e a UE, uma ponte de comunicação de conhecimento com o poder,

a grassroots approach, where there's a lot of funding and emphasis placed on empowering grassroots organizations to implement different interventions and there's a lot of focus on having practitioners and academics together, like, to the Radicalization Awareness Network there's a big emphasis on that, maybe that's the case on other places but certainly the EU is very focused on making that connection (Entrevista 3).

O contraterrorismo da UE é marcado pela assimetria entre Estados (Kaunert, MacKenzie & Léonard, 2022; Argomaniz, Bures & Kaunert, 2015; Monar, 2007) e pela questão da soberania, *«only Members-States are competent in that area. So, the European Union can only issue guidelines or can issue directives were Members-States have to transpose it into national law»* (Entrevista 6). Um contraterrorismo marcado por uma harmonia e colaboração débil, *«there's a little of coordination, there's a very weak, let's say, conversion of policies that the intergovernmental roles of States is still too strong. Obviously, we need to understand that everything was built on States, and there are some states that they have more expertise in counterterrorism compared to others»* (Entrevista 17). A harmonização seria possível através de uma estratégia *bottom-up*, *«we cannot change the intergovernmental approach because this is very much state really, but we can try to implement a little bit more the bottom-up dimension, we cannot change the top, we can try to increase the bottom a little bit»* (Entrevista 17), através do reforço da cooperação com a sociedade civil.

Embora a UE preze a ideia de uma estratégia de segurança comum, assim como uma estratégia de contraterrorismo comum a todos os Estados-Membros, durante um determinado período certos Membros, aqueles que foram alvos de ataques terroristas,

assumiram que lutavam contra a ameaça terrorista de uma forma independente. Esses Estados entendiam que a ameaça que enfrentavam não era comum a todos, estavam perante diferentes tipos de ameaças, isto é, cada Estado enfrentava a sua própria ameaça, a Espanha com a *ETA* e o Reino Unido com o *IRA* (Kaunert, MacKenzie & Léonard, 2022, p. 35).

Um grande fator que faz movimentar a máquina de contraterrorismo da União é quando se dá um ataque terrorista em grande escala, como os ataques de Madrid e Londres, «*EU counterterrorism can be compared to successive waves, propelled by major attacks*» (Coolsaet, 2010, p. 858). As iniciativas e as medidas de contraterrorismo são revistas, reformuladas e reforçadas após esses eventos, «*the European Union was very reactive within its policymaking*» (Entrevista 6), uma ação que revela um carácter reativo (Argomaniz, Bures & Kaunert, 2015; Kaunert, MacKenzie & Léonard, 2022; Coolsaet, 2010; Pillar, 2018; Entrevistas 5, 6, 9, 15 e 20). Embora, estes eventos terroristas demonstrem as lacunas nas estratégias, revelem as ameaças outrora desconhecidas ou não reconhecidas, (Kaunert, MacKenzie & Léonard, 2022), este carácter reativo não é um ponto positivo para o contraterrorismo e para a segurança da sociedade,

nothing in the European counterterrorism has a plan, [...] there is not actual pro-active policy [...] everything is very reactive and is done in reaction to specific events, there's no predictive capacities, like now that, they are no longer this many Islamist attacks in Europe, we cannot cope with the right-wing attacks because we don't have no adaptability, our system is just reacting [...] because there is no long-term funding and no long-term planning (Entrevista 5);

Um contraterrorismo marcado pela falta de medidas de longo prazo. É, por isso, necessário apostar em medidas a longo-prazo e em respostas mais pro-ativas, «*better monitoring of suspicious individuals, of the groups, of the networks that have been established, could help to address this*» (Entrevista 20).

A estratégia de luta contra o terrorismo caracteriza-se por dotar uma retórica de combate ao terrorismo islâmico ou jihadista (White, 2020b; Brattberg & Rhinard, 2014; Europol, 2005-2023; Entrevista 5 e 18),

I think that's a product of probably how the West, or the Western countries see terrorism, I think in many cases people see it as groups, like Islamic State or Al-Qaeda, religious motivated groups, I think so a lot of our policy it's been directed to those type of groups and that type of terrorism (Entrevista 18).

A par da retórica do terrorismo jihadista, o fenómeno dos combatentes terroristas estrangeiros ocupa até hoje um grande espaço nas estratégias (Comissão

Europeia, 2013; Conselho da União Europeia, 2011, 2014, 2015a), e representa um desafio para a UE. Os combatentes são um tópico que é abordado em diversas entrevistas (Entrevistas 5, 8, 17 e 18), nas quais se destacam a questão de o que é que caracteriza e constitui um combatente; será o país de destino para combater elemento distintivo, «*we speak, see that very differently when groups went to Syria and Iraq versus when people go to fight in Ukraine [...] we definitely put a difference level of acceptance of people*» (Entrevista 18); e a de quem é que deve ser julgado «*criminalization for returning foreign terrorist fighters, at one point men where all prosecuted and women as victims*» (Entrevista 8). A questão do julgamento dos combatentes remete para os pressupostos e viés de género, para a agência da mulher, e a sensibilidade do contraterrorismo ao género tópicos, a abordar posteriormente.

4. A perspetiva de género no contraterrorismo da União Europeia

O género na segurança

Tal como o terrorismo, também as questões de género se têm tornado centrais no contexto da segurança nas duas últimas décadas. O género tem, assim, moldado as políticas de segurança internacionais. A integração do género nos contextos da política e da segurança surge com a criação da agenda da WPS. A agenda foi criada pelo Conselho de Segurança da ONU no ano 2000 através da Resolução 1325 (White, 2020a; George, Lee-Koo & Shepherd, 2019; Swaine, 2018b; Theidon, 2016; True, 2016), que procurava compreender o género em aspetos de segurança, *«provided an international framework for applying a gender perspective to international peace operations and security policy that acknowledges women's and men's different needs and experiences of conflict»* (Tickner & True, 2018, p. 226). Iniciou-se assim o debate do género, paz e conflito e a articulação da segurança humana e da segurança do Estado (Ortbals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2014). Dada a relevância da agenda e das questões de género, vários Estados começaram a introduzi-la nos seus contextos nacionais e regionais, trabalhando para contribuir para um esforço global.

Desde a sua primeira Resolução em 2000, a WPS acompanhou os movimentos do sistema internacional, a eclosão de conflitos e de violência, lançando no total nove resoluções nos últimos vinte e quatro anos – 2000, Resolução 1325; 2008, Resolução 1820; 2009, Resolução 1888; 2009, Resolução 1889; 2010, Resolução 1960; 2013, Resolução 2106; 2013, Resolução 2122; 2015, Resolução 2242; 2019, Resolução 2467 – (Chinkin, 2018; Jansson & Edwards, 2016; Tryggestad, 2009; Swaine, 2018b).

A WPS, enquanto instrumento global de governação, *«the dominant discourse framing women's advocacy and action in international affairs»* (Ní Aoláin, 2016, p. 275), apresenta três pilares centrais: a prevenção, a participação e a proteção das mulheres. A participação feminina nas resoluções de paz e na segurança, a proteção dos direitos das mulheres e, a proteção dos corpos femininos e a prevenção da violência contra as mulheres (UNSC, 2015a; George, Lee-Koo & Shepherd, 2019; Meger, 2019; White,

2020). Para além de ser considerada como um instrumento, a WPS é, aos olhos de George, Lee-Koo e Shepherd (2019), uma instituição em desenvolvimento, que colabora com outras instituições e Estados na segurança.

A articulação da WPS com o contraterrorismo começa a ser abordada no sistema internacional entre 2014 e 2015, com o debate académico e social sobre o impacto do terrorismo e do contraterrorismo nos direitos das mulheres (Lorentzeen, 2021; Heathcote, 2018). Será com a Resolução de 2015 que a ONU aconselha os seus Membros a adotar uma perspetiva de género no contraterrorismo e no contra extremismo violento, para combater a cegueira de género das tradicionais estratégias de contraterrorismo (UNSC, 2015c; White, 2021, 2022, 2023; Heathcote, 2018; Landgren, 2018; George, Lee-Koo & Shepherd, 2019; Meger, 2019; Ní Aoláin, 2016; Asante & Shepherd, 2020). Estabeleceu-se pela primeira vez uma efetiva relação entre as duas agendas, embora que ainda uma relação tímida (Eddyano & Davies, 2018).

Na relação com a agenda de contraterrorismo, a WPS introduz a participação da mulher na prevenção, onde é assumida uma narrativa em que existe uma relação entre os direitos das mulheres, o P/CVE e o contraterrorismo, proporcionando a criação de programas e agendas em que se tem em atenção a mulher, o seu papel e agência (White, 2023).

Contudo, apesar de a agenda ter sido uma inovação no campo da segurança, por procurar introduzir o debate do género, esta é alvo de dúvidas e críticas dadas as suas lacunas e o seu impacto. Uma das dúvidas é se esta agenda é importante para as atuais configurações do sistema internacional: *«we celebrated the 20th anniversary, well 24 years and we are still debating whether this resolution is useful, or we need to update and we are still collecting about active role of women»* (Entrevista 17). Questiona-se se a agenda é realmente aplicada no terreno:

I see WPS as a fairly narrow performative agenda, that shows up a couple of times of the year at the Security Council, that gets invoked regularly by states, including states who say they have a feminist foreign policy, but actually in the practical, like: Is now women sitting in Doha when the Taliban was negotiating its way back in the Afghanistan? Or the current discussions in Doha concerning the cease-fire modalities in Israel and Gaza? There're no women, there's no WPS what matters (Entrevista 11)

Uma outra preocupação é o impacto. Apesar de ter sido criada uma agenda cujo objetivo é proteger e defender os direitos da mulher, bem como a participação feminina

no domínio da segurança, a realidade continua a espelhar a segurança como um espaço dominado pelo masculino, as vozes femininas nas discussões de segurança continua a ser reduzidas, embora uma participação com efeitos positivos nos processos de paz e resolução de conflitos. Neste sentido, a WPS ao ser apenas uma proposta aos Estados-Membros, e um quadro teórico e não performativo, perpetua e reforça o viés de género e os estereótipos de género associados à agência feminina nas questões de segurança (Peréx Solenó, 2012; Lorentzeen, 2021; Heathcote, 2018).

4.1. Um ator global de género – uma estratégia de integração de género na União Europeia

Nenhum país alcançou a igualdade de género, mas um grupo de países assumiu um maior compromisso, com a criação de dispositivos de políticas centrados na igualdade de género. Como exemplos temos a Suécia, a Dinamarca, a Suíça, a Noruega, a Austrália e o Canadá; já países como França, Espanha, Luxemburgo, Chipre, Alemanha, Reino Unido, África do Sul, México, Costa Rica e Malta, « *Malta as also been pushing the Women, Peace and Security agenda as well. [...], they have done a lot on sexual and gender-based violence* » (Entrevista 12), começaram mais recentemente adotar ou a desenvolver esses dispositivos (Parlamento Europeu, 2020, p. 3; Aggestam & True, 2020, p. 144; Entrevista 12).

Nesse compromisso de esforço global, a UE tem, então, tentado adaptar-se e corresponder às questões de género e dos direitos das mulheres nas suas políticas, tendo-se tornado relevante a aplicação do *gender mainstreaming* nas instituições e Estados Membros (Aggestam & True, 2020): « *a integração da perspectiva de género deve ser implementada e integrada como princípio horizontal em todas as políticas e ações da UE* » (Parlamento Europeu, 2020, p. 2). Tal como o contraterrorismo, a relação da UE com a igualdade de género e o *gender mainstreaming* remonta ao Tratado de Maastricht (Muehlenhoff, 2017, p. 153), introduzidos por preocupações económicas e a implementação de um Mercado Comum, atingir um equilíbrio entre o homem e a mulher seria essencial para alcançar o Mercado Comum (Haastrup, Wright & Guerrina, 2019, p. 63). Sendo que a UE entende o género como os « *papéis, comportamentos,*

atividades e atributos socialmente construídos que uma determinada sociedade considera adequados tanto para mulheres como para homens» (Comissão Europeia, 2020c, p. 1).

A integração do género nas políticas e na arquitetura institucional da UE dá-se num processo complexo, com desafios e lacunas, pois as políticas *gender mainstreaming* são desafiadas desde a sua criação à sua implementação, desde o processo de *policymaking* à sua aplicação no terreno (White, 2023).

Ao longo das duas últimas décadas, lançou e implementou diversas estratégias sobre a igualdade de género, a integração de uma abordagem de género e da WPS; porém, foi apenas, sensivelmente, na última década que mostrou uma maior atenção ao género e ao *gender mainstreaming* (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018, 2019, 2020; Comissão Europeia, 2020c, 2020d; Parlamento Europeu, 2020). O seu compromisso consagrou a sua posição como ator global de género (Comissão Europeia, 2020c; Chappel & Guerrina, 2020; Debusscher & Manners, 2020). A integração da WPS e de uma abordagem de género reforçou a ação holística da União (Conselho da União Europeia, 2019, p. 3).

Para a UE uma perspetiva de género permite reconhecer e combater as desigualdades de género, bem como, outras desigualdades sociais (Parlamento Europeu, 2020, p. 5); A perspetiva tem como base os valores fundamentais: de igualdade de género (Chappel & Guerrina, 2020; Debusscher & Manners, 2020), de igualdade entre o homem e a mulher, *«is a principle that flows through the engagements of all EU Institutions in all their internal and external activities and it is mainstreamed throughout the different stages of EU policies, strategies, action plans and projects»* (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018, p. 6); e dos direitos humanos, direitos que devem ser usufruídos pelas mulheres, jovens e adultas (Debusscher & Manners, 2020).

Uma estratégia de género é, normalmente, composta por três elementos orientadores: *gender-sensitive*, *gender-responsive* e *gender-transformative* (White, 2023, p. 32). *Gender-sensitive* são aquelas estratégias que têm em conta o impacto das políticas e estratégias nos homens e nas mulheres, e que procuram combater os impactos negativos; *gender-responsive* são aquelas que procuram combater as desigualdades de género na sociedade; e as *gender-transformative* identificam e

combatem os fatores que causam essas desigualdades (White, 2023). Uma perspectiva de género deve, então, reconhecer o papel do género, da construção social de género, no indivíduo e na sociedade, e como este afeta as políticas (White, 2023), procurando, em última análise, impedir o silenciamento da agência do homem e da mulher (Fink, Brakat & Shetret, 2013).

A UE assume esses três elementos na sua estratégia, na qual cria políticas que permitam e ou reforcem a participação da mulher, como de outras camadas marginalizadas, nos processos de segurança; combate e protege aqueles que sofrem de violência promovida por questões de género; promove a interseccionalidade enquanto variável; «*deve reconhecer o equilíbrio desigual de poderes entre os géneros*» (Parlamento Europeu, 2020, p. 3); procura também a cooperação com a sociedade civil, as academias, as ONGs, parceiros regionais, entre outros. A União defende também a criação de novas categorias de análise e de estatística, não podemos ficar só por categorias gerais, é necessário desagregar os dados, procurando-se a criação de categorias como “mulheres” e “raparigas”, pois não têm as mesmas experiências (Parlamento Europeu, 2020; Conselho da União Europeia, 2018; Comissão Europeia, 2020d; White, 2023).

A UE recomenda assim a adoção por parte dos Estados-Membros de «*uma política externa e de segurança feminista*» (Parlamento Europeu, 2020, p. 6).

A integração da WPS e o GAP

A integração de perspetivas sensíveis ao género, e às questões sociais associadas, nas políticas de segurança e defesa dá-se com a *Estratégia da UE para a WPS* (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018, 2019), e consequentemente, a União cria o GAP III, *EU Gender Action Plan III*, o terceiro plano que visa a integração do género (Comissão Europeia, 2020c). A integração da WPS marca o mais recente compromisso da UE em incorporar uma perspetiva sensível ao género (Parlamento Europeu, 2020; Muehlenhofl, 2021; Lombardo, Meier & Verloo, 2017), «*into all EU policies, including Security, conflict prevention and resolution, as well as long-term peace building*» (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018, p. 2).

O plano de ação da União sobre a integração da WPS tem como principais objetivos: aumentar a participação das mulheres no campo da segurança, incluindo a sua participação enquanto líderes e decisores-políticos; na integração do *gender mainstreaming* nas ações internas e externas da segurança; a UE compromete-se a apoiar na implementação local, nacional e regional destas medidas e perspetiva; promover um papel ativo na prevenção de conflitos, de violência, de violência sexual baseada no género; promover uma reforma legislativa e institucional na UE, nos seus Estados-Membros e nos seus parceiros; proteger os direitos humanos e os direitos humanos das mulheres; proteger e ouvir as mulheres e as raparigas, bem como os homens e os rapazes (Conselho da União Europeia, 2019, p. 5-6), « *to listen to the voices of men and women on the ground*» (Oudraat, 2016, p. 23).

Os GAP comprometem-se com uma ação holística da União ao género e na tentativa da UE em ser um exemplo de ator de género (Debusscher & Manners, 2020; Comissão Europeia, 2020c; Parlamento Europeu, 2020). Os cinco pilares do plano de ação para o género, tendo em conta o mais recente, o GAP III (Comissão Europeia, 2020c, p. 3) são: (1) o empenho em aplicar a igualdade de género, uma perspetiva de género, os direitos humanos e a interseccionalidade (indicadores estatísticos sensíveis ao género) em todos os setores e como uma prioridade fundamental que se estende a todos os Membros; (2) um compromisso estratégico multilateral, às escalas nacionais, regionais e internacional; (3) procura-se travar a violência baseada no género, proteger os direitos sexuais e reprodutivos, implementar a WPS, entre outros; (4) reconhecer e respeitar o equilíbrio entre o homem e a mulher, e tentar alcançar uma liderança sensível ao género; (5) produzir relatórios de análise e de avaliação dos processos de aplicação, de integração, os seus impactos e resultados, através de métodos quantitativos e qualitativos.

Para alcançar a tal liderança sensível ao género, a UE recomenda que se aborde e se reconheça

os obstáculos que as mulheres enfrentam para conquistar e manter, não só cargos de liderança de alto nível e posições fundamentais [...] mas também posições de início de carreira; recorda que os fatores suscetíveis de obstar à participação das mulheres, como a falta de políticas que permitam uma boa conciliação da vida pessoal com a vida profissional (Parlamento Europeu, 2020, p. 6).

O GAP, quer o I e o II, tiveram uma série de lacunas, revelando uma falta de compromisso por parte das instituições europeias e pelos Estados; reafirmando-se a necessidade de uma revisão da arquitetura institucional em relação ao género (Parlamento Europeu, 2020, p. 4). A falta de compromisso, por exemplo, revelou-se com a pouca colaboração com a sociedade civil, com os grupos e ou organizações de mulheres e ativistas na promoção da agenda, *«é necessário assumir um compromisso coerente com as organizações de mulheres e defensoras dos direitos humanos das mulheres ao longo de todo o ciclo de planeamento, execução, acompanhamento e avaliação»* (Parlamento Europeu, 2020, p. 5), esta colaboração é necessária para se caminhar para uma sociedade igualitária do ponto de vista do género (Parlamento Europeu, 2020). A não colaboração ou a pouca colaboração com a sociedade civil advêm da não compreensão sobre o que é o GAP, a estratégia para a igualdade de género e o género; isto é, os atores que lideram as ações no terreno, por exemplo, as delegações da UE, revelaram não compreender a importância desta estratégia e como devem abordar esta. Logo, de forma a se reforçar o compromisso de colaboração com a sociedade civil é necessário investir na formação dos atores. A supervisão e avaliação desta integração e respeito pelos direitos das mulheres e da igualdade de género foi entregue à Comissão dos Direitos das Mulheres e da Igualdade de Género (Parlamento Europeu, 2020).

4.2. O cruzamento das agendas de contraterrorismo e de género da União Europeia – os sucessos e as lacunas

Como referido, a UE tem a igualdade de género como um dos seus valores fundamentais, mas a sua integração e a de abordagens sensíveis ao género nas políticas e ações de segurança e defesa, internas e externas, é algo recentemente aplicado: *«gender appears as a set of specific recommendations in the Women, Peace and Security Agenda on gender equality and/or women's empowerment, but has not yet been mainstreamed to all areas of foreign policy, security and defense»* (Chappel & Guerrina, 2020, p. 262) . Mais recente ainda é o cruzamento entre as agendas de género e de contraterrorismo da UE (Debusscher & Manners, 2020; Deiana & McDonagh, 2018; Muehlenhofl, 2021; Haastrup, Wright & Guerrina, 2019; Chappell & Guerrina, 2020).

Com esta ligação entre agendas a UE pretende transformar-se num ator ativo na integração e promoção da igualdade de género, tal como, um ator ativo no combate ao terrorismo.

4.2.1. O *gender mainstreaming* no contraterrorismo

É imprescindível reconhecer e compreender como o género, a promoção e aplicação de estratégias de igualdade de género são elementos e ferramentas importantes no contraterrorismo (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018, 2019; Deiana & McDonagh, 2018; Salman, 2015; White, 2020a). Nivelar a balança da sociedade em termos de igualdade de género potencia o combate a outras desigualdades sociais e o combate ao terrorismo, pois os problemas e desigualdades sociais estão intimamente ligados à radicalização e por consequência à atividade terrorista. Assim, o combate à desigualdade de género e promoção da igualdade de género deverá estar presente na idealização e desenvolvimento dos programas e políticas de contraterrorismo (White, 2022; Entrevista 14). No entanto, Salman (2015) alerta que uma maior igualdade de género não implica necessariamente uma redução do terrorismo, pois a redução do terrorismo resulta da articulação de vários fatores e variáveis.

Seguindo esta orientação da integração de uma perspetiva de género, a UE investe no cruzamento das agendas de género e de contraterrorismo. A estratégia da UE para a WPS (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018, 2019) e o GAP III (Comissão Europeia, 2020c) preveem a aplicação do *gender mainstreaming* no contraterrorismo sob a coordenação da EEAS: «*gender should be seen as a cross-cutting issue as part of countering violent extremism / counterterrorism agendas*» (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018, p. 80).

A introdução desta variável de género encontra-se pela primeira vez representada na estratégia de contraterrorismo nas conclusões do Conselho da União Europeia (2020) referentes à prevenção do terrorismo, onde se apresenta a alínea que desenvolve uma abordagem sensível ao género e ao empoderamento da mulher:

A gender-responsive approach to countering terrorism and preventing violent extremism, which takes the diversity of experiences into account is necessary in order to achieve sustainable results, as is the continued promotion of women's active and meaningful participation in prevention and counter-terrorism efforts (Conselho da União Europeia, 2020, p. 12).

O *gender mainstreaming* no contraterrorismo têm como principais objetivos a aplicação de abordagens sensíveis ao género tanto no desenvolvimento das políticas como na sua ação no terreno; o empoderamento das mulheres enquanto participantes ativos no contraterrorismo, e mais especificamente, na prevenção e combate à radicalização e no P/CVE; a aplicação da interseccionalidade nas estatísticas de terrorismo e de radicalização (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018, p. 3). Um dos principais objetivos da implementação da igualdade de género passa por travar a violência sexual baseada no género e garantir os direitos da saúde sexuais e reprodutivos (Parlamento Europeu, 2020); identificar e combater os fatores que levam a um conflito e ou desigualdades associadas ao género nas dimensões interna e externa da UE. A promoção da igualdade de género e os direitos das mulheres também inclui o online e mundo digital, combatendo-se também a violência de género cibernética (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018; Entrevista 9).

Um outro objetivo do *gender mainstreaming* passa por abrir o leque de diversidade de experiências (Conselho da União Europeia, 2020), ouvir a experiência das margens da sociedade de forma a obter uma imagem mais alargada sobre a realidade que a sociedade experiêcia com o terrorismo e contraterrorismo, «*the placement of women on the margins of the public sphere allows for a wider perspective of process taking place within the center, that is, institutionalized society*» (Gaztold, 2020, p. 38).

Nesta abordagem de análise de género no contraterrorismo, em entender os fatores, as razões e os motivos associados a conflitos, radicalização e atividade terrorista, a UE defende um investimento na investigação que cruze os tópicos de contraterrorismo e género (Conselho da União Europeia, 2020; Heathcote, 2018), reforçando a relação conhecimento/poder. A investigação sobre os tópicos da radicalização e o género tem sido liderada pelo RAN: «*if you think about radicalization we have the Radicalization Awareness Network and, you know, that if you look at their documents they have done a lot on gender, again, with the focus on women and the focus on Islamic State returners*» (Entrevista 15). Mas, mais recentemente, a UE investiu e financiou um outro projeto de conhecimento e investigação científica no domínio da segurança, do contraterrorismo e da radicalização; um projeto mais focado no *gender mainstreaming* e nos papéis da mulher no contraterrorismo, trata-se do WIIS, *Women*

in Internacional Security Brussels, «the Women CT project implemented, the WIIS [...] it's a clear signal that for the counterterrorism part this kind of consideration about women roles in it is really well considered, as well» (Entrevista 19).

Como mencionado anteriormente, existe uma relação entre as desigualdades de género e outras desigualdades sociais, os conflitos e o terrorismo, *«[s]ocial exclusion and extreme inequality in social exchanges are potentially major indicators of social polarization and major tensions within a society»* (Carter, Rogers & Turner, 2023, p. 97). Por esse motivo, foi integrada uma abordagem de promover a igualdade de género nas medidas de prevenção da radicalização do terrorismo e do extremismo violento, pois entendem-se a desigualdade de género como um fator facilitador da radicalização de um indivíduo (Banks, 2019; Carter, Rogers & Turner, 2023; Fisher & Lee, 2019; White, 2023).

4.2.2. A agência da mulher – o reconhecimento dos múltiplos papéis

As abordagens de género que têm vindo a ser adotadas nas duas últimas décadas levaram à discussão global sobre as dinâmicas de género e a agência no terrorismo e no contraterrorismo.

Como foi mencionado anteriormente, surge no debate sobre a agência feminina uma dicotomia, a negação da agência feminina e o reconhecimento da agência, emergindo a tendência de reconhecimento dos múltiplos papéis que as mulheres podem assumir no terrorismo e no contraterrorismo. A narrativa da não agência entende a mulher como uma vítima dos conflitos, da insegurança e do terrorismo, narrativa essa que de uma forma muito generalizada, quer no mundo político como na sociedade civil, é vista como uma vítima direta ou indireta de um ataque terrorista; e até mesmo aquelas que assumem um papel de combatentes ou apoiantes do terrorismo são vítimas, pois a sua ação foi uma consequência da sua condição social, económica, política e cultural. Esta visão é uma consequência das construções de género embebidas na sociedade, que limita o papel da mulher à conceção tradicional dos papéis de género, naquilo que constitui para a sociedade uma ação “normal” ou “anormal” para uma mulher (Banks, 2019; Eddyono & Davies, 2018; Fink & Davidian, 2018). Perante estas duas narrativas, podemos concluir que estas representam a realidade, isto é, a mulher, como qualquer outro indivíduo, pode ser uma vítima como pode ser o perpetrador de

violência ou insegurança: «*sometimes these narratives can be both and right, like someone can be maybe be a victim in some aspects but also perpetuating some other crimes as well*» (Entrevista 12), pois têm a agência para escolher. Logo, o reconhecimento da agência é fulcral.

Seguindo as suas políticas de *gender mainstreaming*, a UE reconhece a circulação da narrativa da vitimização que nega a agência, narrativa essa que repudia, afirmando que as mulheres têm agência, que são agentes de mudança (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018; Parlamento Europeu, 2020; Eddyono & Davies, 2018; Alimohamed-Wilson & Zahzah, 2023; Massart & Ferrando, 2023; Brown, 2013; Oudraat, 2016), podendo ser agentes de mudança positiva e agentes de mudança negativa. Por outras palavras, reconhece a agência da mulher no terrorismo e no contraterrorismo: «*women should not automatically be assumed to be peacemakers, as they play diverse roles in conflict and can also be combatants and perpetrators of violence*» (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018, p. 16). Por um lado, assume o compromisso de apoiar a agência positiva e, por outro, reconhece o risco que as mulheres podem sofrer como potenciais vítimas e perpetradoras ou apoiantes do terrorismo (Conselho da União Europeia, 2020).

A UE entende, à luz do seu *gender mainstreaming*, que só é possível alcançar a igualdade de género se tivermos em conta o feminino e o masculino, por isso, para além de se entender a mulher como agente de mudança positiva, também se entendem os homens e os rapazes como agentes positivos de mudança. Existe um esforço coletivo, homens e mulheres, para a prevenção e resolução de conflitos e na prevenção da radicalização (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018).

A mulher no terrorismo

Nos últimos anos a cultura política, académica tradicional e dos media defende a tese de um aumento do número de mulheres radicalizadas e da atividade de terrorismo feminino, assumindo este crescimento como um fenómeno recente (Alison, 2004; Auchter, 2012; Bloom & Lockmonaglu, 2023; Hearne, 2009). Porém, essa visão é uma consequência dos estereótipos de género, conotando-se a atividade terrorista a um indivíduo do sexo masculino, a um fenómeno masculino: «*the stereotypes are always, especially in Europe they connect terrorist with male activity, from Middle East or from Africa*» (Entrevista 14). Contrapondo este viés, os feminismos argumentam que

a atividade da mulher no terrorismo não é uma tendência contemporânea (Bloom & Lokmanoglu, 2023; Laster & Erez, 2015; Ortobals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2018a; Entrevistas 2, 7, 8, 11, 14, 15 e 17): «*women have been active participants in many waves of terrorism around the globe*» (Banks, 2019, p.182); «*women have been engaged in both old and new roles, and as actors, partners and recipients of these hard and soft power approaches to terrorism*» (Cook, 2019, pp. 3-4). A presença feminina no terrorismo ganha maior expressão para os olhos da sociedade política e civil com a ação de grupos como ISIS, Al-Qaeda e Daesh, uma consequência do fenómeno de combatentes estrangeiros terroristas e as «ISIS-brides», as mulheres que casaram com combatentes terroristas do ISIS (Entrevistas 1, 5, 6, 7, 15, 17 e 20; Eppert & Roth, 2021; Alimhomed-Wilson & Zahzah, 2023)

Os grupos terroristas tornaram-se mais sofisticados nos seus métodos de disseminação de propaganda e de radicalização, adquiriram diferentes métodos para diferentes grupos etários entre géneros.

Os estudos, assim como as entrevistas, revelam que a atual configuração do processo de radicalização apresenta uma clara instrumentalização do género, os grupos terroristas exploram os estereótipos de género embebidos na sociedade (Massart & Ferrando, 2023; Gasztold, 2020; Hearne, 2009; Mesok, 2022; Ni Aoláin, 2020; OSCE, 2019; EIGE, 2020; Entrevistas 1, 7 e 11). Essa instrumentalização passa pelo aproveitamento da circulação da narrativa de que as mulheres são apenas vítimas do terrorismo, dando-se assim a radicalização e recrutamento de mulheres na tentativa de contornar as suspeitas das autoridades, «*[v]iolent radical groups are aware of these widespread stereotypes and were quick to understand how to exploit them. Even groups with ideologies contrary to gender equality do not hesitate to entrust women with critical tasks for the sake of efficiency*» (Massart & Ferrando, 2023, p. 16)

As estratégias para recrutar homens e mulheres através do online tem revelado diferentes táticas de aliciamento e recrutamento. Para atrair as mulheres é usada propaganda com mensagens que remetem ao papel tradicional atribuído à mulher de mãe e mulher de família (Gasztold, 2020; Ni Aoláin, 2020; EIGE, 2020; OSCE, 2019).

Embora exista esta reformulação da direção da radicalização, a atividade feminina no terrorismo não é igual nem transversal a todos os grupos terroristas. A

radicalização e recrutamento feminino variam de grupo para grupo, de ideologia para ideologia, depende dos diferentes objetivos e motivações desses grupos; *«female activity in far-right groups, in jihadi groups, in activity in one issue, eco-terrorist movements, it's not equal»* (Entrevista 14). No caso de grupos extremistas religiosos como o ISIS, as mulheres associaram-se ao grupo e às células por diferentes fatores, sendo os componentes social e político os mais evidentes (Entrevista 7; Ortals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2018a). A participação ou associação de mulheres ao ISIS, mais concretamente a questão das «ISIS-brides», tem gerado uma divisão, se são vítimas ou terroristas, criminosas (Alimahomed-Wilson & Zahzah, 2023; Jacques & Taylor, 2009; Eppert & Rothe, 2021; Rentschler, 2015; Thomas, 2021; Laster & Erez, 2015; Bloom & Lokmanoglu, 2023; Entrevistas 1, 2, 7, 12). Como anteriormente referido, a premissa de encarar a atividade destas mulheres como vítimas representa uma clara construção de estereótipos de género, encarando-as como inocentes por terem sido obrigadas e oprimidas pelos homens afiliados aos grupos (Entrevista 2). No entanto, a atividade terrorista e associação a um grupo poderá, segundo a Entrevista 1, ser a solução que estas mulheres encontram para exercer a sua agência em sociedades patriarcais e extramente masculinizadas:

I think with the rise of ISIS, ironically, for young women who live in conservative environments they sometimes found ISIS and Al-Qaeda the way of stepping in to their potential, so it's almost, like for them it was a liberation even though they were, having to live in a various of confined environments, but they did in a sense of agency (Entrevista 1).

Quanto ao papel que as mulheres desempenham nesses grupos, mais uma vez, depende de que grupo estamos a falar e a sua composição e organização. Em grupos em que há uma clara manifestação de uma organização e um sistema patriarcal, ou até em grupos jihadistas, as mulheres têm papéis mais invisíveis (Entrevistas 2, 12, 14 e 15; Gasztold, 2020; Ortals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2018a): *«a producer of weapons, carry weapons, finding hiding, for example, female are active in this scheme»* (Entrevista 14); *«recruiting, collecting money, organizing, bring snacks, this are things that women are more often involved in»* (Entrevista 2);

a lot of terrorist organizations can like obfuscate the role of women and so people think their only victims because, like, of the misogynistic narratives, but when we dig little deeper there's actually, like, many women who're leading in various ways in the organizations and actually perpetuating those narratives, they're recruiting people, they're actively trying to radicalize other people and may even commit some of those acts (Entrevista 12)

Se existe ou não um aumento do recrutamento e da atividade feminina no terrorismo, isso, só será possível de se compreender se existir uma análise contextual, de cada tipo de terrorismo e cada tipo de grupo, pois estes apresentam diferentes ideologias, sistema de crenças, motivações, objetivos e organizações (Entrevista 7).

Anteriormente mencionou-se que este reconhecimento sobre a mulher no terrorismo foi integrada na agenda de contraterrorismo da UE, mas de que forma é desenhada a estratégia e quais as medidas moldadas para fazer a face à mulher no terrorismo? «*What happens when women enter the policy area of terrorism*»? (Ortbals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2016, p. 121).

As medidas de contraterrorismo da UE que se focam nesta questão do terrorismo feminino cobrem analisar quais os fatores de radicalização das mulheres e quais os contextos sociais, políticos e ambientais favoráveis a essa radicalização; combater as desigualdades de género e promover e proteção dos direitos humanos das mulheres na tentativa de então prevenir a radicalização das mulheres; analisar a questão das «ISIS-brides» e das combatentes terroristas estrangeiras, vítimas ou criminosas (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018, 2020; Comissão Europeia, 2020d; Eppert & Rothe, 2021; Entrevistas 4, 5, 12 e 15).

Porém, esta questão dos combatentes terroristas estrangeiros persiste sobre a dúvida de «*is she only a victim, is she someone who perpetrated crimes, how do we dill with her*» (Entrevista 12);

there is a huge question of reintegration, repatriation of women who left their countries of residence when ISIS was on the rising know they are stuck in Siria or in Iraq camps and I think when it comes to the discussion of what to do with them gender thus play a role here because they are still as seen as more victims than perpetrators (Entrevista 4)

A mulher no contraterrorismo

«*[T]he face of terrorism is changing*» (Bloom & Lokmanoglu, 2023, p. 408), a atividade feminina no terrorismo torna-se visível, mas, estará o contraterrorismo a acompanhar esta mudança, estará a ganhar uma nova “cara”?

Uma das grandes premissas da agenda de género da UE e da WPS assenta no empoderamento e participação feminina na segurança, de uma forma muito generalizada a UE tenta aumentar o número de mulheres nas suas agências e

instituições, traduzindo esses objetivos no contraterrorismo (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018, 2019; Comissão Europeia, 2020c).

No contexto do contraterrorismo, este empoderamento da participação feminina destaca-se na dimensão da prevenção da radicalização e extremismo violento (Conselho da União Europeia, 2019, 2020; Comissão Europeia, 2020c; Fink & Davidian, 2018; Eddyono & Davies, 2018; Oudraat, 2016; Muehlenhoff, 2017; Meger, 2019). A integração é feita em moldes semelhantes aos da integração noutros contextos da política europeia, em que existe um sistema de igualdade de oportunidades, encorajando-se as mulheres a progredirem na sua carreira tendo em vista cargos de liderança, entre outros. Através da Entrevista 9 percebe-se que a presença feminina no combate ao terrorismo online parece ser significativa:

I would say that there is a lot of female's involvement when regards to social media companies with respect to online extremism and terrorism. There are organizations like, for example, GIFCT, Global Internet Forum for Counterterrorism, which is like an industry lead organization as significant female involvement [...] and there are more, more women obviously involved in law enforcement and also, I would say in Intelligence agencies, including at the top of those organizations, the head, for example, of Europol right now is a woman [Catherine De Bolle].

No entanto, esta integração da mulher no contraterrorismo distingue-se quando a UE reconhece que a mulher, enquanto mãe, esposa, filha e irmã tem uma agência na prevenção da radicalização (Meger, 2019; Åhäll, 2022; Sjoberg & Gentry, 2015), «considered the role of women – particularly women as mothers – in efforts to counter and prevent violent extremism» (Oudraat, 2016, p. 18). Isto é, os papéis que a mulher adquire e tem no contexto familiar são importantes para a dimensão da prevenção, pois a sua posição na família e na sociedade permite reconhecer comportamentos e até atividade de radicalização, terrorismo e extremismo violento (OSCE, 2019); sendo também promotoras do diálogo com a sociedade (Entrevista 17). Contudo, esta atribuição de agência de contraterrorismo pela sua posição no seio familiar e social revela ser um processo complexo (Eddyono & Davies, 2018, p. 990-991), mas um processo, embebido na narrativa de «care provision» (Entrevista 5), o estereótipo de que a mulher tem um lado cuidador, intrínseco à sua natureza biológica de progenitora, mãe.

Contudo, tal como no terrorismo, ainda não é possível medir ou quantificar a presença e a liderança feminina no contraterrorismo, desde o *policymaking* à ação

enquanto agentes de prevenção (Ortbals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2018a), o que se consegue analisar, até ao momento, é que existe uma presença em cargos e papéis de contraterrorismo (Catie & von Hlatcky, 2014), mais notória na prevenção (Fink & Davidian, 2018); Eddyono & Davies, 2018; Oudraat, 2016; Entrevista 9).

4.2.3. As lacunas do *gender mainstreaming* do contraterrorismo

A UE propõe-se a integrar uma abordagem sensível ao género «*into early warning systems and structures to strengthen the link between the WPS Agenda and for example counterterrorism and countering violent extremism agendas and partnerships with domestic civil society actors, the private sector and academia*» (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018, p. 21), porém, este processo de integração tem revelado lacunas.

Apesar de todos os esforços da UE na integração do *gender mainstreaming* no contraterrorismo, até ao momento, este processo complexo apresenta algumas lacunas, levantando-se questões como: haverá uma verdadeira aplicação de uma abordagem de género no contraterrorismo? Existe uma integração e participação efetiva da mulher no contraterrorismo? Existe uma instrumentalização do género e da mulher na agenda de contraterrorismo da UE. Estas lacunas demonstram como o contraterrorismo da UE ignora a relevância que o *gender mainstreaming* tem no contraterrorismo (Ní Aolaín, 2016; Entrevistas 8 e 14).

Uma verdadeira aplicação da abordagem de género?

As opiniões dividem-se quanto à integração de uma abordagem de género e da WPS no contraterrorismo da UE: uns consideram que existe uma integração (Entrevistas 5, 12, 16 e 20) e outros que a integração é quase inexistente (Entrevistas 4, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18 e 19). Os que consideram que existe de facto uma integração, entende a WPS como um guia, uma fonte de design para as políticas dos Estados (Entrevista 16); e que a WPS, a abordagem de género, é aplicada em diferentes programas e projetos, por exemplo, como o RAN e a WISS. Os que consideram que a integração é mínima ou nenhuma dizem-nos que a UE e os seus Estados apenas fazem uma introdução generalizada da abordagem, o campo do contraterrorismo apenas se tornou mais aberto à discussão do género e da mulher (Entrevista 4).

A UE tenta guiar os Estados Membros para a discussão de género, no entanto, essa discussão não chega às agendas nacionais de contraterrorismo, «*gender and gender mainstreaming however in national acts there is no such division, male/female terrorist, women added to counterterrorism, there is no discussion, discussion is only between us, the scientists*» (Entrevista 14). Este tipo de abordagens ainda não é possível de aplicar de forma transversal a todos os Estados, isto porque, a aplicação de abordagens de género tem sido apenas eficaz em países onde a discussão da igualdade de género e dos direitos humanos não existe, isto é, em países como a Noruega, em que a igualdade de género é um facto e não uma luta, a igualdade de género é já uma meta atingida; como na Dinamarca e França onde já existem abordagens feministas de proteção e promoção dos direitos das mulheres e de uma discussão do género (Entrevistas 11 e 14); as abordagens de género não são seguidas em países que têm uma forte presença da masculinidade e de uma organização patriarcal, Estados onde a desigualdade de género é bastante significativa (EIGE, 2024), como na Polónia e na Hungria (Entrevista 14), ou até mesmo como na Espanha (Entrevista 15) ou na Itália (Entrevista 17). O *gender mainstreaming* foi desenhado para os países do Norte da Europa, para uma Europa ocidental, «*the European approach is based on Denmark experience, Sweden experience, France approach to women rights, not from the Central and Eastern European countries*» (Entrevista 14); foi desenhado para também ser aplicado em contextos de conflito e forte presença de atividade terrorista, como o Quênia, «*a much more comprehensive set of rules for gender participation, both for women doing counterterrorism and for women receiving counterterrorism [...] is thinking about women in counterterrorism in Kenya*» (Entrevista 15).

A igualdade de género perde-se no discurso político de *gender mainstreaming* da UE, há apenas uma abordagem retórica, discursiva e narrativa do género (White, 2022; Entrevistas 7, 11, 15 e 17),

do we have references to gender, absolutely; is there a language of gender inclusion, yes; thus that help us, no, because the key point is where you're starting, you can sprinkle this words like gender equality and gender inclusion [...] you can put it there but it doesn't fundamentally change the bases of what you're doing, unless you fundamentally thought about, how things like, for example, inequality lead to the production of violence. So, there is a plenty of gender referencing but that's different from saying is this designed to address the ways in which counterterrorism both produce and excuse gender outcomes in society (Entrevista 11)

O género é integrado e implementado em programas de contraterrorismo através do empoderamento das mulheres e da sua integração e participação nas organizações e missões (Deiana & McDonagh, 2018; White, 2020a). Refletindo a narrativa que circula nos países Ocidentais e na WPS de proteção da mulher, especialmente no contexto externo das ações de contraterrorismo,

«there's certainly been a strand of the narrative of Western powers that has saw to justify their counterterrorism decisions in terms of the benefits for women and generally that's the benefits for women on other countries and the, you know, the heroic nature of that western government in providing that protection» (Entrevista 15).

A abordagem ténue da retórica da agenda do *gender mainstreaming* no contraterrorismo resume-se à participação das mulheres na prevenção do contraterrorismo (Deiana & McDonagh, 2018; Ní Aoláin, 2016; White, 2020a), não respondendo totalmente ao seu compromisso de igualdade de género e de perspetiva de género (EIGE, 2020).

Assim, a UE falhou na integração do *gender mainstreaming* na sua arquitetura, a integração de apenas um empoderamento das mulheres nas medidas de contraterrorismo, ou em outro tipo de medidas, não é suficiente e não será significativo, representa uma simplificação de uma abordagem de género que é na sua génese complexa (White, 2020a, 2021). É necessário encarar o género pelas suas múltiplas facetas.

«Add women and stir» no contraterrorismo

Apesar de o *gender mainstreaming* no contraterrorismo aparentar ser um grande passo para a agência feminina no contraterrorismo, a realidade é outra, *«does not mean that women will be included in defining what constitutes terrorism and what counterterrorism strategies are compliant with human rights and equality»* ((Ní Aoláin, 2016, p. 276). Continuando a persistir uma cegueira em relação à agência da mulher (Entrevistas 5, 12 e 18).

Consequentemente, surge na literatura a expressão *«add women and stir»* (Chappel & Guerrina, 2020; Johnston, 2022; Guerrina, Haastrup & Wright, 2023; Heathcote, 2018; Patel, 2022; White, 2020b), expressão que se refere ao facto que quer em matéria de contraterrorismo quer em outras áreas da segurança e da PCSD, a participação feminina é encarada como algo a cumprir da “lista de tarefas” do *gender*

maisntreaming (Entrevista 8). Por outras palavras, a mulher é apenas integrada no *staff*, nas equipas e no preenchimento de quotas (Johnston, 2022; Heathcote, 2018; Entrevista1),

it becomes a matter of making sure that there is a certain quota of women in the room or [...] "We added some women" [...] but, you know, those women are not supported, capacitated, trained, and encourage to speak up. They may not participate as much, and [...] conversation may not even be [about] issues that are relevant to them (Entrevista 1).

As mulheres continuam a não estar presentes de forma significativa nos processos e ações de contraterrorismo, nas discussões de paz, nas resoluções de contraterrorismo (Entrevista 11 e 17):

[i]f we are looking at the women, the female peacekeepers, the number is decreasing, it is sure that peacekeeping operations are decreasing generally speaking, but then the role of women is decreasing also. So, this is something that we should also consider (Entrevista 17);

is now women sitting in Doha when the Taliban was negotiating its way back in the Afghanistan or the current discussions in Doha concerning the cease-fire modalities in Israel and Gaza, there's no women, there's no WPS what matters [...] But in the frontline of the actual negotiations of violence ending and violence regulation and planning at the national level about what you think about countering terrorism or other forms of violence in society, [gender approaches] just doesn't exist (Entrevista 11).

Esta limitação da agência da mulher, a não integração total da mulher no contraterrorismo, não se restringe às situações acima referidas, esta abrange ainda questões associadas ao bem-estar da mulher no staff, nas equipas e missões (Entrevista 19):

bulletproof jackets are often not designed to be wear by women [...] so, they have more risk to be injured or killed during operations; it can go to [...] in police stations where there is no separate bathroom, lockers and etc. [...], there is sometimes tendency to limit them to what we project the feminine function to CT and not having competence bases policies on how you use strengths of the different staff and personal.

A instrumentalização do género e da mulher no contraterrorismo

Um outro tópico central na literatura e nas entrevistas realizadas é a questão da instrumentalização do género, da mulher e dos direitos das mulheres no processo de securitização e no contraterrorismo (Gasztold, 2020; Fink & Davidian, 2018; Lorentzeen, 2021; Meger, 2019; White, 2022, 2023; Entrevistas 1, 3, 5, 8, 9 e 18).

Por um lado, uma instrumentalização que tem como base a ação das instituições e dos Estados (Gasztold, 2020; Fink & Davidian, 2018; White, 2022; Entrevista 5): onde a instrumentalização resulta da não integração da abordagem de género desde as políticas, à arquitetura institucional, às ações de contraterrorismo (Fink & Davidian,

2018); Ou a própria estrutura e arquitetura das instituições exerce uma instrumentalização do género ao perpetuarem a sua construção de desigualdades e os estereótipos de género nas suas agendas (Gaztold, 2020; White, 2022).

Por outro, a integração do género no contraterrorismo foca-se na agência que a mulher pode assumir na prevenção da radicalização e do recrutamento, a mulher enquanto protetora, papel esse atribuído à mulher de família, às mães. E será essa redução do papel da mulher a protetora, de cuidadora, a agência limitada por um viés de género,

[o]ften such counter-strategies reinforce gender stereotypes, with women involved in CVE programs being praised for their personal involvement rather their political agency, for being mothers rather than leaders, thereby confirming prevailing gender norms (Phelan, 2023, p. 2),

que ocorre uma instrumentalização do género pelos Estados, pelas políticas de contraterrorismo (Meger, 2019, pp. 284-286; Sjoberg & Gentry, 2015; Entrevista 9). A retórica de integração das mulheres no contraterrorismo, mais concretamente na prevenção da radicalização e no P/CVE, é para a critica feminista, tornar a mulher num instrumento ou ferramenta, logo, não se cumpre com a premissa de proteção da mulher e do sexo feminino.

5. Será a União Europeia um ator global de contraterrorismo e de género?

Segue-se neste capítulo a discussão sobre o cruzamento das agendas da UE em matéria de contraterrorismo e género, e um conjunto de propostas para uma agenda futura da UE de contraterrorismo, uma agenda em que se evidencia uma abordagem sensível ao género.

5.1. Um ator global de contraterrorismo e de género?

Através da triangulação de dados, é possível identificar os seguintes tópicos centrais nos documentos, entrevistas e literatura: o carácter holístico e reativo do contraterrorismo da União e a integração do *gender mainstreaming*; a agência feminina no terrorismo e no contraterrorismo; e uma instrumentalização do género e da mulher.

O papel da UE no campo da segurança e do contraterrorismo tem vindo a ser discutido, levantando-se duas teses, uma em que a UE é um ator pouco ativo (Keohane, 2007; Coolsaet, 2010) e outra que refuta essa mesma, na qual os seus defensores argumentam que a perceção que se tem sobre a atividade da UE é uma consequência da conceção de segurança, o contexto de segurança usado para a análise da atividade da UE irá traduzir-se na análise (Kaunert e Léonard, 2012). Assim, se virmos a segurança pelo espectro de ação militar versus a segurança como algo multidimensional, temos duas perspetivas opostas, uma em que a União tem uma ação militar mínima e outra em que a União está ativa em diversos campos, traduzindo-se numa ação significativa.

Apesar das críticas, a UE apresenta-se como um ator global de contraterrorismo, um contraterrorismo que ao longo dos anos tem sido moldado às configurações do sistema internacional e do terrorismo, apresentando, assim, uma visão holística, visão essa que se traduz nas diferentes instituições, agências, atores, autoridades, soberanias e Estados na União (Coolsaet, 2010). Hoje a sua agenda atenta a todos os níveis de participação no terrorismo, desde os perpetradores e combatentes ativos até aos atores nos bastidores, àqueles indivíduos que apoiam as logísticas e organizações dos ataques;

à propaganda, radicalização e ao recrutamento online, assim como ao ciberterrorismo; às novas tecnologias e ameaças híbridas; entre outras. O desafio para o contraterrorismo será sempre acompanhar essa evolução, ou até mesmo reconhecer essa evolução (Entrevistas 2, 9, 14 2 15; Argomaniz, 2011; Argomaniz, Bures & Kaunert, 2015; Baker-Beall, 2016; Boer, 2015, Bossong, 2015; Brattber & Rhinard, 2014; Kaunert & Léonard; Kaunert, MacKenzie & Léonard, 2022). É nesta visão multilateral e multidimensional que a UE cruza a sua agenda de contraterrorismo com a emergente discussão global do género.

A UE é considerada um ator importante na integração do género (Chappell & Guerrina, 2020; Debusscher & Manners, 2020; Muehlenhofl, 2021). «*All European Union policies are gendered in terms of their inclusion of women in decision-making processes, their norms and impact*» (Muehlenhofl, 2021, p. 327). Contudo, a segurança e a defesa revelam ser fortemente masculinizadas, um desequilíbrio entre géneros nas consequências e efeitos das políticas assim como na participação.

Debusscher & Manners (2020) defendem que para o progresso e para alcançar igualdades é necessário entender as perspetivas de género como mais do que homem e mulher, é preciso adotar perspetivas *gender +*, pois o género não deve ser visto como um elemento singular, este deve ser articulado, interseccionado com outros elementos como idade, sexualidade, etnia, entre outras, abordagem que a UE assume na teoria e na legislação da sua estratégia, porém não se traduz na aplicação prática, por exemplo, os relatórios estatísticos de criminalidade, terrorismo e contraterrorismo com dados desagregados por idade, sexo, etnia, entre outras, são ainda limitados (EIGE, 2020, pp. 8-9, 17). No entanto, as Entrevistas 6 e 9, dizem nos que do ponto de vista de se aplicar o *gender-sensitive* e a interseccionalidade, a UE falha, devido à sua cegueira em relação à etnia e à cor da pele (Entrevista 6); o género não pode ser só a mulher, «*gender would, at the very least, [...] talking about sort of women/females/femininity and related issues to men/males/masculinity, to gender and sexuality issues specially around LGBTQ+ community and specially, right know, I would say the targeting of trans*» (Entrevista 9).

Seguindo este ângulo, a UE é um ator *gendered normative* e não um *normative gender actor*, isto é, a União é um ator que implementa narrativas de género, «*those that only strategically deploy gender narratives*» (Debusscher & Manners, 2020, p. 263);

e não um ator que promove de forma ativa a igualdade de género e o *gender mainstreaming*. A União, no seu processo de integração do género, encontra-se numa fase em que apenas adota uma narrativa de género, que não é transversal a todos os setores de ação. A igualdade como um valor fundamental e pilar das estratégias continua a ser um objetivo a cumprir, existe apenas uma implementação normativa. Por isso, à luz do feminismo institucionalista, a UE não é neutra ao género, por outras palavras, revela no seu discurso, agendas e instituições viés de género e relações hierárquicas de poder, assentes em dicotomias de papéis atribuídos ao homem e à mulher construídas pela sua conceção de género (MacRae; Rothermel, 2022; Aggestam & True, 2020; Chappell & Guerrina, 2020; Tickner, 2018).

Destaca-se, ainda, o facto de o género e a igualdade de género serem integradas nas agendas e estratégias da UE após ou até mesmo aquando de períodos de crise, como crises financeiras à escala global, a vaga de extremismos nos diversos espectros políticos, a crise climática, entre outras (Debusscher & Manners, 2020). Uma agenda de género que também apresenta, como a de contraterrorismo, vagas de produção de legislação e normas, um carácter reativo aos eventos (Debusscher & Manners, 2020; Fink, Brakat e Shetret, 2013; Argomaniz, Bures & Kaunert, 2015; Kaunert, MacKenzie & Léonard, 2022; Coolsaet, 2010; Pillar, 2018; Entrevistas 5, 6, 9, 15 e 20).

Até sensivelmente ao início do século XXI, persistia uma cegueira política, social e da literatura sobre a mulher e a sua relação com o terrorismo e contraterrorismo; porém, uma abertura, embora que ligeira, começa a pronunciar-se com a agenda da WPS na segurança. Esta cegueira tem sido fortemente criticada pelos feminismos, críticas essas que se intensificam com a agenda que se compromete a introduzir a mulher no discurso da segurança (Chinkin, 2018; White, 2020a; George, Lee-Koo & Shepherd, 2019; Swaine, 2018b; Theidon, 2016; True, 2016; Ortvals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2014; Ní Aoláin, 2016)

O *gender mainstreaming* é integrado no contraterrorismo da UE através do pilar da prevenção, atentado à agência das mulheres enquanto agentes positivos de contraterrorismo e negativos de terrorismo; uma integração que é exemplo de uma tentativa de alcançar a segurança humana afastando-se de uma tradição de uma segurança centrada no Estado (White, 2020a).

Embora se possa considerar a WPS como um sinal de esforço por parte da ONU, da UE e dos Estados, esta agenda não se foca exclusivamente no contraterrorismo, a agenda envolve diferentes setores da segurança, o que se traduz numa grande área de trabalho (Fink, Brakat & Shetret, 2013). A WPS, a igualdade de género e o empoderamento das mulheres ainda não alcançou todas as esferas políticas da UE, o *gender mainstreaming* tem sido implementado sim, mas não uniformemente, sendo o campo da segurança, da defesa e do contraterrorismo alguns exemplos dessa fraca implementação (Chappell & Guerrina, 2020). A subtil aplicação ou a não efetiva aplicação do género é consequência de um entendimento reduzido das perspetivas de género e da WPS (Meger, 2019; White, 2022, 2023), onde apenas se adiciona o género a estratégias e políticas pré-existentes. A título de exemplo, olhemos para a fonte documental *Council Conclusions on EU External Action on Preventing and Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism* (Conselho da União Europeia, 2020, p. 12), onde se verifica esta integração superficial da abordagem de género no contraterrorismo da UE. O documento em questão refere apenas que à luz da abordagem de género deve ser promovida a igualdade entre o homem e a mulher; reconhece que o papel da mulher enquanto vítima e enquanto perpetradora de atividades terroristas; e, por fim, que os Estados devem investir na investigação das dimensões de género articuladas com o terrorismo. Porém, não é desenhado um efetivo plano de ação, não são apresentadas medidas de aplicação prática, medidas que apontem para o “como”: como é que se irá alcançar essa igualdade de género; como é que se irá combater a radicalização; como é que se irá aplicar os resultados da investigação nas políticas e ações de contraterrorismo.

Percebe-se, assim, que não é realizada uma análise das políticas, não há uma tentativa de compreender o porquê de ser necessária a adoção e implementação destas agendas de género no contraterrorismo (Meger, 2019; White, 2023; Entrevistas 14, 15). O facto de não existir uma compreensão sobre a complexidade do género e das suas relações de poder impede a compreensão total sobre uma abordagem de género.

Ainda que a UE conduza esforços neste sentido de implementar uma discussão, análise e aplicação que tenham em conta a mulher, o género, o contraterrorismo continua a ser formatado à luz de vieses de género e de masculinidades (Gasztold, 2020;

Ní Aoláin, 2016; White, 2022; MacRae & Weiner, 2021), as mulheres ainda não são encaradas como participantes e atores de contraterrorismo; «*[a]s the fight against terrorism is concentrated on reducing terrorist activity, both terrorism and counterterrorism are generally associated with the male world. Therefore, the gender difference is very highly marked by the presence of man and absence of women*» (Gaztold, 2020, p. 60).

A União afirma que a igualdade de género é um dos elementos centrais na sua ação externa de P/CVE e contraterrorismo (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018, p. 23). Através do GAP III, a UE apresenta um discurso em que patenteia a sua posição no sistema internacional, a de um ator ativo e inovador, «*[a] UE é pioneira a nível mundial na promoção da igualdade de género enquanto objetivo político fundamental na sua ação externa e da sua política externa e de segurança comum*» (Comissão Europeia, 2020c, p. 1). A União considera ser um dos principais promotores da integração do género e da igualdade na dimensão externa da PCSD (Conselho da União Europeia, 2018; Entrevistas 15; Chappell & Guerrina, 2020; Debusscher & Manners, 2020; White 2023; Deiana & McDonagh, 2018), posição esta que levanta questões sobre a efetiva aplicação do género e do *gender mainstreaming* no contraterrorismo da União: é apenas dirigido à cooperação com países terceiros? Será apenas o género aplicado na dimensão externa do contraterrorismo? Questões que se acentuam quando se analisa a mais recente agenda de contraterrorismo (Comissão Europeia, 2020a) e o relatório do pós-COVID 19 (Conselho da União Europeia, 2021) em que não há menção a uma perspetiva de género, à variável do género e à interseccionalidade, apenas a documentação referente à ação externa do contraterrorismo menciona e aplica o *gender mainstreaming* (Conselho da União Europeia, 2020).

Assim, entende-se que a realidade do contraterrorismo em matéria de género encontra-se subdesenvolvida, a UE apostou numa integração normativa do *gender mainstreaming* na sua dimensão interna, e numa integração mais prática na dimensão externa da segurança, com a promoção da igualdade de género, na proteção das mulheres enquanto vítimas de violência em contextos de conflitos em países terceiros. Uma efetiva integração iria estender-se aos diversos campos e dimensões, sejam eles

internos e externos, não apenas à ação externa (Entrevistas 15; Chappell & Guerrina, 2020; Debusscher & Manners, 2020; White 2023).

Uma das razões que estará por de trás da ineficácia do *gender mainstreaming* no contraterrorismo é o facto de, em alguns contextos, se assumir que género e mulher são sinónimos, quando são duas variáveis independentes. Esta ideia de sinónimo é a razão pela qual apenas se dá a inclusão e participação da mulher no contraterrorismo e não uma verdadeira compreensão sobre o *gender mainstreaming* (White, 2022).

Seguindo os propósitos feministas da relação do conhecimento e poder (Landman, 2006), a UE compreende que o conhecimento especializado é fulcral para o melhoramento das suas políticas e ações, e o impacto destas na sociedade, «*conduct and gather gender-sensitive research and data collection on the drivers of radicalization for women, and the impacts of counter-terrorism strategies on women's human rights and women's organizations, in order to develop target and evidence-based policy and programming responses*» (UNSC, 2015a, p. 6). Embora o RAN tenha produzido conhecimento e propostas sobre o género e o terrorismo, «*has certainly saw to bring in gender as an issue and a factor in other sort of aspects of violent extremism and terrorism also*» (Entrevista 9), questiona-se será que esta relação conhecimento/poder não deveria de ser mais vincada (Entrevista 5, 17 e 18). Se o conhecimento adota-se um papel mais ativo no contraterrorismo, «*knowledge should be really driving or testing policy*» (Entrevista 18), estaríamos perante um importante desenvolvimento na identificação e compreensão dos intervenientes de terrorismo, tal como, os de contraterrorismo; um melhor reconhecimento e compreensão de fatores de radicalização e de violência política; uma melhor aplicação do género nas políticas e ações; quais os impactos, positivos e negativos, destas políticas nos indivíduos e na sociedade; «*the EU should investigate the need for further awareness raising and monitoring with respect to gender equality in CT [counterterrorism]*» (CTMORSE, 2018, p. 5).

Através do feminismo institucionalista percebe-se que, num primeiro momento, a UE não entendia o género como um elemento importante para as estratégias de contraterrorismo, assim como a agência da mulher no terrorismo não era abordada. Depois, após a emergência de discursos de igualdade de género, de abordagens de

género, a UE muda o seu discurso, no qual procura introduzir perspetivas de género nas suas políticas. No que concerne ao contraterrorismo, esta introdução e aplicação é superficial e normativa. Do ponto de vista do feminismo liberal, existe de facto uma integração da igualdade de género e o reconhecimento dos múltiplos papéis da mulher, mas, mais uma vez, uma aplicação normativa; o impacto e resultado na prática do contraterrorismo é pouco assertiva, a igualdade de género e a participação feminina no contraterrorismo continuam a ser reduzidas.

5.2. Propostas para o futuro das estratégias de contraterrorismo da União

Uma das questões do guião das entrevistas debruçava-se sobre propostas para melhorar as estratégias de contraterrorismo da UE, uma questão que reflete um feminismo normativo, tentativa de criar uma agenda futura do contraterrorismo da UE. Como Debusscher e Manners (2020) nos dizem, o papel de trazer as diferentes experiências para a discussão é entregue à investigação feminista, a investigação feminista tem espaço para dar voz às mulheres, será a investigação que fará chegar as preocupações e os impactos do contraterrorismo à UE.

Reconhece-se que o processo de integração do género, na teoria e na prática, não é um processo fácil, e trata-se de um processo a longo prazo (White, 2020). Uma mudança levará tempo, mudar a perspetiva e as narrativas existentes é complicado, pois o contraterrorismo envolve muitos elementos e muitos atores que têm diferentes organizações e configurações, que têm diferentes formas de processar a mudança (Entrevista 15).

Contudo, a União deve começar por rever as suas atuais perspetivas e narrativas, tendo em vista uma maior eficácia. Os principais tópicos que merecem especial atenção das abordagens futuras são: repensar o terrorismo e o contraterrorismo; novas variáveis a considerar no contraterrorismo; a cooperação entre os Estados-Membros; a relação do mundo político e a sociedade civil; a integração do género e da mulher no contraterrorismo. Deverá a perspetiva sobre o que é o

contraterrorismo, até onde o contraterrorismo se estende e quais as partes envolvidas no contraterrorismo alargar-se?

Um repensar do terrorismo e do contraterrorismo

Há uma clara tendência das entrevistadas de proporem um repensar do contraterrorismo, assim como do terrorismo (Entrevistas 2, 6, 8, 11, 13, 14 e 17), de forma a que a União possa alcançar as múltiplas facetas, dimensões e contextos do terrorismo. A organização precisa de sofrer mudanças, deve ser conduzida uma reavaliação das políticas e da arquitetura institucional do contraterrorismo. Esta revisão e até mesmo atualização do contraterrorismo não se deve apenas á questão do género e da igualdade de género, a UE está a falhar ou a minimizar algumas dimensões (Entrevistas 6 e 11).

Para se reformular o contraterrorismo, é necessário repensar o terrorismo. Uma atualização da definição de terrorismo, o que é que se entende por terrorismo, o que é que constitui uma atividade terrorista, assim como quem são os seus agentes perpetradores, onde é que o terrorismo atua (Entrevistas 2, 8, 9, 11 e 14).

I think that first of all, the definition of terrorist group because there are also blurred structures like networks, hybrid structures and in the EU framework Decision from 2002, it was changed in 2008, there is very old-fashion definition of terrorist group, and I think that, for me, counterterrorism avoids the cyberspace, recruitment and terrorist activity, and on the European Union level they don't have any idea how to counter and combat terrorist threats from cyberspace. It's on the connected we find financial markets on cyber, propaganda, promoting content propaganda, espionage, etc. (Entrevista 14)

Embora exista legislação referente à propaganda, recrutamento, radicalização, financiamento e terrorismo online, esta parece não estar a acompanhar as fórmulas mais recentes das tecnologias. O crescimento da globalização online e as ameaças híbridas deverão ser alvo de maior atenção dos decisores políticos do contraterrorismo (Entrevistas 9 e 14).

Ao redesenhar a definição de terrorismo, também devemos ter em conta a questão do terrorismo feminino. Será que todas as atividades classificadas como terrorismo por parte de mulheres são realmente terrorismo? Estaremos a categorizar ou classificar um ato de luta pelos direitos humanos ou direitos humanos das mulheres como um ato terrorista? (Entrevistas 11 e 13)

[I]n many countries the definition is so vague that's really hard to take a definition, for example, like the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia definition of terrorism, women who advocate for

the driving of cars and who argue for women's rights in Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are defined by the terrorism laws in the Saudi Arabia as terrorists. I think most of us would argue that advocating to drive a car and have the full penalty of civil rights in the society is not terrorism [...] So what do we mean by the category of women terrorists I would ask. When the definitions including, in particularly, the increasingly target women who actively argue for their own rights. So, there are more women, for example, in Afghanistan or Iran arguing for their rights? Hundreds of them; Are they all terrorists? No (Entrevista 11).

As estratégias da UE servem para guiar os Estados-Membros a desenvolver os seus próprios programas e políticas. Porém, para além de um guia, não será necessária uma maior cooperação na criação e aplicação destes programas de contraterrorismo com os Estados-Membros? Embora a segurança e o contraterrorismo sejam da soberania dos Estados, a União preza os seus valores de comunicação, cooperação e segurança comum, mas como é que será possível atingir uma segurança comum com um desequilíbrio nas políticas de contraterrorismo no espaço da União? A aplicação de estratégias de género no contraterrorismo, e até mesmo em outras áreas, é desigual, pois, tal como no caso da conceção de terrorismo, existem diferentes compreensões e conceções sobre a igualdade de género e do género, cada Estado-Membro constrói a sua noção sobre o terrorismo e o género resultando em aplicações diversas das estratégias. A União procura alcançar uma política e ação comum de contraterrorismo ao tentar que exista uma harmonização normativa, legislativa e prática, sendo assim, terá de alcançar-se uma harmonização sobre o terrorismo, o género, a mulher e o homem, a igualdade e até sobre os direitos humanos.

É necessário perceber se todos os Membros entendem o terrorismo pelos mesmos módulos (Entrevista 11). Mas isto aplica-se não só aos Estados da UE, esta preocupação deve estender-se ao sistema internacional.

Esta questão introduz a proposta por um contraterrorismo mais baseado na segurança humana e menos reativo, e baseado em estruturas institucionais (Entrevistas 8 e 11): *«I think counterterrorism has to become less defensive and has to be more about kind of creating human security [...] kind of a shared human security»* (Entrevista 8).

Uma preocupação que já acompanha os teóricos feministas e que a Entrevista 2 aborda é a questão da violência doméstica, a violência doméstica ser considerada no contraterrorismo como um ato de terrorismo, que ao contrário do terrorismo, digamos, tradicional, se dá na esfera privada, o *«intimate terrorism»* (Sjoberg, 2015; Carter, Rogers & Turner, 2023).

Obviously, domestic violence, which is the violence that happens the most in Europe [...] because violence is violence, but people see it a bit of a more private relational, so it doesn't count to crime numbers. And I think should be counted to crime numbers, if nothing else because domestic violence is also, obviously, connected with other types of violence because, again, violence is violence but also because violence towards women shouldn't be less important than violence towards men (Entrevista 2)

O contraterrorismo não deverá apenas combater o terrorismo na esfera pública, deverá criar uma dimensão que se ocupe por combater o terror na esfera privada dos indivíduos, seja a violência doméstica dirigida às mulheres como aos homens. Aquilo que a UE entende por conflitos ou violência baseada no género, nesta sua abordagem de género no contraterrorismo, deverá também incluir a violência doméstica, um conflito a uma escala doméstica.

Nesta lógica de que tipos de violência devem entender-se como terrorismo, procura-se uma maior ênfase nas *soft measures* (Entrevistas 6 e 11). Um maior esforço teórico e prático no pilar da *Prevenção*, procurar saber o que é que produz e motiva a violência, como é que se dá a radicalização e o porquê da suscetibilidade a ideologias terroristas e extremistas (Entrevistas 11). A relação da migração com o contraterrorismo deve, no sentido das *soft measures*, ser mais ativa, pois a migração tem-se tornado numa questão de segurança associada à circulação do terrorismo (Entrevistas 6 e 20). Dever-se-á procurar fazer uma verificação e análise do cadastro dos migrantes, das suas agendas pessoais e manifestos políticos. Esta verificação não deverá ficar pela segurança das fronteiras, dever-se-á estender a uma análise interna, dos cidadãos europeus, na tentativa de travar células adormecidas e os combatentes terroristas estrangeiros (Entrevista 6).

Não obstante, é proposta a revisão da própria agenda da WPS (Entrevista 16). A WPS é um guia para a tentativa de desenvolver, mas será esta um guia eficaz para o desenvolvimento de abordagens sensíveis ao género e à mulher no contraterrorismo e que atende às características profundas do contraterrorismo?

Cooperação entre Estados

Um outro ponto em que a UE deverá procurar o seu contraterrorismo será na cooperação entre os Estados Membros: na cooperação interestadual, na cooperação institucional, na cooperação policial, na cooperação judicial; cooperação entre as agências de informação, procurando assim uma melhor circulação de dados e

informações referentes ao terrorismo, aos grupos terroristas e a ações de contraterrorismo. A chave para o contraterrorismo da UE ser bem-sucedido será estabelecer uma base de confiança entre Estados-Membros (Entrevistas 5, 6, 20),

more trust between Members-States, to counterterrorism to be effective there needs to be Intelligence provided by Members-States. I mean, security and securing the EU, [...] relies on the Intelligence provided by Members-States. Now, obviously, when there is lack of trust between Members-States, Intelligence is not going to be provided, or Intelligence would be kept for that Member-State own national security. (Entrevista 6)

O género e a mulher no contraterrorismo

Quanto ao género, ao *gender mainstreaming*, ao reconhecimento da agência da mulher e à participação feminina no contraterrorismo, a UE tem ainda alguns aspetos a melhorar e a considerar (Entrevistas 1, 9, 12, 14 e 19). Apesar de a UE já apresentar uma agenda de contraterrorismo holística na teoria, esta poderá ainda não ser totalmente holística na prática, isto é, ainda não atinge todas as dimensões e campos de ação, e o mesmo se aplica à agenda de género. As agendas de contraterrorismo e de género apresentam uma base teórica que reflete uma visão integral e abrangente do terrorismo, do contraterrorismo, dos atores, das dimensões de género e da interseccionalidade, contudo, esta abordagem holística não é totalmente implementada nas ações de contraterrorismo e nas atividades das agências de contraterrorismo.

A UE, embora afirme, na sua legislação e estratégias, que reconhece a multiplicidade de papéis que a mulher e o homem podem assumir, quer no terrorismo quer no contraterrorismo, esta aplicação na prática ainda não é muito visível (Entrevista 12). Esta atividade apenas normativa do contraterrorismo também se espelha na aplicação da interseccionalidade (Entrevista 19), embora tenha existido uma mudança, a participação de mulheres no contraterrorismo continua a ser diminuta (Entrevistas 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17 e 20) e o mesmo se vê na representação de outros grupos minoritários,

I really dream about the day when we will have not to talk about gender because will not be a topic per se anymore, and we will go beyond this kind of consideration and just make sure we have a more diverse, not only about women but also ethnicity, also social background, cultural background, in the CT [counterterrorism] response to make sure of, you have a more diverse group of decision makers, implementors, operation, more etc. (Entrevista 19)

Não podemos ficar pelo preenchimento de quotas de género (Entrevistas 1 e 17), a igualdade ou paridade de género é necessária no campo político do contraterrorismo, e de todos os setores políticos da UE. A abordagem de género, incluindo-se a igualdade

de género e a inclusão social, deve assim estar incluída em todo o processo de contraterrorismo, desde o desenho, ao desenvolvimento, à legislação, à integração, à aplicação e à prática no terreno (Entrevistas 1 e 19): «*gender mainstreaming really integrated to all CT activity by design and to make sure that [...] the role of women in this thing is really transcribed, reported, archived and accessible to the academic and scientific communities because there is a critical, critical gap of data on the field*» (Entrevista 19). Neste sentido, será conduzida uma verdadeira integração do género e da mulher no contraterrorismo, que permitirá a que a lacuna nos dados referentes à igualdade de género e à agência feminina seja preenchida.

Nos seus financiamentos de projetos de investigação, a UE deveria apostar na agência da mulher enquanto agente de contra radicalização e contraterrorismo; no papel das masculinidades e das feminilidades; o papel do género e da sexualidade, e o impacto na comunidade LGBTQ+; o investimento na investigação referente à agência da mulher no terrorismo e no contraterrorismo (Entrevista 9).

Relação entre o contraterrorismo e a sociedade civil

O contraterrorismo da UE será mais eficaz com o estreitamento da relação e do diálogo com a sociedade civil (Entrevistas 12, 15, 17 e 19). É necessário que se inclua a sociedade civil no contraterrorismo, a discussão sobre a segurança deve ser feita também com a sociedade civil (Entrevista 12). Todavia, isto não significa que se trate de *hard measures* (as decisões estratégicas, a circulação de informação ou outros elementos de segurança sensíveis), junto da sociedade procura-se o desenvolvimento, colaboração e implementação das *soft measures*.

A UE deverá apostar na educação enquanto elemento de contraterrorismo (Entrevista 11), a educação e os atores envolvidos na mesma são uma das chaves para o combate ao terrorismo, à radicalização e ao recrutamento. Como anteriormente se expôs, a educação permite o desenvolvimento do pensamento crítico e conduz contra narrativas que questionam as narrativas terroristas. A educação estará também neste combate na tentativa de colmatar as desigualdades sociais, conduzindo-se programas de sensibilização ao terrorismo, ao racismo, à xenofobia, à igualdade de género, entre outras.

Para além de uma colaboração no campo da prevenção, das contra narrativas, como acima referido, a UE deve procurar esclarecer a sociedade civil sobre o que é o terrorismo e o contraterrorismo, não só como estes se definem, o que estes representam, a ameaça que o terrorismo representa e as repercussões e impactos que este e o contraterrorismo têm (Entrevista 15 e 19),

I think a lot of the gaps are often deriving do to societal cultural building that we have on, first, CT activity and what it is to do such counterterrorism thing versus as well all in general assumption we have on what women should do in our society, how they should behave and etc. So, I think there is a lot of social debunking to do so (Entrevista 19).

É preciso que quer a sociedade civil e até o mundo político entendam que o contraterrorismo é a segurança humana, logo é a segurança de todos, e todos devem contribuir para a discussão da segurança,

women and all society should be involved in defense because defense is also linked to our daily life, to the security of our daily life and I feel the security and defense should be more responsive, and they can be responsive if they have the interest of common people involved [...] Everything related to counterterrorism should be part of our life because this is the security of our daily life. So, this is probably a change in mentality, a change in what I call the strategic culture of the society, because we are still, if we refuse to discuss about this topic, [...] these are efforts that should be ran at the domestic and EU level, for trying to make people understand that this is our life, this is not a matter for military, or for security people (Entrevista 17).

É necessária uma estratégia de terrorismo que comunique, se envolva e colabore com a sociedade civil. Segundo a OSCE (2019, pp. 51-53) é a sociedade civil a mais afetada pelo terrorismo e pelo contraterrorismo, é a sociedade civil que tem as ferramentas necessárias para identificar o sucesso ou fracasso de uma estratégia de contraterrorismo, quais os sucessos e quais as experiências negativas. Tal como o terrorismo, o contraterrorismo dirige-se à sociedade.

E o mesmo se aplica ao *gender mainstreaming* e à WPS. Dever-se-á trazer o conhecimento destes tópicos e temas para a sociedade, pois só assim será possível que exista uma compreensão que facilite a integração, já que a agenda de género não pode ficar pelo setor político. Porém, além de fazer chegar à sociedade este entendimento e conhecimento sobre as agendas de contraterrorismo de género, este investimento deve ser feito também junto da elite política, dos decisores políticos e todo o *staff* da UE (Entrevistas 8, 9, 11, 17 e 19), pois há um desconhecimento, em especial, sobre o *gender mainstreaming* no contraterrorismo e no campo da segurança europeia, «*trying to channel this knowledge to people who are practitioners, do deal directly with the threat*

of terrorism» (Entrevista 4). Por isso, o investimento em qualificar os profissionais é fundamental, pois estes têm de entender aquilo com que trabalham e o que é que significa a aplicação de uma abordagem de género na sua vida profissional: *«it's about training, it's about knowledge [...] people have to understand why they are doing something, they have to feel and understand the need for it, and they have to perceive that that works and has a benefit for them as practitioners»* (Entrevista 15).

O reforço do diálogo com a sociedade civil reforçará a abordagem de género, permitindo que as diferentes experiências e opiniões alcancem a elite política, promovendo um contraterrorismo que ouve e tem em consideração o impacto na sociedade das suas atividades:

a push for states listens the civil society a bit more in terms of, not just counterterrorism but more so like on the preventing and countering violent extremism aspect of things [...] I think that can be helpful, you know, in terms of mainstreaming women's voices, making sure they're heard, especially different kinds of voices that are not necessarily from the hard security background (Entrevista 12).

A cooperação e o diálogo entre o conhecimento e o poder deverão ser promovidos, será importante para a UE continuar a ouvir os grupos de conhecimento especializado, as academias, os investigadores e os teóricos dos campos da segurança, terrorismo, contraterrorismo e género (Entrevista 4 e 17; Heathcote, 2018; White, 2020a, 2020b). Assim, deverá ser fomentada e reforçada a relação conhecimento/poder, apoiar a produção de conhecimento por grupos como o RAN, que facilitam a ponte entre o conhecimento, o poder e a sociedade (Entrevistas 3, 4, 15 e 17).

Posto isto, o contraterrorismo e os Estados Membros da UE, assim como, outros domínios da segurança e da política, e até mesmo a sociedade civil, têm ainda um longo caminho a percorrer para atingir a igualdade de género, e uma integração total de abordagens de género: *«we are still a bit far for equality [...] also generally speaking gender issue, LGBTQ+ issues. So, there are still a lot of improvements to do»* (Entrevista 17).

Conclusão

Durante décadas, em consequência da cegueira de género, as vozes das mulheres foram ignoradas nas políticas e agendas de contraterrorismo, até que os estudos feministas trouxeram para a discussão da segurança o género e a mulher, defendendo que a segurança e a paz estão intimamente ligadas ao género e à construção de género pelos atores internacionais. Os Estados e as organizações aparentavam estar a contrariar as suas cegueiras em relação ao género com o surgimento da WPS, de políticas feministas e de abordagens sensíveis ao género. Porém, este processo de integrar o género e as mulheres nas conversações políticas, nas decisões políticas, no contraterrorismo e nas atividades de contraterrorismo tem-se revelado longo e moroso.

Nesta investigação, adotou-se a lente feminista liberal e institucional para o estudo do contraterrorismo na UE, estando o género no centro da reflexão sobre como a UE integrou uma perspetiva de *gender mainstreaming* na sua agenda de contraterrorismo, como incorpora políticas sensíveis ao género, que promovam o equilíbrio e a igualdade dos géneros no contraterrorismo. Procurou-se compreender a relação do contraterrorismo e da UE com as questões de género e da mulher, esboçando-se uma agenda futura para as estratégias futuras de contraterrorismo da UE.

Através da análise das fontes documentais de contraterrorismo da UE, percebe-se que o terrorismo e as atividades terroristas continuam a ser fatores que ameaçam a segurança da União, continuam a deixar os Estados-Membros em estado de alerta. Com a escalada do terrorismo ao nível transnacional e com sucessivos ataques em solo europeu após o 11 de setembro, a UE reavaliou a sua posição no contraterrorismo e no contexto da segurança internacional, assumindo-se hoje como um ator global de contraterrorismo. O contraterrorismo da UE caracteriza-se, assim, pela sua tentativa de atingir um carácter holístico; de relações bilaterais e multilaterais e de uma cooperação interna e externa, que cobre diversas dimensões e contextos geográficos; sendo multidimensional, com uma estratégia de prevenção e P/CVE, combatendo a radicalização. O contraterrorismo da UE caracteriza-se igualmente pelo seu carácter

reativo, um contraterrorismo que reage a eventos terroristas, a legislação e as estratégias são desenvolvidas e aplicadas em resposta a esses ataques.

No entanto, é uma agenda que, apesar dos sucessos, tem também falhas. A UE tem um papel importante no combate ao terrorismo em países terceiros, onde tenta aplicar as bases estratégicas da dimensão interna e reduzir o nível da ameaça do terrorismo, mas questiona-se se não existirá um detrimento da dimensão interna, onde a colaboração entre Estados-Membros e as agências da UE é débil. Destacam-se as ações de prevenção, em que a UE se foca na segurança do indivíduo, tendo em vista travar a emergência de uma geração futura de agentes terroristas. Porém, o pilar da prevenção, mesmo tendo uma atividade significativa de contra-narrativas e de promoção de espírito crítico, necessita de uma maior colaboração entre os poderes políticos e a sociedade civil.

O seu papel no panorama internacional é também de ator global de género, afirmando ser um dos pioneiros da integração da igualdade de género e do *gender mainstreaming* nas PCSD, incluindo, mais tarde, a integração na agenda de contraterrorismo. Com este cruzamento das agendas, a UE parece caminhar para a reformulação do contraterrorismo tradicional centrado no Estado, rumo a um contraterrorismo que trabalha o *bottom-up*, assumindo que a segurança do indivíduo e a segurança humana conduzirão à segurança do Estado. A premissa da UE em aplicar o *gender mainstreaming* passa pela integração multilateral da dimensão de género, homem e mulher; pelo reconhecimento da agência e os diferentes papéis dos homens e das mulheres; pelo empoderamento da mulher enquanto agente de mudança positiva; pela interseccionalidade dos dados estatísticos; pelo combate à violência e aos conflitos baseados no género; e pela garantia e proteção dos direitos humanos das mulheres. O *gender mainstreaming* não é aplicado de forma transversal a todas as dimensões de contraterrorismo, apenas se vê uma aplicação na prevenção da radicalização e do P/CVE.

Existe, de facto, um compromisso normativo de *gender mainstreaming* e de igualdade de género no contraterrorismo, mas a sua aplicação é ainda residual. Embora a UE tenha uma estratégia holística de contraterrorismo, a esta ainda lhe falta alcançar algumas dimensões, ainda lhe falta uma verdadeira aplicação. Existe um objetivo holístico da integração do género, mas a realidade continua a traduzir-se num viés de

género. Houve de facto uma efetiva mudança nas perspetivas sobre a mulher e o seu papel no terrorismo e contraterrorismo, contudo este assunto continua a não ser alvo de muita atenção por parte dos decisores políticos, das instituições e dos atores de contraterrorismo da UE.

Assim, pode afirmar-se que a UE, enquanto ator global de contraterrorismo e ator global de género, apresenta estratégias holísticas, conquistou de forma significativa um lugar à mesa do contraterrorismo global e da segurança internacional. Porém, a aplicação final nas ações de contraterrorismo não traduz o carácter normativo multidimensional, holístico e de género. Logo, a UE é um ator global de contraterrorismo e de género, mas um ator em desenvolvimento.

Através da análise feminista institucionalista e liberal conclui-se que há um discurso e um compromisso normativo da UE em aplicar o *gender mainstreaming*, a igualdade de género e a mulher no contraterrorismo. Porém, a igualdade de género ainda não foi alcançada no contraterrorismo.

Entende-se que uma grande meta para o futuro do contraterrorismo da União e do *gender mainstreaming* passa por estudar, compreender e repensar os atores de terrorismo e contraterrorismo, os atores de género, as estratégias e as ações. A UE necessita de reformular a sua arquitetura institucional de contraterrorismo fazendo face às novas dimensões e desafios que surgem com o cruzamento com o quadro normativo de género, apostando também na formação dos seus atores, profissionais e *staff*, tendo em vista um melhor entendimento e integração da estratégia de género. É necessária uma reformulação da sua arquitetura, repensando o que é o terrorismo e em que moldes se deve combater esse terrorismo. O terrorismo não se circunscreve apenas à esfera pública, também ocorre na esfera privada, na esfera íntima do indivíduo, por exemplo, a violência doméstica, uma violência baseada no género, nos estereótipos de género. O investimento em *soft measures*, como a segurança das fronteiras e a migração (a migração enquanto elemento de ações de contraterrorismo), assim como, a cooperação com a sociedade civil e com as instituições internacionais, são igualmente fundamentais. A discussão de contraterrorismo não se deve limitar à esfera política, esta discussão e diálogo devem também ser promovidos junto da sociedade civil, pois é na sociedade onde ocorrem os processos e catalisadores do terrorismo, da radicalização e

do recrutamento, e também onde algumas das *soft measures* de contraterrorismo são aplicadas, como os processos de des-radicalização e contra-narrativas. Esta revisão da perspetiva é dirigida à UE, às suas instituições, aos seus Membros, ao mundo académico e à sociedade civil, pois as estratégias de contraterrorismo serão sempre orientadas segundo o conceito, a noção, o entendimento ou ideia de terrorismo, contraterrorismo e de género que os Estados e as instituições têm.

A UE não é um Estado, caracterizando-se pela sua arquitetura e governança multi-institucional, multidimensional, atores subnacionais e supranacionais. Dada esta sua complexa arquitetura, torna-se difícil identificar e perceber como é que as políticas, medidas e estratégias são aplicadas e implementadas. Um outro obstáculo é a questão de este ser um tópico relacionado com a segurança; logo, embora existam documentos e dados relativos ao contraterrorismo e ao terrorismo, muita informação encontra-se no período de confidencialidade, portanto, os dados serão sempre limitados.

Numa perspetiva futura da investigação, seria importante uma análise das várias agências e instituições da UE envolvidas no contraterrorismo (Europol, Comissão Europeia, Parlamento Europeu, entre outras), como estas são «genderizadas», como estas constroem o género e como aplicam a abordagem de género. Considera-se que, para uma melhor análise do objeto em estudo, o contraterrorismo da UE, seria interessante adicionar a variável masculina, a perspetiva masculina sobre a abordagem de género no contraterrorismo da UE; e de uma forma mais aprofundada seria também incluir a variável LGBTQI+, a perspetiva da comunidade LGBTQI+, uma variável ainda pouco estudada no contexto do contraterrorismo, tendo em vista a reavaliação mais aprofundada da agenda de contraterrorismo e de género da UE.

Entrevistas

1. Entrevista com especialista em conflito, terrorismo e P/CVE, 05 de abril de 2024, Zoom.
2. Entrevista com especialista em terrorismo e violência política, 09 de abril de 2024, Zoom.
3. Entrevista com especialista em terrorismo e violência política, P/CVE, 10 de abril de 2024, Zoom.
4. Entrevista com especialista em terrorismo e propaganda terrorista, 11 de abril de 2024, Zoom.
5. Entrevista com especialista em contraterrorismo e P/CVE, 12 de abril de 2024, WebEX.
6. Entrevista com especialista em contraterrorismo e P/CVE, 17 de abril de 2024, Zoom.
7. Entrevista com especialista em contraterrorismo, P/CVE, direitos das mulheres, 17 de abril de 2024, Zoom.
8. Entrevista com especialista em terrorismo, contraterrorismo e direitos humanos, 18 de abril de 2024, Zoom.
9. Entrevista com especialista em terrorismo, ciberterrorismo e contraterrorismo, 22 de abril de 2024, Zoom.
10. Entrevista com especialista em terrorismo, justiça e assuntos internos da UE, 23 de abril de 2024, Zoom.
11. Entrevista com especialista em contraterrorismo, teoria feminista e processos de paz, 23 de abril de 2024, Zoom.
12. Entrevista com especialista em terrorismo, extremismo de extrema-direita, migração e ONU, 24 de abril de 2024, Zoom.
13. Entrevista com especialista em contraterrorismo, segurança nacional e direitos humanos, 26 de abril de 2024, Zoom.
14. Entrevista com especialista em terrorismo, Inteligência e teorias críticas, 26 de abril de 2024, Zoom.

- 15.** Entrevista com especialista em terrorismo e contraterrorismo, 29 de abril de 2024, Zoom.
- 16.** Entrevista com especialista em terrorismo, contraterrorismo e P/CVE, 30 de abril de 2024, Zoom.
- 17.** Entrevista com especialista em terrorismo e violência política, 01 de maio de 2024, Zoom.
- 18.** Entrevista com especialista em terrorismo, extremismo e crime organizado, 01 de maio de 2024, Zoom.
- 19.** Entrevista com especialista em segurança internacional, defesa e terrorismo, 08 de maio de 2024, Zoom.
- 20.** Entrevista com especialista em segurança internacional e terrorismo, 09 de maio de 2024, Zoom.

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Anexos

Anexo 1 – Guião das entrevistas

- 1.** How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?
- 2.** How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is just a new perspective over terrorist agents?
- 3.** In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?
- 4.** As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?
- 5.** Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field (counterterrorism)?
- 6.** How would you describe the European Union' counterterrorism strategy?
- 7.** Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism programs are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?
- 8.** Do you find gender stereotypes or even a gender blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?
- 9.** Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?
- 10.** While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?
- 11.** Is there anything else you would like to share about this topic?

Anexo 2 – Transcrição das entrevistas

Legenda:

M – Mestranda

E1 – Entrevistada 1

(inaudível)– Impercetível/Inaudível

Entrevista 1

05 abril 2024 – 12:11:53-12:37:43; Zoom; Duração: 00:25:29

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E1 – Ok. I would define terrorism as an act of violence that as motivation and also involve civilians as a part of its strategy to, you know, cause fear and, and concerns. And counterterrorism I would define as a range of activities, preventing, pursuing, prosecuting, a range of initiatives that needs to either prevent or manage terrorism as a criminal offence.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E1 – Ok. So, I have mostly been looking at the Al-Qaeda syndical Al-Shabaab (inaudível) a bit of looking into ISIS and Al-Qaeda and (inaudível) and I think women have always been involved in one way or the other but in predominantly with Al-Shabaab it's a sort of an intelligence compilers, facilitators, financiers, you would rarely see women being actually suicide bombers or frontline offenders. I think with the rise of ISIS, ironically for young women who live in conservative environments they sometimes found ISIS and Al-Qaeda the way of stepping in to their potential, so it's almost, like for them it was a liberation even though they were, having to live in a various of confined environments, but they did in a sense of agency. And (inaudível) of women wanting to pursue their goals and ideas in the same way men do. I think most likely it's going to increase, of course there's also an element of terrorist organizations deploying strategies, well they

think that they can reduce the, whether or not they are easily discovered so maybe, you know, in control it check-points or in movements were there engagement with law enforcements, maybe there was a perception earlier that women was able to pass easier, so women can also be instrumentalized were certain organizations think that's its (inaudível) strategically deployed, and that also always change depending on how the response is in that way, I think there's an relationship between terrorism and counterterrorism, if that makes sense.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E1 – It's being instrumentalized in terrorism. I mean I think when you look at the ideologies of some of this groups they have a very particular interpretation of religious texts, (inaudível) talking about Islamic extremism, because it's the one that I know, and they have a certain interpretation of their religious texts and they assigned very particular roles to women sort of an ideological level but then there is also a practical level that plays into their sort of tactics on a day to day bases. The way that Islam thinking would perceive some of this organizations, definitely women's rights are very confined within but they do have to fight (inaudível) clear roles which for some women, I think when you compare how the communities are, can be (inaudível) pursuing their interests and securing livelihood this way (inaudível) gives them certain rights, gives them certain roles but, I think it's that. (inaudível) So, are women's rights instrumentalized? I think sometimes counterterrorism's efforts that are less led by the West might think that they are liberating women but its, it all comes from a very particular way of understanding women's rights, and it's (inaudível) equally (inaudível) in a way. I remember doing some work in Afghanistan for example, there the women are very tired of women's right's being almost like resign of Taliban's take over so (inaudível) in any way saying that this situation is not very difficult for women in Afghanistan, I think women who lived that reality they feel that their gender is being instrumentalized in a global (inaudível) That's a difficult question.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E1 – I think my role is not gendered, in the sense that I don't know if would be different if I was a guy. I mostly focus on prevention and evidence—Maybe as a woman I can help encourage colleagues to see vulnerabilities from different perspectives and see how different decisions might affect genders differently and age groups differently. So, maybe that's a little bit of a way of looking at the problem that's a little more diverse when you have a female perspective. So, maybe that kind of thought or some understanding somehow, but other than that I don't think my work perceives *per say* gender.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E1 – I would like to say “Yes” but of course I'm not blind to working in an environment that's dominated by men. So sometimes I'm not a part of the informal conversations that leads to important conversations, like you know, people would, men would play golf with each other, or drink and I don't want to be in those set ups, so maybe I'm not as involved in informal aspects which means that there are some conversations that I would have not heard or come to a meeting here discussed a bit more official. I of course also experienced a number of, I don't know, sexual, what you call it, it's not really harassment but conversations that have sexual dimensions that I have not invited, and that means that sometimes I have to ensure that I have a male colleague attending a meeting with me because I wanted to avoid those conversations or if it was, you know, a private conversations with governmental officials (inaudível) that it is sometimes preference to have male colleagues in the room or at least be more than one. So, in a way it's something, it's a harder reality that you navigate all the time.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E1 –EU's foreign policy is more full of (inaudível) compromises, because it's a union it's not one country, it means that it can be a little bit more difficult when you are implementing (inaudível) political direction whereas the Brits and the Americans I find they are also a little bit more clear about what they want and what they don't want. When I have experienced difficulties of part of a government because of course issues of terrorism or issues of national security and sometimes when you are an external partner engaging with this issues you need to, how do you call it? You need to have some

difficult conversations and sometimes found that EU it was harder to get the political backing for such conversations then I finding it with the EU and the US and (inaudível) specifically I think it's also related to the political contexts of the prosecutions against the former president of ICC, how do you call it? International Criminal Court, so the EU have a difficult political balance (inaudível) it's not so willing to challenge the regime in general and that meant that some of it, like, issues around human rights and justice (inaudível) interested in upsetting the government at the time, it is now a new government so its different know. But (inaudível), big politics have a lot of impact when you do terrorism work overseas.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism programs are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E1 – I think they are still at a stage where they are trying to understand how these groups act, are acting in gender way and trying to find out how to engage with it. So, I think we don't and the EU don't really has sort of solutions to approach it, so it's still sort of a work in progress, so I would say the work as started but it's not yet fully sort of imbedded in the way that we are thinking and most likely they are trying to seek out in these steps. So, I think sensitive to, yes, but kind of fully imbedded on the way, it's probably work in progress.

M– Do you find gender stereotypes or even a gender blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E1 – No, I don't think they're gender blind. But they probably also don't have a full gender vision's (inaudível) it's most likely somehow between. So from my perspective, again because I work in terrorism prevention efforts, gender stereotypes vary from context to context and the way of the gender norms are perceived, are conceptual and I think the way that many Western actors perceive the role of women might be viewed as better or more liberated or something like that than perhaps moral (inaudível) but I think sometimes when you have those kind of liberal stereotypical views around local communities you might be blind to seeing how women perhaps are finding ways of performing their agency in those communities, for example, in the border in Quenia/Somalia, women don't have so much political influence (inaudível) in the traditional political system and in the council (inaudível) places like that, but they do

have a lot of influence (inaudível) business and financial independence really matters in terms of women being able to make decisions on their own behalf. So, I think maybe sometimes its needed to see were women have opportunities to influence, and where there is the most sort of likelihood of success and then investing in those, as opposed to just, you know, if you focus on the governments issues, yes they don't have a council of elders that include women and it's a governments problem, yes, but they have found places where they can influence, and I think until the structural issues change its good to invest where there some opportunities, and I think everybody could benefit from being more open minded and seeing where the opportunities are rather then sort of going by the book. When it comes to governance, access, and influence which, of course, is related to terrorism (inaudível).

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E1 – Again I don't fully know enough about it and I haven't read the documents and stuff like that recently. (inaudível) The issue that I have been with WPS and gender mainstreaming, the riskiest that sometimes that, you know, it becomes a matter of making sure that there's a certain quota of women in the room or (inaudível) "We added some women" or whatever but, you know, those women are not supported, capacitated, trained and encourage to speak up, they may not participate as much, and they may not the conversation may not even be [about] issues that are relevant to them. So, I still think that many of these strategies and policies consider gender (inaudível) as a standalone rather than something that has to be integrated in every aspect, you know, in decide, in analysis, in stativity's, in procurement, in evaluation, you know, like whoever benefices, whether as participants, how do you drawn/drive them to the conversation, how do you research, the gender issues have to be in all aspects of programming, in way to work. It's not enough just for say "we have equal representation", because there was fifty women, or whatever, it all as to be, it has started but it's not an integrated system.

Women portray and play central roles, they might not be as visible but at least in the line of work that I have looked at, women are important in as intelligence gathers, as in financial supporters, in facilitating movements, in finding/hiding people. And also, in

their role as mothers and wives but I, also as in directing engagement. So, if we don't understand gender dynamics of this groups then we will never be able to find sustainable solutions for our prevention efforts. So, it's difficult and its very important for the success of this work.

M—While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E1 – I think that's a need to move beyond men, how can I say, its more than just women and men, it's also intersectional, it's also about which type of women, what privileges they have (inaudível) they have to influence or (inaudível) decision, its going (inaudível) gender equality and social inclusion and then I think it's about, as I was saying, when the strategies are implemented, to think through all aspects of initiatives like in the way you design a program, in the way you research for the program, in the way you implement the program, in the way you monitor the program, in the way you evaluate the program. Gender and social inclusion as to be in all aspects for it to really work, so, I think it's the area of recommendation would be to kind of focus on the next level and think about the integration in all aspects in the strategies.

M— Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E1 – I think sometimes the counterterrorism agenda and the gender equality agenda are two of the most difficult areas to work on, and when you combine the two, it's like you work on the most difficult thing and the most difficult thing, it just makes everything more challenging so I think counterterrorism can learn on gender inclusion and gender equality from peace building, from resilience, from development projects and maybe even from security sector (inaudível) so I think they should learn from sectors (inaudível), less sensitive sectors who have been trying to do improvements in this area for a long time, instead of kind of reinventing the wheels of counterterrorism alone, there's a lot to learn from others out there. I think that should be an addition thought.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 2

09 abril 2024 – 12:02:52-12:31:54; Zoom; Duração: 00:29:18

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E2 – How would I define terrorism and counterterrorism? Well, I use the standard definition for terrorism which will be a non-governmental agent there is intending to carry out a violence attack and counterterrorism, well I'm not in counterterrorism, which I specify in our email conversation, so I'm less interested in defining that such, but I would say (inaudível) a measure to prevent that from happening.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E2 – The growth of female terrorism, do you mean women who carry out or are involved in terrorism attacks? Well, that's definitely been a new perspective in the last years, historically our field is focus on a long (inaudível) perpetrators of the violence of course, which you often tend to be men, obviously, of course not always, same as the suicide bombers of Al-Qaeda (inaudível) background? specters are women, generally this tend to be men, but I think in the last couple of years people have been focusing more on people who are involved in terrorist organizations without necessarily being the perpetrators of the violence itself, for example, recruiting, collecting money, organizing, bring snacks, this are things that women are more often involved in. So, there's definitely a role there, especially if you are looking for the sift of course, so ways to find information before something actually happens and it's also very good to keep an eye on these types of involvement in the process.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E2 – Gender's extremely relevant to terrorism field, as we both know, the typical terrorist profile is up to know and often a lot of terrorist's extremism narratives are very gender based. If you look to white supremacy, for example, you will not that most of the things that they actually talk about in their forums it will be about 60% about sovereignty of white people but is also very much about the subjugation of women and how white

women needs to become like less feminist, again, to give up feminism to make more babies in the perfect world their visioning, women have no rights anymore, this is all highly relevant to how radicalization extremism thinking works. In a lot of cases, of course not in all of them, and then role of home its obviously. Well, I think a good example of a way the field improved in the past couple of years, so one of my coworkers has been very instrumental in making this change in our field, in previous years when people would travel to the Islamic State, to the Caliphates, a lot of countries would count this gender rise as either men or women and children so, women and children in their own separate category together so, the men would be the ones to go carry the violence and the women and children would be the collateral, that would travel with the men to this places. And then one of my coworkers was very instrumental in making these categories: men, women, and children, three categories instead of two because women are also capable, women can do anything. Obviously often women who travel are being oppressed and such but still if you are trying to counterterrorism its then, it's still also good to count them as adults, this is basically that. And women's rights, well, I think I have said with the rest, women's rights are often in extremism narratives kind of seen as something often to be defeated and that's its obviously tells you which people are vulnerable to this taxon-narratives.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E2 – I prefer not to answer this question.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E2 – Depends how you define opportunities, I suppose. Obviously, legally women and men have the same opportunities to make same decisions but at the same time obviously there's old boys' networks that have existed and do exists, will continue to exist in (inaudível) future, which you can be part of as a woman, I have personally not seen it yet—

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E2 – Well, many things have been done, obviously there's an ideological focus on prevention over security but's both are being done. There is a cooperation between countries, this is like a very broad question, that so many people do about counterterrorism in the EU, and I don't have an opinion on it, really. It's not necessarily my field.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism programs are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E2 – Sensitive to the women [*pausa*] I think so and the problem is, obviously, women do, are capable of, I mean, like I said there's been more focus lately, in the past couple of years, like less so as perpetrators more so in people involved in it, otherwise there's also a lot of focus that is on pull factors instead of push factors, which means when you are looking at radicalization often people tend to look at factors that push people in to being radicalized, like poverty or being influenced by an older person or in such, but you also have the pull factors, which is the factors that prevent people for being radicalized and this can be having children, having a good childhood, having money, this kind of things and this is a (inaudível) one of the main pull factors they found in recent thing is when the people get in to a relationship that's a very important pull factor so, when they got a girlfriend, with all that, obviously not always true, (inaudível) there's programs focus a little bit more I would say, they should be focusing more on parents of course but then they do focus on mothers, and they focus on the girlfriends and trying to sort of (inaudível) that (inaudível) trying to influence what's happening. I'm trying to think about other examples, that I know of there are gender based.

M– Do you find gender stereotypes or gender blindness in the programs of counterterrorism?

E2 – Both. I already mentioned a little bit about how women and children used to look together when counting by some countries, that is obviously part of a gender stereotype that holds that women are as agents (inaudível) and obviously when it comes to female Islamic terrorists there's often a sort of push-pull, I shouldn't use push-pull, sort of a two factor stereotyping that holds them as both being more innocent than the men, like they don't, like they are sort of being oppressed and forced, at the same time also some are being more evil than a man, whether like, when they actually commit things they are

sort of seen as betraying, this is more about punishments than necessarily policy or counterterrorism, but you can sort of see that sometimes when people talk about this women, whether they (inaudível) even more ruthless and because there're woman who actually did it (inaudível) there's must be something wrong with her (inaudível). But obviously a lot of gender blindness most of it collected isn't even gender splits at all, I was complaining about the men enforces women and children but quite often this numbers so, that is obviously more gender blinds. But gender as definitely been getting much more attention in the past seven years or so, it's definitely also getting more attention now that in cells are being taken more seriously as threats when (inaudível) decided to (inaudível) a lot of women based on this ideology. Basically, in this ideology women are inferior that sort of puts that extremism radicalization narrative more on the net, so people started to pay attention to that of course. Some found research it's also happening in Europe. It obviously could still be improved, can always be improved.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E2 – I'm not familiar.

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E2 – Well, obviously they should hire more women until is 50/50 at any part of the field, not just in the lower ranks but also especially in management positions. This is not necessarily something that would improve the field probably but will make it more equal and will make the best people there and not just the know people. Other than that, obviously gender specific data collection is very important. I think a lot of researchers, I am a university researcher so that it's going to be my perception, but would benefit from knowing more about gender sometimes, sometimes there will be researchers who have a very much blind spot for extremism, extremists towards women Obviously domestic violence, which is the violence that happens the most in Europe, like compared to any other kind of violence, domestic violence is higher in this numbers, what quite often means necessarily that are counted in violence statistics because its counted separately, which actually that's no reason to do that because violence is violence, but people sees it a bit of a more private relational, so it doesn't count to crime numbers. And I think

should be counted to crime numbers, if nothing else because domestic violence is also, obviously, connected with other types of violence because, again, violence is violence but also because violence towards women shouldn't be less important than violence towards men. What else? I'm trying to think in concrete improvement because obviously just improvement, everyone should be stop being sexist it's not very actual advice, they should try to do that. Also, we been talking mostly about women this far of course but if you really want to improve the terrorism field you should definitely hire more people of color and especially people from Arab countries, I've been through enough conferences about Islamic terrorists' violence with no Muslims in attendance and that's crazy or chose people that don't even speak Arabic which is not necessarily impossible to overcome as a white person but is still crazy that you are doing researches and not speaking the language. And it's also, obviously, is important. I think a big problem in counterterrorism, but this is also only (inaudível) gender specific, is quite often, people want have solutions that solved terrorism which is a reasonable goal, but it is impossible really, so people want big heart solutions that are easy to understand and they're just sort of like, you know, catch the criminals, put them in the jail, don't be, you know, don't be soft on them, which it's not necessarily males specific, it's kind of masculine in a sense, well I wouldn't say that women don't think this things, but I think this is often the problem, because its, its (inaudível) blind spot when actually ignore maybe more productive ways to approach the problem.

M– Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E2 – No.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 3

10 abril 2024 – 12:59:12-13:09:26; Zoom; Duração: 00:10:22

M – How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E3 – I suppose terrorism, I would define it as the real threaten of the use of violence against civilians or people that aren't combatants and to achieve a political goal with the broadly? exploiting an audience reaction, so those components would need to be present, and counterterrorism I supposed is any attempt to stop that from happening and including probably preventionist approaches that is more what my field is. any attempt to stop it from happening.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E3 – Well, I think when we see female participation in terrorism, we can often understand it through the lens of female participation in society more broadly and as women gain intreat on? other areas of life of the social world they would to obviously move up on terrorist organizations and the glass ceiling will became remove, so I think that's probably socially (calartical) perspective on it, women have this mobility in terrorist organizations, in terms of vulnerability I'm not really sure, I mean I know we have a lot of, an overrepresentation of men but I think maybe were the field is going is trying to understand radicalization through an gender lens, so maybe we will define radicalization differently and that's will understand women's role. Good question, but I don't know that much expertise.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E3 – Sometimes we see that a little bit. You see it within some of the prevention approaches so, for instance with some policies where you're supposed to identify maybe kids that are at risk for instance, that's usually placed on women, so women there are either school teachers or care givers or in a sort of typical role, gendered role and there's, I think is informed by an underlined bias that women have this intuition when it comes to risk and that's something that men don't have so, that's incredibly gendered

and probably not that helpful either. And I mean broadly you see that policies are design for men more than women, probably because we really don't understand female radicalization as much and, but certainly the policies we see often aren't very gender sensitive, no.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E3 – How do I see my role— I suppose maybe I'm in a position to encourage more women to join the field and to conduct this type of research. I think probably encouraging more women to, to become researchers in the field.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E3 – I think, I don't know that much because I'm in academia which is a little bit different. Certainly, I mean in academia there's challenges that you see, not even just in terrorism, but in any discipline that there's issues with women in progressing, in being promoted, and biases and so on. But in terms of policymaking, it's not something that I observed really, no. And I think you find, maybe it's just a (inaudível), the United Nations and organizations like that are usually quite gender sensitive and they will make sure they have the right people in the right room and that tends to be done by book, in my experience.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E3 – Its very much, as a grassroot approach, where there's a lot of funding and emphasis placed on empowering grassroot organizations to implement different interventions and there's a lot of focus on having practitioners and academics together, like, to the Radicalization Awareness Network there's is a big emphasis on that, maybe that's the case on other places but certainly the EU is very focused on making that connection.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism programs are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E3 – Probably not, but it's a limit in the literature and by academics, we just don't know that much about female radicalization, so it's limited in that respect, but I think there's an awareness that there's a gap there in our understanding.

M– Do you find gender stereotypes in the European Union's counterterrorism program(s)?

E3 – You do of course, because there's that connection between grassroots organizations and sometimes you find that there's a bias understanding and things like that, I think that's probably to be expected.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E3 – I actually have no idea.

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E3 – I think there needs to be a stronger incorporation of theory because at the moment a lot of interventions and in programs there's an emphasis on being evidence based but evidence it's supposed to test theories and inform theories so, what we are lacking in this field that you don't see in other fields is that, we don't guide our programs based on theoretical frameworks, we guide them based on findings from individuals studies but tends to be a little weaker, so a stronger incorporation of broader theories rather than individual empirical findings, I think.

M– Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E3 – I don't think so. I think all of your question covered it.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 4

11 abril 2024 – 15:59:08-16:21:45; Zoom; Duração: 00:22:51

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E4 – That's a big question, that's how I start the lectures for the students. First of all, there's a bit of a, I guess, a debate of what terrorism is, and this is a reason why I would probably not give you a definition as such, but I would give you the necessary elements if that made sense. So, I think there are a few necessary elements to label something as terrorism, first of all the particular goal whether it's a political goal or religious or ideological goal, so the actors done in order to pursue something, pursue certain type of changes in society, second of all is the generation of fear in not only among the direct targets of their targets but also the audience that go beyond, the international audiences or society in general, it's also psychological impact which is related to fear but kind of is aimed/aiming to change how people behave and then with that generate pressure from the population on the government to change their political or in any other type of situation. So, I would say counterterrorism (inaudível) is also a conflicted term based on the fact that we don't know what exactly terrorism is or can't agree on what terrorism is, but I would say is a set of measurements, again, to address the, the phenomenon of terrorism, to mitigate the possibility of terrorist attacks to happen but also to mitigate the possibility for people to adopt violent ideologies and act upon them.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E4 – I think that's probably just a new look because women have always been involved in terrorism, we tend to think that this is something very recent but even from, if you are familiar with the Rapaport first (inaudível) when the Russians anarchists were planning their attacks on the Russian (inaudível) they had women, as groups, they were perpetrating attacks. So, I think it's just the realization of women are not simply victims, or they are not kind of groomed and dragged into terrorist activities, it's something more recent why they became more visible.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E4 – I would say the fact that there are nowadays more women in modern counterterrorism there is much more conversation about the role of gender in terrorism and the acknowledgement of the fact that women can be instrumental to create counterterrorism policies and could be as potent actors as men in preventing terrorism or protecting people from terrorism (inaudível) I could see developed in the last, maybe, 10-15 years (inaudível) they have now kind off a specific guidelines for counterterrorism, the United Nations framework and the EU's as well.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E4 – Well, I'm a researcher so I'm actively involved in creating more knowledge on terrorism and then trying to channel this knowledge to people who are practitioners, do deal directly with the threat of terrorism. So, I don't think in the sense my role is any different than male researchers or male agents, even though I would say the problem as a woman would be more difficult for me to get in to, if I wanted to get into the practitioners' role saying within counterterrorism or (inaudível) headquarters anything like this. I guess probably from the psychological point of view might have been slightly more different, but I don't think there is that many obstacles, there is obviously obstacles, but I don't think they are as acute as they used to be. I guess one of the things that I still do see, and my female colleagues do still see present is the surprise people express when you tell them what you do and (inaudível) the fact that I'm a woman so how I can do something that kind of terrible, risky, scary, aggressive, etc. So, I think in the sense I could see the difference.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E4 – Well, again, just based on my own perception I don't think that there is any direct obstacle to women to be involved in counterterrorism field, and again I have a lot off female colleagues who work in this field or they are directly involved in counterterrorism policy, they advised to the United Nations, they advised to the EU institutions, they

advised national governments. So from this perspective, I think, even if we didn't overcome the gender gap completely there are definitely improvements and you can see both men and women being actively involved, statistically I think there are still more men in the industry than women but I can't necessarily say whether it's because of any kind of institutional constraints which I don't think are probably in place or whether it's, again, more of a perceptual aspect, where as a woman yourself you're probably less likely to go into this area or maybe you would prevent yourself from going because you would think that's so male dominated. But in general, I think, again, I don't see that there's any particular difference in terms of impact that women and men could make.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E4 –So, I think one of the issues and this comes from my specialization in propaganda and deradicalization (inaudible) kind of investigating the reasons for the radicalization is that even though there are attempts to kind of understand why people become terrorists, what could we do, it is still more reactive and even though there are attempts to develop counternarratives after the ISIS and far-right where it's on the rise, the approach of the UK is still not particular factor because what you could see is the attempt to, have a break kind of, how do I put, when they are trying to address the question of radicalization they are trying to address it from their own perspective, (inaudible) an European western perspective where they think well, we live in a democracy we are even in Europe why would anyone want to commit a terrorist attack, they are not trying to understand the other side, they are not trying to address the issues that people who joined terrorist groups have committed terrorist attacks (inaudible) I'm not saying that justifies terrorism, but you need to think how they think in order to target it. There is still, in the UK there is this counterterrorism program (inaudible) consisting in several appeals, there are certain criticisms in the regards to one of its major, more important appeal prevent which is, again, aiming to prevent radicalization and it thus says that it is very biased in a way, when the idea of a suspect is still developed in around the idea of the so called Muslim terrorist, well, again, we see so many developments in the last few years with far-right, unclear ideologists, in-cells, conspiracy theorists, etc. So, I think in this sense is quite slow to respond to these new challenges, and to react quicker and

more efficiently before the situation realized (inaudível) to the point they need to actually cope with the damage. So, I do say it's slow but at the time, again, there's statistics that there are successes in preventing people to join terrorist groups and they are quite significant so, based on the numbers published in the UK office (inaudível) the program performs pretty well in terms of responding to (inaudível) threat.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism programs are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E4 – I don't think in counterterrorism (inaudível) I don't think there is a dimension of gender as such so, in this sense specially I wouldn't say (inaudível) but then on the practical level, again, there is a lot of interest in research dedicated to female terrorists, there is an aspiration to understand why women become terrorist or drives them and there is also, I think, a growing culture of supporting women who want to do research in this area and (inaudível) a change of mentality, a change of idea of who can or cannot be involved in counterterrorism research or counterterrorism activities in general.

M– Do you find gender stereotypes or even a gender-blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism programs?

E4 – Again, on the more basic level when you talk to people outside the field professional circle you do, as I mention, you do find this reaction of “what do you even do? but you are a woman, but you are so nice, why would you do this?” and I know colleagues who did experience the same type of reactions. At the professional level I personally didn't encounter stereotyping from the colleagues, say male colleagues but I know other female colleagues who did experience a fuller range of mansplaining, and you know, stereotyping and everything you can associate with gender stereotypes. So, I guess is still, is still there, again, personally I think the situation is improving but we still have a way to go with that.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E4 – Well, I mean, again, I don't think it is applied in any specific way in counterterrorism practices, with exception that we, again, the field became more open, there is more interest in understanding female motivations, there is a huge question of reintegration,

repatriation of women who left their countries of residence when ISIS was on the rising know they are stuck in Siria or in Iraq camps and I think when it comes to the discussion of what to do with them gender thus play a role here because they are still as seen as more victims than perpetrators. Again, I would mention the United Nations officially integrated kind off a more gender framework in the counterterrorism headquarters. Other than that, I probably don't know, again, it's not quite my field of expertise so, that's probably all (inaudível).

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E4 – In relation to gender? Well, I would say, it's a good question, I mean, I guess continue openly? up opportunities for women first, but probably, I would say, some kind of training for women because again I think it is generally perceived that because terrorism, counterterrorism is very male dominated field, and they probably see a lot of violence and a lot of grossed scenes. I'm not saying women are less prepared for this but probably if a person is a woman could demonstrate that she went through a particular training or she went through a particular psychological preparation would make her job as a counterterrorism practitioner easier. Debunk stereotypes, I guess, again the major one, (inaudível) the only obstacle that I would see at the moment, where this, again, women are perceived as less capable, less brave, less aggressive to do the job when it comes to practical counterterrorism (inaudível) way, from the research perspective I think is the same problem where, probably, as a woman you have heard less or trusted less as your female counterpart but, I would repeat myself, I would say that in the research field I personally never encounter any serious problem with access to the field or have an inability to talk to practitioners or being heard at a conference, etc. So, I think just continue the lined that has been adopted recently to counter for the gender gap, close it as much is possible, just give more opportunities, more women, more training, more awareness of the issues. So, I wouldn't say there's a big difference between challenger in counterterrorism or anywhere else.

M— Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E4 – No, I think anything comes to mind so far.

--Fim da Entrevista—

Entrevista 5

12 abril 2024 – 09:03:09-09:47:27; WebEX; Duração: 00:42:44

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E5 – I usually hide my personal view by just talking about the institutional definition of this. I would say that terrorism is broadly speaking when an act of political violence is that goes beyond a personal attack or personal grudge and that is making in some kind of political point or that is trying to pressure the local population in to making a political point. I would say that counterterrorism is every action that a government can take to [pausa] well in the past would have been to stop this kind of political violence, now it's more about preventing this kind of political violence. So I would say that in general, this is not only about the European Union and you can find many academic sources on this, that's been a switch on counterterrorism, counterterrorism used to be very classical policework, very straightforward, there is you have a cell suspicion, you observed it, disrupt the attack, there is an attack you couldn't disrupt and then you chase the leads until you find the perpetrators, so very classic police work where there is a criminal, there's a law that was been broken and there's a chain of command and a persecution. However, the situation we have now is that a lot of counterterrorism efforts are aiming at preventing political violence from tacking place, even preventing people from finding violent ideologies attractive, so that's a very different operating directive, wright, like it's a different kind of command. Of course it's also means that it's no longer limited to the police, now there's a lot of state bodies and actors involved in counterterrorism, whereas before, again, used to be police and judiciary and, I don't know, maybe some prison staff sometimes but it wasn't like what it is know you have police, education, judiciary, social service, health service, intelligence to some extent, all cooperating. Yes, that was a long answer, I don't know of this is helping you.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E5 – That's a very good question. I would say that's a bit of both, in the sense that the, here I'm going to use indistinctively female engagement, women's involvement, gender

dynamics, and I'm aware that not all mean the same but basically talking about women's involvement. I would say that we are now seeing under a new light, things that we knew for a long time about the different roles that women can play in a terrorist organization. So, it's not only about the operational actors who go and plant the bomb, so it's about money laundering, propaganda, etc. So, I think in some way we have been very blind to this kind of roles for quite a long time until the 2000's or something like this and know there is this kind of like a scramble to compensate the fact that we have been ignoring women's involvement for a quite long time. It's not uniquely policies fault in the sense that research, for example, has been very biased in terrorism and has, it has been, there's a lack of data, ok for many reasons that I will not get into, there's a lack of data of women's involvement so we don't know enough about women as operational actors, we don't know them enough as support and most of what we know is about Al-Qaeda, ISIS, maybe PKK, this really high-profile Islamic groups and very, very, very little about, for example, right-wing extremism or the potential for eco-terrorism or this kind of stuff, like we don't really have an updated view on women's capacities and capability for violence. So, this being said I would also make the claim that has been an increase in women's activity especially regarding the right-wing in Europe, not to say that there's no Islamic activity in Europe, that's not what I want to say at all, but right now for Muslim women it's very hard to be visibly Muslim in Europe and , for example, for, I don't know, for a trad wife it's very easy to be a trad wife in Europe, like there is no punishment, there is no social censorship, so what I'm trying to say is that not necessarily divirtual of the ideology, but divirtual in the conditions which are operating right now. For some groups women might be easier to incorporate and they might be more visible, and we might then therefor think "oh, when extremists use women more than Islamists" it's also not what I'm trying to say, I don't have the data to make that kind of claim, but I would say the right-wing extremist have been increasingly using women, in an increasingly visible ways, so social media, propaganda, also politics right, a lot of female right-wing politicians in Germany, in Norway, in Sweden, in the Netherlands, and such.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E5 – I mean, one of the problems with this question and I would say that this question it's just not, it's just not truthful and I tell you why. It's that all of this can be an instrumentalization of gender and there's certainly an instrumentalization of gender but it's not by the European Union necessarily, it can be a bit by the European Union but you have to understand the European Union can maybe have an instrumentalizing narrative but it is the Member-States that actually implement counterterrorism policies and their state actors, state bodies that actually dictate the shape of this implementation. So, I would say that while there are some questionable assumptions on the European counterterrorism part on what women's involvement is, and we can discuss those, a bigger source of bias is actually happening in the implantation level because then, you know, you have, and this, well, is an educated guess, I do not have the data for this, but I would say that it would be very common to find in France, and I don't like the French very much you will see, let's say you have like, I don't know, an educator, someone in the high school system who is delivering an model on critical thinking and multiculturalism in society, for example. They are way more likely, for example, to instrumentalize certain things about gender and use, I don't know, for example, to talk about feminism in a way that it's mutual-exclusive with a religious bite or to imply that there is this standard of Western democracy and *laissez-fair*, and, I don't know, gender no conformity, that's the absolute goal and that, you know, for example, in the case of Muslims women that they are, you know, basically shooting themselves in the foot because they can never achieve this standards. I'm going a little bit in a tangent, sorry. What I'm trying to say is that there's always this bias, this is always present also because the policy, both the European and the national level is made by largely man and there's again very few actual inputs from research on how counterterrorism should use women. There's a couple of very good books on this based on the American example and the example of the United Nations and they are both really, really good. There's sadly, I was looking ahead of our interview, not that many sources on the European counterterrorism and women's involvement, which is I guess why you have the chance to do this also. But what I noticed, from my own research, it's that nothing in the European counterterrorism has a plan, ok, we are all reacting to things that are happening to us. So, when the ISIS brides were a big deal, female involvement was a big deal and then that kind of die down and then we have don't really done much on this

again, and recently when there's been now another sort of like breakthroughs, like a lot of work has been done on trad wives and on the female far-right influencers. And you can't expect Europe to release some kind of directive the next year about this but there is not actual pro-active policy where you have, I don't know, females working groups for political violence on the Commission, and they are like constantly working on how to bring a gender perspective into counterterrorism. This is not happening; gender is included when it's made relevant by either a terrorist attack or something like this. So also when was this attack in-cell in, I cannot remember if it was Halle or Hambuch was one of the German cities, there was a man who kill a bunch of people and left behind an in-cell manifesto also there was a short spike on male in-cell type mobilization, and now it's gone, there's not been an in-cell attack in a year.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E5 – Well, I'm not a implementing actor so, my situation is a lot more privilege, I don't have to make this kind of hard choices every day in terms of implementing specific policies that I don't believe is correct, as an academic I have the privilege of always say "yeah, that's not okay" and I don't really have to do anything about it. So, this is just what I think people who are working on that field the kind of choices they are forced to make. I think this is just like everything, this is like being a woman in modern society you cannot win, because in the one hand if you fulfill, like, the older man who work with you in security, man who work with you in security will always expect you to have a nurturing role so, to, you know, be the advocate of the weak and to always, like I don't know, to show generosity and to want to take care of people and to employ a care approach to things, right, like "oh, they don't need to go to jail, they just need a hug", this kind of mentality is what they expect from you. So, if you care too much on the side of the care mentality, which is not necessarily bad, right, like is nothing wrong with wanting to take care of people, this will be perceived as weakness on your side but also as irrationality, so, you don't want to appear too compassionate, but also be too cold, because, again, women who are over analytical are also not super well received. So, you want to always straddle that line between care and out care. And also this will be weaponized against you, right, because if you are, and this is just, this is not really a weaponization born

necessarily out of ill intention, but like, I have a friend who is a policewoman so, if somebody as to be chosen for a patrol she will be chosen because as a woman nobody expects her to be police so, she is less suspicious, as nothing to do with her capacities, just because she is a woman so, she looks like a woman, so people, bad guys pay less attention to her on the street. This is kind of similar when you work on counterterrorism because you're a woman, even because you are a counterterrorism actor, or because you are a counterterrorism target, but because you are a woman certain skills and certain things are going to be assumable about you, for example, that you can positively influence a community, maybe nobody talks to you maybe everybody hates you, maybe you are the person everybody knows that, like, cannot keep a secret, right, but because you are a woman it is implied that you have this capacity to mobilize that community around you. So, counterterrorism strategies are always leaning on this very essentialist gender ideas. And the problem is that first of all this is not, this might not be the case, but this is just stereotypes, so, there are also stereotypes that not necessarily even make a lot of sense, but ok. And also, there might be quite a lot of backlashes because, I mean, *hijab* Muslim women they are very aware of how visible they are, for example, and they are not happy to be employed by marketing strategies to show, like, multiculturalism, in schools, for example. So, if you design a project, like a preventive project in school and you want to "harness" the power of gender you might actually be doing the opposite, you might actually be entrenching this idea that Western society doesn't actually care about women, and also doesn't care about, you know, diverse minority women, etc, etc. So, yes, I think that there is, however good the intentions of any policy plan, I have not seen any policy plan that actually take gender into account as a category to construct, for example, or to deconstruct, but always as a category that has certain skills, certain abilities, certain supposed capabilities attached and, so is deployed when there is the need for this care angle. Also, kind of in a good cop/bad cop mentality, right. And this is also, again, is kind of, is just very factually inaccurate because if you look, for example, at the, this is an extreme example, I realize, if you look at the camps in Iraq and in Syria, where former ISIS spouses and even some ISIS members are now being kept after the fall of the caliphate, most of the fighters died but the large majority of the people who were living in the caliphate who are spouses, children, people who were too young to fight, too old to fight, etc, they are moved to camps, almost no men, ok, mostly women,

and yet you have in this camps you have hierarchical structure, you have power, you have punishments, you have physical punishment, there is no care and it's our inability to visualize that women are capable of violence to the same extent that men, that have led to the, to this camps, for example, just festering for years and years and years because in the beginning everybody was like "oh, but you know, they're not really dangerous, because they're just women and children", and now ten years have happen and they're no longer children and this women where very dangerous ten years ago and they're very dangerous now.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E5 – No. But this is, I mean, this, I don't think this is unique to counterterrorism or even security, like, I think it's just common to policymaking, like, the European Union has a lot's of female politicians, of course, but, and I'm sure all do the individual countries states, but the senior policy experts are usually men, and specially in counterterrorism they tend to be even more men than women. Because security it's just male dominated area.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E5 – I mean, on the whether it's being done or not, again, it's really depends on the country, like, some countries have extensive counterterrorism operators' others are just like existent, right. I know Portugal has a whole prevention department that's empty because they just, there are no prevention action in Portugal, but this is must emphasis on Spain and also, like, for example, in Spain this is handle by the police largely also elements from the judiciary, but largely the police, also the police already had a counterterrorism strategy from the past. In France this is very different, is the Ministry of the Interior who is dealing with the most of prevention stuff. So, who does counterterrorism and how well they do it actually is very country dependent matter. You cannot, you can make broad North, South, East, West assumptions, like, for example, western European countries like the Neth, like the BENELUX, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg, have quite an advance system of counterterrorism: action, cooperation, Intelligence sharing, whereas Poland, Romania, Chek Republic, not really. So, there are some geographical, well I don't know if it's geographical or characteristics of the political

systems, but there are some broad trends, however, each country even within like a specific area can be very, very different from one another. So, implementation it really depends, you have to look on the ground, there is no, because EU doesn't really implement anything, there is no metrics for how successful it has been. You can measure the output of policies regulations but that's not really, that's not really telling you anything, other than how busy the people in the Commission where. So, that's about the implementation part or the sake of it or how are people actually doing counterterrorism, and I would say, yes, they are doing counterterrorism, in very different ways, very heavily influenced by own national, you know, political heritages and, you know, the system that was before, so, Spain and Portugal are heavily influenced by coming from a dictatorship in ways that France isn't. But then if we look at the content, so not at the implementation level but at the logic of the EU counterterrorism policy, this is again kind of a hard question, because EU counterterrorism its, its, how can I explain this, it's definitely a thing, you can definitely say, there's such a thing like EU counterterrorism strategy it's such a thing as in distinct EU counterterrorist formulas are any different than from, like, the American ones. This is mostly based on the result of a very, very hardcore process of homogenization by the European Union that starts on the post-9/11 environment where you have legal measures, you have for the first time common legal definitions, you have trainings and coordinated operations across Member-States, you have some Intelligence sharing, not a lot but you have some Intelligence sharing, you have Europol fulfilling the coordination capacity between the (inaudível) countries, it's, they really bare bone of the system. The problem is counterterrorism by definition it's the provision of security but that provision of security what it looks like and what implies it is going to be very tied to concepts of the country. So, for, I don't know, for Norwegians maybe, this is just a random example, but an attack on security is not the same for every European member and there is of course a legal common definition, so there is a common legal bases but the extent to which each country is willing, for example, securitize their citizens or make a surveillance more widespread or make women more prominent, is going to be very, very dependent on their own history, of what they consider to be an idea of provision of security. So, there is a European security, there is a European counterterrorism, it exists, it's a thing we can look at it, we can even kind of touch it, however (inaudível) European counterterrorism

a thing the country, context dependence. It's a fact that even though you have an operator and it as the base elements to be applied to different situations, its final form, the result of imposing an EU architecture on a local context.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism programs are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E5 – I mean, not really. It's also true that the European Union is not providing counterterrorism actors, right, again, there's national actors, it's not like the European Union is, as a place to put these perfectly trained women to do counterterrorism. So maybe it's unfair. So maybe it's not so much that they don't have it, but they don't have a space for them either. That being said, I'm not super impressed with what the European Union thinks a women's role in counterterrorism should be because, again, it's always tied to this idea of care provision and being the good cop, and, I mean, either you are doing counterterrorism or you are doing care provision, and neither are necessarily unimportant, but they are also not the same thing. And I find really frustrating that women's involvement always have to be mediated by a justification of violence, either because you are committing political violence but it as to be explained away because you cannot possibly be violent yourself or believe in white-supremacy or whatever, or is a mediation or legitimization of your police, counterterrorism, security role because you're not a bad guy, you're not a security actor, you are there to help the community. And this is just, I don't know, kind of very limiting. It can be right in some levels; you can have an example where you need to strengthen care relations in a community as a counterterrorism strategy, this could be the case, but it cannot always be the case.

M– Do you find gender stereotypes or even a gender-blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism programs?

E5 – Yes, definitely, definitely. But, again, it's not even the EU's fault it's just the same way that I know there's a glass ceiling, the same way that I encounter sexism in my everyday life. Yes, like, there's a gender bias in security and is a very strong gender behavior or gendered behavior component to security, in general, like, the ways also that security is negotiated in this kind of, like, policy environments are very male or like historically has been very, I don't know how to say, like, you know, like big boys clubs,

behind closed doors, not really, this are just discussions women have never really been a part of. And, so, even though that has been a change in the last 20/30 years I think a lot of the inertia still to make counterterrorism a boy's club. So, it's kind of always harder to be taken seriously, both as a threat and as a solution.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E5 – Yes. I mean, it's not like these two entities are separated, because the people who are, you know, writing these books and the people who are writing policy briefs, and the people who work for RAN often will, like, now each other and work together and double down and so on. So, there is an influence the problem is, what are you influencing? Because I'm also not super impressed with the UN approach because is kind of the same problem where is trying to be, well, it's not really, I don't know, it's, I have the feeling that the UN contemplates an double standard for women in terrorism organizations, where it's kind of like they are always presume to not to be as bad but also presume to have some magical capacity to help everybody else to quit terrorism. So, the idea, and the idea that is quite widespread, is that, you know, formers, in general not just in this stuff, former extremists, former terrorist members are quite useful if used right for the disengagement other people from the same group. However, in the case of women I have not seen this being used in the same way and it's like, you know, you bring, I don't know, "Charlotte", "Charlotte" used to be an outsee, "Charlotte" tells you how she left the white supremacist group and how and so on. And I don't really see this a lot with women, and I don't know if it's because there are not that many women who operated, operatives who liked to be shown through this disengagement process. But anyway, sorry, that's not what I wanted to say. I know that the UN has a much more comprehensive set of rules for gender participation, both for women doing counterterrorism and for women receiving counterterrorism. I have to admit that a lot of this is also meant for very different security environments so, the UN is thinking about women in counterterrorism in Kenya, that's a very, very different situation for Germany or France or Spain. So, I don't know if maybe I'm not, there's a chance that I'm not appreciating the UN directives very much because they are not very useful to us, right, like they're not really contemplating the kind of environment, the kind of actors,

resources that you have in Europe, so, that's why I never been super blown away by them, because maybe this is meant for, you know, disengagement in Latin America, in the FARC, for example, or the disengagement from Boko Haram in Nigeria where you going to have very, very different conditions. So, you have to go ask somebody who knows the UN policy much better, for them to tell you if it's a lot of **** or it is actually some incredibly (inaudível) ideas in there. I do not know because the things that I have seen, I was like this makes sense, there's nothing crazy about this but there's also nothing that we didn't know ten years ago already. So, I think the most interesting developments in this direction, for example, in on the criminal justice, like in the Germany cases for the foreign fighters who went to Syria to fight, women, and then came back and are now going under trial, because, of course, many committed many horrific crimes, with slavery and abuse and you name it. So, actually I think that's very interesting case study of agency in women's involvement in terrorism, where you actually have to, because, you know, like, there's the whole point of justice system, you have to proportionally punish them for this regardless of they are women or men, of course there's also a gender bias, you know, in justice rulings and so on but I just think that's going to be a very interesting area where we actually going to see if women's involvement is being considered on the same grounds as men's involvement and punished as harshly or if is still like a gender bias perspective of "oh, she didn't know any better, because she was a woman", so in her case it wasn't "she consume enough propaganda and radicalize, but she was brain washed" and the agency implications there are very different.

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E5 – Well, it's not necessarily a gender thing or you can make it a gender thing but I think, in my opinion the biggest problem in counterterrorism is the lack of long-term planning, everything is very reactive and is done in reaction to specific events, there's no predictive capacities, like now that, they are no longer this many Islamist attacks in Europe, we cannot cope with the right-wing attacks because we don't have no adaptability, our system is just reacting, there's lowly a very politically and whole of the things are very politicized, because there is no long-term funding and no long-term

planning, that will be for example, like an educational plan, you have an counterterrorism plan and should be much more stable and should be, what's the word, it should be assessed more frequently. So, there's a lack of long-term planning and a lack of assessment. And, I think, if you were to implement periodical independent reviews, actual independent reviews not what the UK is doing, if you actually had parliamentary oversight and more of a culture of counterterrorism it's something that needs to be managed quite closely instead of just something the politicians talk about when there's a terrorist attack and then just ignore it, because it's not really popular with anybody, except the really, really hardcore right-wing nationalist but, most politicians are also trying to appeal to the middle, and counterterrorism it's just not a popular policy area for almost anybody. So, I understand that is hard to have this long-term planning and this, this convention that we need to be assessing this, also for, you know, breaches of privacy, breaches of civil rights, whatever.

M— Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E5 – No, I think I told you everything.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 6

17 abril 2024 – 12:02:18-12:39:17; Zoom; Duração: 00:37:17

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E6 – So basically I believe that terrorism is when you have a group of people or even individuals who have a system of beliefs, could be ideological beliefs, could be led by political or religious beliefs and they are on the very edge of the spectrum, basically either very extreme left or very extreme right or they could believe in other things, for example, hatred in women, and then they are ready to commit violence, so, in order to reach an particular aim, the aim could be political, it could be territorial, it could be a change in *status quo* within to lead to collapse of government. But it has also, it must also have a theatrical affect so, basically you would have either collateral damage cause to other people, that's it basically, it has to tread the attention of a lot of people so, a theatrical effect and wanting to lead to change, does I think are the three facets of terrorism basically. As to counterterrorism it's the fight against that I have just mentioned, the fight against extremism which is violent. Obviously when I said and I mentioned terrorism perhaps I didn't mentioned violence enough, obviously terrorism is about violence and countering and countering terrorism is about fighting not just the cognitive aspect of it but also undoubtedly the behavior aspect of terrorism which is when people make that leap from just believing on something but be ready also to utilize violence to cause change or to get what they want.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E6 – Well, having been in the field of counterterrorism for the last thirteen years in terms of research I would say, and also within the policy development of terrorism in think female presence is really increasing, it has caught the attention of many in terms of many, I see many young women being very interested and passionate about this area of studies. I think it attracts women as well because we are dealing with people, so, terrorism has a sociological aspect to it, and psychological aspect to it, and this are areas which have always attracted the female gender basically, so, I think when someone is

interested in those two aspects of terrorism, the psychological and the sociological, this is something which attracts the female, the female gender. Besides that I would want to say that, you know, the earlier stages post-9/11 or even before, if we go back in time, in the 60s, in the 80s, security aspects were based, were in the hands of male or actually were male dominated let's say, because security was always in the hands of either of the people force or the military which at the time attracted a lot of, there was a male presence to it. But obviously, with the female liberation movement and emancipation of women, and the fact that females' women started to be working in all aspects of all sectors basically, you name it, from security to medicine, to science. Since 9/11 obviously there's been more opportunities for women to study new, new sectors basically or to enter new sectors, and terrorism is one of them. So, I think this is the reason why there is a bigger female presence in terrorism, for example, if you check who's the director of Europol, the executive director of Europol today you find a woman, before this position has always been, always taken by, occupied by a male. So, even, for example, within the European Commission if I have a look at directors working in the field of counterterrorism you would find the previous director on gender (inaudível) was a woman, now the one taking over is also a woman. Unit directory is composed basically all by women, there is a significant presence of women who are working, hands on in policymaking in counterterrorism, and also in terms of research. So, it's an area which is definitely growing, there's a lot of interest, because obviously terrorists are not only man they are also, there are also female terrorists, which kind of also attracts, attracts us to kind of understand the mindset, I mean women are defined as caring beings so, wonder or how come they can commit such atrocities when it comes to terrorism. But obviously this are intriguing aspects one would want to study and being a woman, maybe this is something that attracts want to research these themes, the same as, for example, the involvement of children within terrorism. So, since 9/11 there's been a leap forward even forward presence of females studying counterterrorism in terms of research, policymaking, and their involvements and on.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E6 – I never thought about this idea of having females or having the presence of women in certain positions to kind of or because of a particular agenda that they're trying to create or maybe to appease certain policy decisions. I never looked at like this to be fare with you but honestly, I don't think so. I don't think that women are being instrumentalized, I think women choose to either study or get involved, and if they are getting involved in such an area, I think they have. It depends which sector now, because it depends on what they're doing, whether they are, as I was, I'm saying, there are researchers cause if you are researcher normally you are independent. But if you are a female journalist that is another story, we are talking about people involved in counterterrorism. I don't think that women in charge are being used within any institution focusing on counterterrorism in any particular way to achieve a particular objective. I'm not, I don't know if I understood your question really well, but my reply to that would be, not that I've known of really.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E6 – So, I have to, I were two hats basically, I'm a researcher, I'm an independent researcher and I'm worked, my research always on, at the moment at least, I focus a lot on education, young people within education and radicalization that might take place in secondary schools to be more precise. And I also teach, I'm lecturer within an institution where I teach social workers, teachers, heads of schools and their kind of also helping the government to create counter-violence extremism, P/CVE and education on another sector—.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field (counterterrorism)?

E6 – I really don't know what to say, I mean, I can tell you what I see when I'm working on this area of decision-making and policymaking. I think credit is given not based on gender really but on experience and merit, at least I hope so. Obviously since this area of study, this area of policymaking was something that belonged to, was male dominated for a very, very longtime, I think there's still might be a bit of resistance in accepting a woman's way of thinking or the perception or the. How can I explain, how can I put it. Sometimes men still tend to resist that women might assess something

differently, you know, when you view a case or an incident it is possible that perceptions vary, and since this area has been long dominated by men there might be resistant to some analysis by women but after all, I mean, that's why is good to have both genders working together because in that case, in that way when you have different thoughts, different analysis, different perceptions you can assess a case better, you know, you might have less gaps open. So, I wouldn't say that, I wouldn't say that men are preferred more than women or women as it less good, but obviously depends on the culture one is working again, age makes a difference as well, because older man, I might say, might be resistant to younger women who challenge them or challenges them, that might be the case, that is more a question of egos then, you know, and you find, you find this a lot in policy areas at times, you know. But I hope this is changing because this is not a question of who as the best opinion, it's a question of developing the best policy for the citizens and to make sure that security its tight. So, I hope that if this existed in the past, that's becoming less and less as women take out a bigger presence in the sector, you know.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E6 – Well, the European Union counterterrorism strategies are constantly evolving. I might remember I started working with the institutions in 2006, so, basically after one year after the London terrorist attacks where homegrown terrorism was at its peak at the time and were where a lot of incidents related to homegrown Islamic terrorism. So, at that time I remember there was a real push, a real push to kind of learn more about what was going on and there was a wave of new policies and new departments being developed. So, the European Union takes security very, very seriously, especially, I would say, there was a time where security and emigration were being bundle up together as well, you know, especially, when I say migration is illegal migration. And that caused a bit of an issue, more over there where issues related to civil liberties, cause at that time between the 9/11, 2004, 2005, the Spanish and the London terrorist attacks, there was a wave of new measure being produced horizontally across the EU, new regulations, new directives, tightening security at open spaces, at airports, in aviation, the amount of liquids one could carried, there, the stop and search. There were a lot of hard and soft measures, I would say, that were also having a massive impact on citizens

and their civil liberty. So, at times, the European Union was very reactive within its policymaking, which I don't consider to be a good thing, but on the other hand, one was to realize that something needed to be done *pronto*, because attacks were happening everywhere across Europe at that time. Besides that, with the rise of ISIS in 2014, the European Union decided also to create more departments, so new units under DG Home started to be created, in order to protect, not just the internal security but also to focus on radicalization, countering radicalization, preventing violent extremism, they also started to create working groups, they developed the RAN, the Radicalization Awareness Network, and obviously now they have just adopted, they adopted the 2015 (inaudible) the Security, the Security agenda, obviously under it if you find a lot of aspects related to terrorism. Now they are trying to focus also on terrorist content online, just adopted the directive, now they are reopening to add new generation technologies like AI, and to be able to counter propaganda. So, it's constantly trying to keep up, I wouldn't say it's trying to be one step ahead because it's very hard at times to understand what terrorists are going to do next, but at least it's trying to keep up, and (inaudible), also, kind of forums like the EU Internet Forum, there's also, they connect a lot with the Global Terrorism Forum where they also have these continuous discussions with these big online companies, online services providers, basically there's Facebook, there's Microsoft, there's Google, they make sure that they continue to have these discussions in order to see how they can prevent material from being, terrorist content material being spread online. So, in terms of all sectors they have introduced policies, like the PNR Aviation, the liquids Directive which should have been also withdrawn ages ago but it hasn't. So, yes, it evolved according to the times, always trying to balance security *vis à vis* civil liberty, as best they could. But that's all I can say for the moment.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism program(s) are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E6 – I don't think that the European Union really makes a distinction between males and females in terrorism, like the victims, perpetrators of terrorism and who develops policy, I don't think that there's a real distinction there honestly. I mean, a policy is a policy is legal, ok, it's the only thing they focus on, especially in meetings is that, the law is as solid as possible, that there are no gaps or loop holes one could use to evade it, you

know, but it doesn't make distinctions in terms of women, men or women when it comes to terrorism policy, you know. I mean, most of the policies that are being (inaudible) in counterterrorism or radicalization are such of guidelines, because as you know security its very, its, only Members-States are competent in that area. So, the European Union can only issue guidelines or can issue directives were Members-States have to transpose it into national law, so, there's only a certain amount of things that EU can do in terms of counterterrorism, the rest is with the, Members-States are sovereign in that, they have to, they decide what security measures to introduce, the European Union can suggest or, for example, transpose some up to a certain extent, you know. But it's not competency of the European Union to, security is competency of the Members-States, ok. And, no, I wouldn't say that there's a distinction between men (and women), and I don't understand what you mean exactly when you say if the policy affects the victim or the perpetrator of terrorism or does working in policymaking, in that case my reply would be no.

M– Do you find any gender stereotypes or even a gender-blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism programs?

E6 –I wouldn't say gender stereotypes really, I would say maybe color-blindness or a certain insensitivity in terms of, insensitivity in terms of certain communities. I wouldn't say gender as such, I don't think gender is an issue in terms, because policy doesn't make distinction, doesn't make this distinction between male and female, you know, its individual that we want to protect, the entire community, you know. So, in the programs I don't think that there is gender, I wouldn't say there are gender stereotypes, correct me if I'm wrong, maybe other researchers would back to differ, but in terms of policymaking the policies themselves I don't think that they are gender stereotypes, there might be, and yes, there might be, and probably already is, there is a certain insensitivity in the way its color-blinded, in the sense that, you know, we draft policy as white people, because the majority of the people within the counterterrorism within the commission drafting this policies are white people from central Europe, from northern Europe and white skinned. I would say that there is a balance as I said between male and female people working on this policy, so I think there's a sensitivity in terms of gender, because women are working on these policies. Now, don't get me wrong, as I

said most of the policies, most of the policies coming out of the EU are not exactly policies, they are guidelines or, as I said, strategies or agendas, but they are not exactly policies in law, because that's a competency that falls under the responsibility of the Members-States. But might be a lack of sensitivity in terms of the communities that the policies are trying to target, ok, for example, we want to always teach the European values, I'm not saying that the European values are wrong, but does that mean that if people criticize the European values, they are going to be terrorist or be to terrorism or be extreme or radicalized. So, I would say there's more an issue with color-blindness and were we draw the line when it comes to if someone criticizes, as I said, the European values or what the European Union stands for, you know, were do we draw the line there. I wouldn't say that within the policy itself, as far as I see at least, as gender sensitivity.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E6 – I have to say that I don't know much about this, so I will pass honestly if you don't mind.

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E6– Well, ideally, I always repeat this to even when I'm in other meetings and what I would wish for general for the EU, would be more trust between Members-States, to counterterrorism to be effective there needs to be Intelligence provided by Members-States. I mean, security and securing the EU, obviously, relies of, relies on the Intelligence provided by Members-States, now, obviously, when there is lack of trust between Members-States, Intelligence is not going to be provided, or Intelligence would be kept for that Member-State own national security. So, for counterterrorism to work better we need, obviously, more people that are capable and have the techniques, the expertise in getting the Intelligence needed, either it's a (inaudível) or whether it is open-source Intelligence, for it need people that are able to get information, do great analysis. But here we need the trust between Members-States. So, that's what I hope for the future and for better counterterrorism because counterterrorism can only work

when we have good assessment, got Intelligence, and trust between the countries involved.

M– Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E6 – —A background check needs to happen very, very fast and, obviously, although there are data bases being shared between Members-States like the SIS and the entry system. However, you know, they fail sometimes, and most of the times when we look at the backgrounds of perpetrators of terrorists' attacks, we always find that they are either they are migrants, or they have been in the country for a long time and they, the police force or the Intelligence knew about them, but they didn't do anything. So, first of all I would say that identification of the threat, especially at the border, it's extremely important and having the expertise, the technical expertise and the people to be able to work in the field and, you know, get results.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 7

17 abril 2024 – 14:00:29-14:15:39; Zoom; Duração: 00:15:21

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E7 – So when asked that question I always say that there are academic answers and legal answers and political answers, and it's important to understand that there's an overlap between the three, where they intersect it is an important part of the definition. Counterterrorism is a concept that used to be very State centric, so, that was very much in the realm of what you would call counterterrorism. But the idea of it from a policy perspective it's really expanded since 9/11, to incorporating ideas around the leveraging of the development and prevention efforts to address the drivers of terrorism; and some people put that under the *rear brake* of counterterrorism, there's a much more expansive definition of counterterrorism then used to be.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E7 – So, well, it's a very interesting question, and one that there a number of scholars that have looked at it in real depth, I presume that you are familiar with the research of Mia Bloom, for example. She is one of the people who early on started talking about gender aspect to terrorist motivation and radicalization, I think it's very important to understand the reasons individuals join a group and even leave a group, are distinct depending on the nature of the group. So, I don't think it's possible to make generalizations across types of violent extremist or terrorists' groups. So, the reason why there where women in (inaudível), for example, and the reason why there where women drown to joined ISIS, are two very different dynamics, that have different social and political components to it. So, I don't think we can sort of make an overarching assessment of whether women in terrorism is increased or decreased without having a contextual understanding of the different kind of terrorist groups that there are and look at it from that entry point.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E7 – Instrumentalized? No. In fact quite the opposite, I feel that especially the prevention agenda, and by that, I mean policy in practice that's involved in preventing people from joining groups, from radicalizing, as done an enormous amount to expand, fund, and advance initiatives around women rights. In fact, there, I think the amount of funding and the amount of support and visibility in a lot of those programs have because of PVE agenda as tripled. I don't see it as instrumentalization at all. Do I think that a group like ISIS' instrumentalized a woman in order to attract them to join, yes, I think that would be the appropriated use of the term.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E7 – —So, I have a commitment to advancing the role of women and a gender lens in the programs and policies that I've been directly involved in, whether that's because I'm a woman or not I guess is open to debate, but that's been my contribution to this Women, Peace and Security Agenda.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E7 – So all security apparatus always traditionally been male dominated, there's no question about that. Security sector, military sector are all male dominated enterprises. I think we have made enormous progress in terms of having women in leadership positions in security in the last two decades in particular. We've seen a real shift, but I don't know the numbers, I can't quantify it for you, I don't know how shifted, I just know experientially sifted in terms of the leadership that I've been exposed to and the number of women that I know in senior positions and in international security as shifted.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E7 – I would describe it as holistic, encompasses prevention and sort of law enforcement centric counterterrorism approaches. I would say that it is got a very strong routing in human rights law and a very strong focus on the rule of law approaches. I think is very much aligned with the UN counterterrorism strategy and priorities, and very much aligned with other international organizations that advances that kind of policies. I think it's really important that international organizations, inter-governmental entities keep a

very, very high bar in terms of entering humans' rights compliances standards and framing around counterterrorism because those are the models that then influence national level policies and decisions, and that's ultimately what really matters is how a national government is going to legislate, prosecute and penalize terrorist crimes. So, I think, I see it as a very human rights based a model. I'm trying to think. The last time that I worked on it was for supporting the development of a resource guide on measuring the impact of counterterrorism and CVE programs and had an analysis of the EU counterterrorism policy in it, and I can send you that resource if you want to take a look at that after the interview.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism program(s) are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E7 – Yes, I do. I mean, there's an entire dedicated component that as to do with ensuring that programs and policies have a gender component, there are number of women in senior leadership within the EU Commission and responsible for oversight of this programs, I do think as a strong gender lens to it and consideration what it looks like.

M– Do you find gender stereotypes or even a gender-blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism programs?

E7 –. I think generally speaking, I'm more familiar with the UN Women, UN language around terrorism and counterterrorism, and I do think that in recent years some of the language regarding gender and women has become over problematized, and while I think there's important that there's some understanding around concepts of gender and women, masculinities and all that symbol, I'm not sure all of the academic concepts that exists in the, in critical studies translate into policy language. And I think we got into a point of disconnect between the research that's taking place in gender and critical studies, and policy application. So, I mean, that's speaking quite broadly and more with my familiarity with the UN programs, but I think that it's something that I think researchers should, should think about it a little bit more deeply in terms of relevance of some of these issues to policy formation.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E7 – I don't know, I would have to look at it more closely, to see where the gaps might be in terms of the two, I don't really have a very analytical comparison between the two. I know there's an alignment, but whether there's gaps in the two I'm not completely sure about that. I don't know if I have a good answer for you.

M– **While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?**

E7 – I will pass on that question.

M– **Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?**

E7 – No.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 8

18 abril 2024 – 13:38:53-14:03:28; Zoom; Duração: 00:24:50

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E8 – Well, I would say that I wouldn't, I wouldn't if I'm (inaudível) because I think we have to be clear whether we are asking about a legal definition or a general understanding, and I would say very firmly that there is in my opinion no international definition of terrorism, international set definition for terrorism. The definition that the EU as put forward is something that I've looked at and I don't think, I think it's a problematic one, but any of that I don't think that there's an international consensus around legal definition of terrorism. I think that at the same time, you know, there's a general understanding that usually applies but not always as what we mean by terrorism, which enables conversations. But sometimes we find that even their people actually disagree like heartily on some core elements of terrorism. So, I generally understand terrorism to be engagement in acts or maybe threats of violence to (inaudível) a particular purpose that which is, you know, this are kind of the core elements of terrorism, so, is some kind of usually criminal conduct act, certainly some kind of act of violence or threat of violence (inaudível) for a particular purpose. But those are just core basic elements, just no one even know exactly what constitutes terrorism and that's been a huge part of the problem in abusive counterterrorism in the past couple of decades.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E8 – That's an interesting question. What I'm firmly confident about is that has been a shift on focus, a shift to analysis so, I suspect that's at least a big part of what its changed, people asking different questions and making different enquiries. So, for example, you know, years ago, not so many years ago but when there where first emphasis in the so called foreign terrorist fighters, a terrible phrase, but a phrase that exists, people who traveled from many states around the world to Iraq and Syria to supposedly assist Islamic State (inaudível), at the beginning of that phenomenon the Security Council

passed the resolution in 2014 on that, in the beginning of that everyone was really focused on assuming that all of the perpetrators were men so, there's a lot of assumptions, gender assumptions around perpetrators that we saw that led to do the measures that were being taken in response to the so called, foreign terrorist fighters, or people who traveled to Iraq and Syria. And then over time people realized that actually was misleading, right, that actually unsurprisingly, you know, many men and women are involved in different ways in criminality that's just (inaudible) so, the roles were really much diverse, women weren't always the victims of that situation necessarily, many were but they weren't necessarily. And so, there are many factors, age of course a huge factor not only gender, in terms of on really understanding the situation. So, I think there's been a shift of focus, also in criminal law in the beginning people were not focus, neither even the academics nor NGO's or others, certainly not policy makers, who's implementing the law over, they're not sufficiently focus on the range of roles in criminality of men and women and the range of factors that might contribute to that. So, I think that has been a shifting of focus over women that's a least part of what is going on, whether or not that's actually been an uptick in the amount of women involved and when that would've, you know, (inaudible) I don't feel very confident on answering that because I don't know the answer.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E8 – So, instrumentalize can, sometimes what we mean by that it's just a bad thing, right, it's just you're using gender in a way that is not real or inappropriate or abusive in some kind of way. I tell you what I think, and maybe you can tell me if it doesn't answer to your question. What I think is that has been a shift towards understanding gender dimensions of terrorism and that's largely a big thing because was so neglected for so long, however I also worry bit is sometimes very superficial and profoundly misunderstood, either person is using the term. What I think has become is little bit a box ticking exercise, where everyone now says "we do counterterrorism in a gender sensitive way, we have gendered counterterrorism policies" and when you sit down and talk to people, I've been able to talk to in some occasions over the past few years, "what do you mean by that", "in what way is this policy", I think people don't really know what

it means. So, the people who are using it are not necessarily that mindful of what it means. So, in that sense I think's being maybe instrumentalized so far, the language of gender is being used to get legitimacy to counterterrorism without generally enforcing necessarily the approach to counterterrorism.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E8 – Unusual because there certainly remains male dominated field. It depends on which type of actor you're talking about so, if it is a civil society conversation about counterterrorism and that civil society group will be more balance on its composition but if you are talking about the key actors known within the counterterrorism infrastructure internationally or nationally, these and the security context more broadly, these remain very male dominated fields, and I think that is perceptual and translates perhaps, at least has an influence on the approach to counterterrorism. So, I'm certainly not the only women that's been working in counterterrorism, there are many of us and increasingly so, but we are certainly a minority.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E8 – So, I guess, again, it depends on which women (inaudível) so, to take that on a different direction. So, I mentioned there's the question of who has these jobs, who have the big security jobs, right, within a state, all of the infrastructure of the state who does security and who does counterterrorism? Vast majority of them are men, has a generalization. I think we are talking about who does, whose being doing who's, certainly senior or even not necessarily senior I think, security jobs around the world it would be men within the state. As I say that it would be slightly different picture in civil society so, I'm a bit reluctant to say that it's so different, actually it probably depends on which aspect of counterterrorism and what it we mean. I actually think in civil society, (inaudível) in criminal justice generally, and (inaudível) jurisdiction for example, that's male dominated to, right, so, I think there are certain (inaudível) that perhaps do tend to have more a gender imbalance more than other others but that tends (inaudível) to change over time (inaudível). But taking it in a slightly different direction there's also a question of who are the goal affected communities and others in counterterrorism, I

think this is really an important thing and what is the role of gender in that, it's/there's been a huge shift in what states and international organizations see about terrorism, you know, in the past decade so, now it's allure, you know, everyone says (inaudível) it's about prevention, victim centered, communities centered and, you know, engage with the community on the elaboration of affected terrorism, it's been a shift from, you know, seeing counterterrorism as something you can just impose and blast the highlight off to something that is more fit to an engaging communities throughout the world. That's not always done sometimes it's more said than its done, many (inaudível) has been a shift, the question then is who's been the more affected communities, I think it's always the problem and I mean communities very broadly across the globe and (inaudível) the representation of women and men and the voices affected, the voices of those public there are contributing to conversation around affected counterterrorism. I think that's quite an area male dominated.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E8 – Again, I don't want to pretend to be a real expert on EU's specific strategies. I would say that many counterterrorism strategies, including as I've seen across the EU and within the EU's strategy as such, I think, you know, many strategies have been unduly coercive, unduly focus on coercive measures and not, including this criminal law we are seeing a very expansive approach to this in criminal law and being promoted by the EU, So, I think (inaudível) broad, the strategy I think starts from unduly broad point of departure in his approach to terrorism, so to be said unduly expansive approach this undefined phenomenon. And I think its unduly coercive in its emphasis on forceable measures to criminal law, migration policy linked to terrorism rather than some ways investing in that. I mean it's not easy, there's no easy answers to what EU should be to advance in human security, I think it should have a more holistic and more human security approach.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism program(s) are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E8 – I prefer not to answer.

M– Do you find gender stereotypes or even a gender-blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism programs?

E8 – I mean, again, so I'm thinking within particular EU states you certainly see many examples of all of those things, one example that I've written a bit its one example from the Netherlands was the approach to criminalization for returning foreign terrorist fighters, at one point men were all prosecuted and women as victims, you know, (inaudível) across that prosecute policy was gender-blind, it was wrong it was not the (inaudível) you need to have which is individualized assessment culpability and wrong doing.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E8 – Well, I suppose there's a question of whether the Women, Peace and Security agenda it's been applied at all, some people would question if its whether been applied at all. So, I think EU Counterterrorism policy (inaudível) a lot of criticism of it, there securitized a coercive approach to counterterrorism at the UN level.

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E8 – So, I think, I think the big thing, I think counterterrorism has to become less defensive and has to be more about kind of creating human security for the future, right. I think the goals that we have to translate what people say on paper into practice in that sense. And I still don't think we got there, that we change what we said about counterterrorism not what we did, I think we are still coercive, I think it's still alienating (inaudível) sort of create divisions in society rather than a sense of, you know kind of shared human security, which is what communities all over the world want is human security, not just on that (inaudível) approach (inaudível) but a real sense of security.

The second thing, a huge priority should be looking at (inaudível) counterterrorism, on thing that we are seeing I think it's a fundamental problem that is linked to gender actually, more broadly to human rights and security, it's the focus on the fact this very broad approach to terrorism can (inaudível).

M– Is there anything else you would like to share about this topic?

E8 – No.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 9

22 abril 2024 – 10:00:18-10:45:39; Zoom; Duração: 00:42:33

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E9 – For me, I guess I'm a mainstream scholar, so, mostly what I'm focused on is substage groups, who utilize violence to forward their objectives, more lap at the same time seeking to influence an audience by those objectives, I think including policymaking for public and what have you. So, I would say it's a straightforward sort of approach which is to say, terrorism always as to have a violence aspect and always as to have a politics aspect, and the combination of this two is crucial, and after that I'm willing to debate, discuss, what will be other requirements. When to comes to counterterrorism, you know, I guess, again, for me it's a relatively sort of an standard approach and, I guess, I would say that because of my work that's mostly on the online, or what have you, I guess, I can see (inaudível) quite broadly to include not just the so called real world in a virtual cosmos, so physical world settings but also online settings. And I guess, largely in European context, that's what we are talking about where, is sort of the civic security approaches, or what not, so, a law enforcement, and what have you, rather than a military approaches for the most part. Is that about covers.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E9 –That's an interesting question, I think that what we can see foundations of things over the last hundred years or more, there's more female involvement in sport of public life, if you want to put it like that across the board, there's more female involvement in, you know, a variety of organizations that (inaudível). So, for example, in military's, in law enforcement, in Intelligence agencies, and what have you, there's been a very significant optic of female involvement in all of those. So, I think its relativity unsurprising that there has been an optic over time of female involvement in political violence. Now, I do think important factors obviously in this are definitely ideology, is crucial, but also, you know, sort of cultural factors that there are so, basically your jurisdiction, but then cultural factors bare on dash put but ideology, I think is absolutely crucial, because obviously

overtime we see that's far more women involved in lefts oriented organizations, then any type of what we might describe as hyper conservative organization, whether that is, you know, extreme right groups or hyper religious groups like jihadis outfits, or what have you, and that's because, obviously, in terms of left and broadly right to, you know, there's very different attitudes to what the appropriate roles of women are, not just in political violence sphere but actually in the world, as it were. So even when it comes to jihadis, whether is permissive for women to actually be at any public setting, right, so, this is a very crucial factor and like I said it can depend, it can differ across jurisdictions, what have you, at some extent, but I do think it's the ideological factor the crucial one.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E9 – It's an interesting question, I guess. Often times now we talk about P/CVE, so Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism and a lot of the work that's being undertaken in that area for the last decade or more, does go to or touches upon sort of gender issues. And certainly, in that case gender is often code for sort of women, and so, often time what is being discussed is the role of women in as wives, mothers, and also sometimes sisters, and what have you, and their role in most often, I would say, impeding young men's involvement in sort of radicalization, extremism and potentially ultimately terrorism. So, in many respects it takes sort of traditional sort of female roles, if you like, does it to instrumentalize does for a large extent.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E9– Well, I can say that I've seen some very positive changes over time in terms of representation, so, when I first started working in this area I guess more than 25 years ago now, there were far fewer women involved in, far fewer female researchers or definitely also far fewer women in the counterterrorism field, so, professionally tasked in the field counterterrorism and also in law enforcement agencies, and what have you. So, I definitely feel like there's been a pretty significant change in this type of place there over time. And I guess goes back to my original point which is to say that's probably true about a lot of, a lot of fields, you know, so, I don't think its unique to this. I think there is an interesting aspect where there are more female researchers and analysts

potentially in, on online extremism and terrorism studies and analysis, and what have you, then maybe more generally, this is something that sort of stuck with me over time, I don't know actually facts and figures on that but that would kind of be my feeling, you know, I think that does probably had to do, in some respects, with the way in which women can do online research, more easily sometimes than in field settings. So, obviously there are an variety of threats and risks that apply to doing field research and let's say security studies broadly, there definitely an increase when it comes to field research in relation to terrorism, but they are I would say also sort of, they begin to differ somewhat as well when we ask ourselves about, again, ideology and then female researchers and this kind of thing because, you know, there's also sort of other factors that are coming to play, if you want to try and speak to, for example, jihadis or, you know, some extreme right actors or in-cells, and this kind of thing, and you know, you are kind of physically presenting as a woman or presenting as a women in physical settings, actually there's the different sort of, operate differently obviously on online settings, where you can potentially represent yourself quite differently including representing yourself male, for example. So, I do think that it does, the dynamic is change on online so, that maybe a reason why there are probably in my opinion more female researchers after, with respect to online extremism and terrorism then the terrorism strategy field more broadly. But like I said, that's kind of an assumption, and hypothesis about rather than solid sort of fact. But what is certainly true is that in online settings, you know, is much easier for people to misrepresent themselves as we know absolutely across the border in all kinds of different types of settings and in criminality, and what have you. So, that's true for researchers also, that remains absolutely a factor. So, for me, I guess I have watched this area for quite a long time now, I have seen this very significant changes take place in terms of: a) the representation of women, like I mentioned; b) the shift from almost only real-world activity and research to a really major focus in online. And the crucial question be: have I ever thought myself to be disadvantaged, or what have you, because I was a woman? Not really to be honest with you. That's a slightly different thing. I think I have contributed some useful research about especially on online, because that's the majority of my work it's been about. Most of it, I have done a small amount of work that's gender related, in particular, in relation to women and their activity online—.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E9– Increasingly, so, I would say Yes. You know, if I think about the people who are making contributions to a variety of organizations that are active in this area and I guess it's worth remembering to that it's not just sort of traditional policy makers as in government, right, that are active in important in this space that's also actually the people who developed and implement policy, if we are talking about online, social media companies. And I think what you will find is social media companies in general, you look at them across board they're dominated by men, at the very top of those organizations and in terms of, you know, the engineering and computing side of things, and what not, but in what's come to be terms of sort of trust and safety broadly, so, sort of policy and related activity there is a high concentration of females including in trust and safety specifically in relation to what's termed by them after times as dangerous organizations, and what have you, so, basically extremist and terrorist related activity. So, I would say that there's a lot of female's involvement when regards to social media companies with respect to online extremism and terrorism. There are organizations like, for example, GIFCT, Global Internet Forum for Counterterrorism, which is like an industry lead organization as significant female involvement and including at the very top of it, and there are more, more women obviously involved in law enforcement and also, I would say in Intelligence agencies, including at the top of those organizations, the head, for example, of Europol right now is a woman. And not to forget also the colleagues at the very in (inaudible) what not in the European Commission, who develop policy at the EU level, and I would say again there is significant involvement by women in those spheres also. So, for me, if I sort of really begin to think about it I would say that across the board there is female involvement at all levels of, specially, when it comes to online counterterrorism, and that includes, you know, everything from sort of entry level, you know, professionals all way up to the top, the top, the absolute lead in some of this organizations. So, yes, that the opportunities are there for, you know, for females.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E9– Fast changing, I guess. So, if we look again at the last sort of 25 years, you know it's actually really been almost exactly on that time period that what could be legitimately

called European Counterterrorism strategy has actually developed. So, it was initiated, and it has, you know, developed and expanded pretty rapidly, some significant changes have been taking place over that time, and, I guess, they mirrored some significant changes that took place in the sort of active counterterrorism landscape, if you like, in that time also. So, everything from, you know, the events of the 9/11, to the events of 7/7 in the UK, to the, for example, Breivik and his attack that sort of signal to some potential research on some of the extreme right, but then was eclipsed obviously by ISIS related so called Islamic State and their activity. Obviously, we saw that sort of come and go to some extent, more recently and specifically in the European setting and I think right now we're in a sort of period of (inaudible) again, if you like, so a period of pretty significant change. I think there's a lot of question marks about what comes next, obviously many people would say that the greatest threat right now remains a jihadi threat, including obviously it the potential resurgence in the European setting with, you know, issues like around ISIS's case or (inaudible) Provence and what have you. But also question marks around extreme right activity but probably not sort of, maybe not so much traditional extreme right activity and more sort of on the anti-government extremism spheres and perhaps also what sometimes people call now this kind of (inaudible) which is mist unclear or unstable type of approaches. And as regards on the (inaudible), I guess, I would say is that I think online is playing a very significant role in some of this kind of activity. But all of this goes to, you know, the policy and terrorism and counterterrorism policy, you know, often times quite reactive to what is happening with regard to violent extremism and terrorism in sort of the real-world setting, if you like. And sometimes in academic and other settings is pointing to you has being a problem, always being reactive and never sort of taking the longer view but, I guess, in another way I do think it's important that the policy its indeed reactive to what's happening and sort of see to try and respond, you know, effectively to what is happening in extremism and terrorism at any given time. And I think we can, you can look sort of to EU counterterrorism policy generally in that regard and for me, again, like I say what I'm most interested in is online and we can certainly see the evolution of that over the last 25 years so, from basically nothing to a raft of legislation, everything from the terrorist content online regulation, so the TCOT to the now DSA, to potentially the DMA,

to definitely I would say the AI act forth coming. So, you know, it's really gone sort of from zero to hero, if you like, in terms of, you know, policy and that particular realm.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism program(s) are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E9 – I think they try to be. I think over time, like I say, there has come to be a recognition that gender is a factor, I think like I said already that the main way in which gender has sort of been broad to bear to there is definitely in P/CVE, and in women sort of acting like I say against terrorism in a variety of often times quite traditional roles, you know. At the same time, I know that, for example, the RAN so, the Radicalization Awareness Network has certainly saw to bring in gender as an issue and a factor in other sort of aspects of violent extremism and terrorism also. So, you know, female travelers to the so-called Caliphate, you know, female returnees, female perpetrators, you know, the radicalization of young females online, and what have you. So, I do think the role of gender has been address fairly comprehensively sort of across the board, you know, to greater or less sense certainly but on the less I think if you (inaudível) well done this, if you look for sort of reporting, policy reports and documents, and what have you, events and that kind of things, you can see that there has been an effort to take account of gender and EU counterterrorism.

M– Do you find any gender stereotypes or even a gender blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism programs?

E9 – Yes. But like I say efforts have been made so, while, you know, probably researchers who are very much gender focused and let's say, researchers who are very much women focused, are obviously going to have a lot of critics of the work that's been done and probably feel like more could definitely be done. But I feel like at the same time that, you know, an increasing amount of work has been carried out in this area, you know, I feel like, you know, criticisms have been aired publicly and that hasn't been a problem, if you like, from the EU perspective, they have funded some quite of critical projects on research and I think that's a positive thing. So, while I would say, yes, I would, I guess, out of fairness and reflecting on it I would also have to say that, you know, steps have been taken. Now a lot of the time I would say, what I would say about this is that people say that gender and mean women, and I feel like if we mean women we should say

women, because if we have, if we going to take a broader based approach, and I actually I do think that definitely be a positive thing to do, then we will need not to just talk about women but also talk about men, and we will need to talk not about just, you know, traditions or what have you, and ideology and etc, as regards to femininity but also ideas about masculinity and hyper masculinities and what have you. And then a third thing would obviously have to bring in where is, you know, the increase targeting of the LGBTQ+ community, and so issues around gender and sexuality, and what have you, and definitely also I would say issues about the targeting of in particular the trans community, and what have you, but the LGBTQ+ community broadly. So, for me gender would at the very least, gender talking about sort of women/females/femininity and related issues to men/males/masculinity to gender and sexuality issues specially around LGBTQ+ community and specially right know I would say the targeting of trans.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E9 – Yes, I do. That’s an interesting question. I haven’t. So, I would say that broadly and now I’m just talking about my experience in the, lest call it, broadly the EU sort of counterterrorism policy community and what have you, and keep in mind also that mostly I’m at events and in discussions that are about online, right, and they’re not at their core about gender, even though gender comes up as an issue. And I would say that I have almost never heard the Women, Peace and Security agenda being mentioned exclusively in this context—.

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E9 – It’s a very big question. Like, I could say thing about like the substance of the works that’s been done or what have you, right. Like I said, of course, there’s always room for improvement, I guess, maybe a think I would say is going back to what I was just saying to you a moment ago, you know, I think there could be more work about gender, more work more broadly actually at this point. I definitely favor a more comparative work, I think a problem when it comes to discussions of roles of women in terrorism whether it is online or offline, I think: a) like a said to you already of a lot of the work its focused not on the roles of the women in terrorism per say but the roles of women countering

radicalization and terrorism, I would like to see more work done about the roles of women in contemporary radicalization and terrorism so, that's one thing; the second thing is, I would like to see more work done about gender broadly so, not just about women but like I said femininities and what have you but also you know the role of masculinities in particular, right. Thirdly, like I said to you, about the role of gender and sexuality, in particular the targeting of the LGBTQ+ community, you know, especially online setting but also on real-world settings. The fourth thing the comparative aspect so, doing more formal comparisons because a lot of the work on female involvement in terrorism which, like I say, is much less than female involvement in broadly P/CVE, but a lot of it focus only on female actors and I think would be strengthened by more comparison between male and female actors that we could, that would be a more systematic type of approach. So, in terms of the substance of work and work that's been, for example, funded by the EU and, what have you, I think would have, that would be positive. I do think we can see when analyzing Europe actually there is some attention in topics that there are right now in terms of research funding that use the term gender, don't just mean women and I think that's positive, and if we could see more of that would be good.

If I think about, you know, this question, that you put me earlier about actual female involvement in terms of sort of women actors in this area, whether is researcher or law enforcement or in policy setting or what have you, you know, my feeling would be that actually there's a strong representation of women specially when it comes to the online space. It's an interesting question, but I would actually say in some setting its definitely almost a 50/50, which is significant in what is generally seen as quite a masculine domain, if you like. So, from that perspective I do think that women's representation is actually quite impressive to be honest with you.

M– Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E9 – No.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 10

23 abril 2024 – 09:01:37-09:34:44; Zoom; Duração: 00:33:30

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E10– One of the problems we have with the legal terminology of terrorism and counterterrorism is that we have a very inadequate definition. One of the difficulties, first of all, we have national definitions, and most terrorism and most responses to what is defined as terrorism are based on national experiences, if you look at the reports of TE-SAT, the Europol specialize agency on counterterrorism, you will see that every year TE-SAT began to produce statistics the very large majority of what Member-States notify to the European Commission as terrorism and terrorism threats are related to nationalism and nationalist projects. So, that means that the idea of what terrorism is and the way is transformed in to law, and the Member-States, is very much driven by the nationalist movements in the Member-States and I think there is nowhere were this is more evident at the moment that in Spain, with the various changes in government, the arrival of the Catalan party, the one that want much more autonomy to Cataluña, and very recent election in the Basque Country were organizations which have been prohibited as terrorist and in did whose leader has been convicted of terrorist offences by national courts and international procedures, are now key in the crescent of the formation and the maintenance of the National Coalition Government. So, the whole idea of terrorism and counterterrorism in Spain is going through a tremendous degree of maybe even legal reevaluation. I could make the same comment about the UK, which is of course outside the EU, but the arrival in power in the Northen Irland of Sin Féin two years ago, voted as the single largest party in Northern Irland, led to a constitutional crisis were the government in Westminster dissolved the Northen Irland Assembly, because the Northen Irland parties in favor of union with the UK, making part of the UK, refused to comply with the previsions of the Good Friday Agreement 1997, which, 1999 rather, which brought an end to the civil war in Northen Irland. If you look to what's happening know in Southern Irland, in the Republic of Irland, that country is leading to elections and seems very likely that Sinn Féin, also a political party considered too had

been connected with a terrorist group, the IRA, are likely to win the elections, thereby bringing to power both in the Republic of Ireland and in the Northern Ireland people who in the very recent past were castigated and indeed convicted of terrorist offences. So, I think if we just take those two examples in the UK, we see how difficult the problem is of the definition of terrorism. Now I would take a step further and I would say "Why is so difficult?", and I think one of the problems we have certainly if I look to the UK definition and if you look at the EU Directive you see that the definition is not a definition that any prosecutor would want to have to use to bring charges against any specific individual in respect of an offence, why is that? That is because the allocation of the term terrorism is an allocation related to the *mens rea* of an offence where the offences themselves are already guarded by criminal offences in the criminal codes, whether it be murder, whether it be manslaughter, whether it be criminal damage, whether it be damage to infrastructures, whether it be whatever it is; all of the offences which are listed for instance in the Directive or in the UK legislation, which is the legislation that I know best, are already criminal offences including conspiracy and attempt, and the problem of adding the etiquette of terrorism to those criminal offences is about adding another *mens rea*, what the person is accused of having committed this offence, what was that person intending to do, and the problem with the intention that *mens rea* content of terrorism is it's extraordinarily difficult to prove because what you're adding to the offence, for instance, destroying a bus shelter, is was this being done for a political purpose, which is sufficiently defined to come within the meaning of terrorism, or was this a kid who is out, you know, committing criminalized damage because he or she was in a bad mood? Ok, so, you have this very, very profound problem when the political imperative around terrorism seeks to be transformed into a criminal justice kind of response and the scope for the problems is enormous. Are you going to be able to convince your jury that this person was politically motivated or not, you may be able to prove if this individual carries out the offence but then you also have the problem of the political climate of the moment so, if you were looking at the period whether as a lot of media attention on terrorism you're always a prosecutor concerned about jury's being unconsciously biased to see political motivation, were is difficult to prove that there is actually political motivation. And we see this in quite enough number of prosecutions on allegations of terrorism offences, and the concerns of the police and prosecutors in

particular about the misallocation of the title of the very recent events in a shopping center in Australia are particularly in the forefront in many people' minds because the activities of manslaughter or killing, it will be to the court to decide whether it was, a man with a knife where automatically in the international press presented as potentially terrorist and yet the prosecutor and the police began to make statements about what it happen they were very careful to say this is a man with mental illness, and they absolutely didn't want to anywhere near the question of potentially allocating terrorist objectives to the individual. So, when you posed this question to me the first question which I have as a jurist, because I mean we can draw definitions of terrorism in Political Science and International Relations, but I'm a jurist so you're asking me at the law, law is almost exclusively in the field of criminal law, we are not talking about civil law, we are talking sometimes of administrative law as regards to the expulsion of aliens, so, then the allegation of terrorism is within the criminal law.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E10– I think once again when we go back to the allocation of the subject of terrorism, we need to say who decides who is a terrorist. Is almost exclusively, other than newspapers and the throwing hand of political leaders throwing around the allocation of terrorism everywhere, it will be prosecutors in the police who will be deciding on the bases of events, individual actions, whether or not those actions are, comes within the national law definition of what is terrorism and what is not terrorism. Now, because as we know from the TE-SAT reports the vast majority of criminal acts which are allocated as being terrorism objective, are in respect with the nationalist projects, we know that this means that when the police are out looking at the criminal acts which have been taken in place or conspiracy or attempt, they are (inaudível) looking for the kind of persons who they consider to be at the heart of the nationalist playing's in their country. So, this is by far the biggest group and that allocation tends to end up on being exclusively men, so, you have a small number of women who are normally considered to being supporters of terrorist groups usually, you know, washing the dishes and cooking dinner, usual thing women do or are considered to be done by police forces, rather than the ones are placing bombs. What has led to some change in the perceptions

and certainly in popular culture in respect of discussions about terrorism, is in some countries we have seen, not all, a small number, there has been an increasing interest by the police in whether or not the allocation of terrorism is applicable to actions done by organized groups which are protest groups in various areas, such as, ecology, the recent “how to blow a pipe line” is an example of that, were there is a greater presence of women in this groups and the activities only in some Member-States, not in all Member-States, once again this is extremely national, but there are some Member-States where, in the ecology movement and the acts of the ecology movement, are increasingly being allocated the etiquette of being politically motivated in the manner which comes within the National definition of what is terrorism, that then leads to the increasing number of women in finding themselves caught in this particular machine of potential criminal act.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E10– Is very difficult for me to say, you know, once again, if you are asking me for the perspective of TE-SAT reports we know that almost all of, I think they breakdown the statistics according's with the criminal prosecutions and the outcomes of the prosecutions and the sentences which I (inaudível), and almost all of them are in respect with men. So, I don't see, I mean, perhaps is a popular discussion, but remember at the moment you are interviewing a jurist, ok, so you are not interviewing a political scientist.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E10– That's a very difficult question to answer. My involvement is writing about terrorism and counterterrorism has been primarily related to field of migration and asylum, and I consider my job to be the one analyzing, what I see as strengths and weaknesses of the use of the term terrorism in respect with decisions around in particular with expulsion, retention and also criminal conviction. I'm not sure that my gender has been particularly important part of that.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E10– [Não respondeu]

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E10– All I can do is wish them luck. They're unlikely to be given substantial support because of the dimension of the very beginning, the highly political nature and the highly nationalist nature of the most terrorism matters, the efforts to trying create really big concern about transnational terrorists groups is quite complicated and difficult to get resources, I mean, when were the terrorist attacks in Paris in 2016 quite a lot of the perpetrators had, at least some of them, had spent time in Belgium but they're French not Belgium, so, you know, there was a big fuss about, you know, reintroducing border controls between France and Belgium, but this problems tend to be much more, when we start looking into the facts it seems to be citizens who are, whose ability to protest has for them seems to be insufficient and their complains had been, have not been sufficiently accommodated and then there's a move to violence. To try to put that into the European wide spectrum when it turns to be such a nationalist one, is when you are asking for nationalist institutions, parts of the interior ministries, to collaborate and to share knowledge about what they consider to be extremely sensitive national state security issues. So, this is information which is for the eyes of the prime minister only and kind of stuff. And you are asking to be shared, to cooper anywhere in Europe? It's a very, very difficult one and I don't, there's a lot of noise in that matter, but unless we see a substantial transformation of what is allocated as terrorist threats by criminal justice authority and by security services which is effectively and demonstrably transnational, I don't see a substantial change taking place.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism programs are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E10– [Não respondeu]

M– Do you find gender stereotypes or even a gender blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E10– [Não respondeu]

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E10– [Não respondeu]

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E10– [Não respondeu]

M– Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E10– [Não respondeu]

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 11

23 abril 2024 – 14:31:37-14:50:27; Zoom; Duração: 00:19:04

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E11– I mean, I think it is important to express there is no globally agreed definition of terrorism, we have one Security Council Resolution 1516, it's not on Chapter 7 Resolution, there's on Chapter 6 Resolution, that sets out a very, I think, barebones inadequate definition of terrorism, and that definition focuses on acts of terrorism so, an act directed at a civilian population, that's the second key element, and the third element is the intent element, that is design to instill fear. So, it's a narrow legal definition and I think it's an appropriate one, and the problem is most States don't use it, the reality is most States use wide and highly problematic definitions of terrorism that bear little resemblance to any agreed definition, whether is the Security Council definition or the special rapporteur's definition so, we have just an enormously wide ambit. And counterterrorism by response would be a counter to the thing I just defined, which is acts targeting civilians with an intent to instill fear. Mostly counterterrorism doesn't do that, counterterrorism doesn't have a globally agreed definition but is essentially States' view of addressing a whole range of phenomena, a large number of which is protected by international law, as speech and assembly, as political participation, as religious freedom; these things are generally what States target as the global study I carried as the special rapporteur last year demonstrates.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E11– I would disagree with the premise of female terrorists; I think we would look at more specifically women who carry out specific acts of violence and we would have asked those acts of violence meet the legal threshold. So, there are more or less women? We don't know because in fact in many countries the definition is so vague that's really hard, take a definition, for example, like the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia definition of terrorism, women who advocate for the driving of cars and who argue for women's rights in Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are defined by the terrorism laws in the Saudi

Arabia as terrorists. I think most of us would argue that advocating to drive a car and have the full penalty of civil rights in the society is not terrorism, which is actually consistent. So, what do we mean by the category of women terrorists I would ask, when the definitions including, in particular, the increasingly target women who actively argue for their own rights. So, there are more women, for example, in Afghanistan or Iran arguing for their rights? Hundreds of them; are they all terrorists? No.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E11– Massively so, I mean, I think this has been clear and always clear, not unique to terrorism and counterterrorism, it's often States commodifying use women for their own purposes, and I think, we see specific examples of that. So, I would say a couple of examples, the first is that we see, for example, as we see increased targeting of women's rights activists, women who have prominent places in society through counterterrorism and security laws, we also see States commodifying and using women victims to their own hands, right, and we also see, for example, organizations that engaged in acts of terrorism also being really smart about how they use gender. So, you have, I think, some really interesting overlaps between States strategies that utilize and, I would say, bend gender on their own ends as they think in security terms and non-state groups who do exactly the same in a very kind of complex way, and those two things are not very different in practice in turns out.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E11– I don't think of myself as a woman in counterterrorism field, I think I'm an expert, I'm the world's leading expert in the intersection of human rights in counterterrorism, not because I'm a woman but because I have several events, degrees and I've written several books, and I had a series of roles. I think being a woman as nothing to do with it.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E11– I think the answer to that is no. I wrote a report some years ago to the Human Rights Council that described in generally the counterterrorism field as highly masculine

field and the reason for that is very obvious most, I would say many, again varies country to country with some better outcomes I would say in western States than in non-western states, but you tend to see is the typical, I would say, institutional that produce security and knowledge, the military, the police, the Intelligence services, the prison sector; this tends to be much more dominated by men so, the place you learn to be an expert and it tends to be a place in which historically women have had less access, and for the women who break through is often because they have a unique or specific opportunities or like me, when you grow up in a conflictive society and you live with violence everyday of your life so, you are expert because of your situation, not because it works against you the misogyny and so the activity of the institutions. But I think this institutions tend to be very difficult for women to access to be appointed to, and of course there's a reality which goes to gendering this kind of spaces, which women have bodies that have babies, women often end up taking time out, pivot career points in career, and in countries that don't accommodate those kinds of realities then it's often true that women won't appear as visibly present in those communities as they do in others. So, yes, there's a lack, it's better in some countries than in others, is better in some missions so, if you look at the Security Council right now we see, for example, a number of incredibly prominent ambassadors with long and deep security, women ambassadors with long and deep security expertise, and use the ambassador of Malta on the Security Council as an example, but that is partly because you live in a society where those opportunities are open to you, and if you are in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia or in Russia or in China these days it's highly unlikely that you're going to have access to those kinds of spaces. So, a lot depends on the gender norms in the society we are talking about.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E11– I think the sort of if you want, the underpinnings, conceptual underpinnings of that strategy. I think my most significant position has been that one of things of this strategy it fails to address conditions conducive that produce violence, that's the key point, like, we had twenty years of pretty bad counterterrorism that has mostly looked at the outputs of violence but not looked at what is producing the violence and address conditions conducive. And I think the key point about the European Union strategy is that it falls at the same sort of thinking, where States spend a lot of effort looking at shiny new objects

to quote “fix acts of violence” without addressing the more fundamental question of what and why those acts of violence take place.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism programs are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E11– I mean, I think that’s a complicated question to answer related to the first which is if you have a strategy that starts in a place that’s not fundamentally addressing what produces the violence in society then its neither attentive to women or anyone else, it’s like you’re starting from the wrong set of presumptions, meaning that we see a focus on new technologies, we see a focus on, for example, on addressing radicalization, a term that is also underdefined and had historically included feminists, so, if you are someone arguing for women, women’s equality in many societies you are per say radical so, again, it depends on the definition that we use. So, I would say do we have references to gender, absolutely; is there a language of gender inclusion, yes; thus that help us, no because the key point is where you’re starting, you can sprinkle this words like gender equality and gender inclusion, it’s like putting salt in a soup, you know, you can put it there but it doesn’t fundamentally change the bases of what you’re doing, unless you fundamentally thought about, how things like, for example, inequality lead to the production of violence. So, there’s a plenty of gender referencing but that’s different from saying is this designed to address the ways in which counterterrorism both produce and excuse gender outcomes in society, yes, I think it doesn’t do the ladder.

M– Do you find gender stereotypes or even a gender-blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism programs?

E11– I mean that’s a huge question, it’s a huge strategy, anything that I’m going to say is going to be like inaccurate because, you know, I think are their gender stereotypes, always: what’s the most significant gender stereotype, that women are victims and that women require protection from, rather than women being active agents of change and violence sometimes in society. And, so, we started with that, but I think we also start with the fundamental point that the focus of the European counterterrorism as primarily been on Islamic terrorism and one of the consequences of that is that it fails to take a broad and deep view of what constitutes acts of violence in society, including the fastest growing area of challenge for many European states, which is extreme right-wing

violence, also deeply saturated in misogyny and exclusion and practices of inequality. So, the blind spots to me doesn't start at the woman, peace it starts around how you define violence, like that's the key thing. What is the violence and the harm that you are describing and then from that everything follows, whereas and I think is the narrowness of frames, including understanding that states own violence and the states reproduction of violence against particular communities or people is one of the triggers to producing more violence.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E11– I mean, I would say not at all, I think there's a massive gap between, "today" is the open debate on conflict related sexual violence at the Security Council, as already started probably this morning or starts (inaudível), the WPS agenda which was intended to address participation and inclusion in areas of security including armed conflict, is almost completely divorced from counterterrorism, except that occasionally women get invited in to talk about counterterrorism. So, what you see is that these two agendas {counterterrorism and WPS on very different tracks, again, the WPS agenda as practically largely been focused on conflict related sexual violence and their (EU CT) is been mostly been focus on penetrative sexual violence and its fundamentally failed, in my view, to address the broader issues that affect women in armed conflict, including even a much broader definition of the kinds of violences that women experience in situations of conflict or insecurity. So, I see very little strategic implementation of WPS, I see WPS as a fairly narrow performative agenda, that shows up a couple of times of the year at the Security Council, that gets invoked regularly by states including states who say they have a feminist foreign policy, but actually in the practical, like: is now women sitting in Doha when the Taliban was negotiating its way back in the Afghanistan or the current discussions in Doha concerning the cease-fire modalities in Israel and Gaza? There're no women, there's no WPS what matters, there's WPS at a cocktail party in New York and there's WPS at a cocktail party in Brussels. But in the frontline of the actual negotiations of violence ending and violence regulation and planning at the national level about what you think about countering terrorism or other forms of violence in society, [gender approaches] just doesn't exist, just doesn't exist. People

spend a lot of money to write these reports that they write, and these reports are fine, but when it comes to actual decision making and actual mainstreaming its irrelevant.

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E11– My advice to EU it's been the same to my advice to the global communities through the last couple of counterterrorism strategies reviews is one, prune, significantly make counterterrorism smaller because it's not working, what you have does not work. Think about the size of counterterrorism architecture and think about the architectures that are addressing other more fundamental needs in society, including policing, security and broader sense, human security not a particular narrow definition of security, help in educational outcomes in the communities that are most likely to improve, that sort of resort to violence, I would start there, which is less counterterrorism, less institutional structures and more focuses on the things that produces violence in the first place.

M– Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E11–No, I think that's it.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 12

24 abril 2024 – 16:01:00-16:23:50; Zoom; Duração: 00:23:04

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E12– I would have to decline to define terrorism in the sense that now one seems to agree on how to define that, but I would say I think that countering terrorism is going to look like a couple different things, obviously there's a prevention aspect often of avoiding attacks or violence but also countering, you know, the spread of propaganda by extremist groups or terrorists groups can also be involved on counterterrorism, as well as either trying to prevent radicalization or, you know, stop it before it turns into something that's violent. But, you know, I think that what probably distinguishes something like P/CVE from counterterrorism is the violence aspect so, are you thwarting an attack or, you, know, preventing someone from doing something that is going to harm others or be violent.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E12– I think there's evidence of all kinds of movements where women have been involved in terrorists' organizations like, you know, that goes back to, you know, even the far-left organizations in the United States were where women participating in those things. So, I definitely think there's been a focus and often a narrative that exists whether that at the national level or the international level that women, well, there's a couple of different narratives, one can be often that women are victims only and so they don't necessarily are seen as people who perpetuate terrorists acts or involved, their involvement is only as, as a victim, and that can prevent a holistic understanding of the multiple roles women can play, whether as agents of change and helping prevent this things and being necessary in a holistic counterterrorism or prevention operations, but also the fact that they also can be involved in this groups and can perpetuate crimes as well. And the fact that sometimes these narratives can be both and right, like someone can maybe be a victim in some aspects but also perpetuating some other crimes as well and having the agency to choose that.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E12– I definitely think there's a growing, a growing movement to try and make, to, the word that is use at the UN, to gender mainstreaming within counterterrorism and P/CVE I think there are people who are especially pushing forward to women's involvement in like post conflicts settings and like peace building and stuff of that nature. I would say that there's like a push forward, you know, whether that lives up to then what actually happens in the real life I think it's still wanting in some ways and there's a lot of reasons for that, a lot of scholars who probably point to the masculine nature of counterterrorism and security forces, that can make it difficult for various women actors who feel like they have meaningful involvement. But I think beyond that one of the things I've encountered, particularly because my work often can focus on the multilateral level which is at the UN, and something that I've seen even among people who talk about gender mainstreaming is a lack of, not among everyone, but there is sometimes a hesitance to talk about the multiple roles of women in this organizations so, whether is that being an agent of change, which is great, I think a lot of people are willing to talk about that, and sometimes are not so willing to talk about the fact that like women can also, you know, perpetuating terrorists acts and be actively involved in this groups. And we kind of have to grapple with both of those things, like what are their roles, how do we sort of counter that, how do we that in the way, you know, gender responsive because that can be different sometimes, depending on the context we have to deal differently women vs men in countering terrorism. But especially because my personal work looks a lot at like far-right extremists and far-right terrorists, women are incredibly intractable in to those movements and organizations, I think misogyny and a lot of terrorist organizations can like obfuscate the role of women and so people think their only victims because, like, of the misogynistic narratives, but when we dig little deeper there's actually, like, many women who're leading in various ways in the organizations and actually perpetuating those narratives they're recruiting people, they're actively trying to radicalize other people and may even commit some of those acts. So, I think that's kind of where sometimes where it starts the talk, you know, like, we want to do gender mainstreaming in these ways is supported by many, there's

several states that they're like very active and this Malta is one, they've done a lot on this, Mexico has also done something on this multilateral level. But where it kind of comes falls short is there like even some of the actors who care about it still are hesitant to talk about of certain aspects of it, not necessarily those states but others.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E12– I mean, I think that the field it's certainly changing, whereas the generation before me probably experienced more difficulties in the security field because there were less women especially in leadership positions so, I think it's different for me in the sense that, you know, the head of our National Counterterrorism Center, you know, in the United States is a woman, and there are women higher up in some of the various leadership positions within counterterrorism structures. But, you know, it is still like a field that is made up a lot with a lot of men in leadership I would say so, it thus lends itself to kind of the what I think often, specially gender experts talk about, it's like masculine feel of things and responses and trying to, you know, mainstream some of the gender perspectives can still, there is work to be done I think. But I think personally I do think it is, I am grateful that as someone whose kind of, whose women in the field it's very different I imagine from you know even a previous generation ago. And I think the ability to talk about gender issues within counterterrorism specifically have, I wouldn't say that it's, you know, like it's the easiest but it is easier, I think there is a lot more willingness to talk about these things in, especially in international community than I think it was honestly probably even ten, fifteen years ago.

M – Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E12– I mean, this may be above my paygrade. I think in theory, you know, in terms of like, specifically I'm speaking as an American and, you know, I think in Europe as well I know several women who have been counterterrorism coordinator for their country, especially in the Nordic region, you know, there was several, you know, very like prominent women who had those roles which will be making lots of policy decisions in terms of counterterrorism in their country. And I believe the woman chairing the European Commission CT Coordination, I can't remember, not like the Counterterrorism

Coordinator for EEAS but the woman whose like helping to sharing among states, it's a woman so she is influential, you know, within that as well. So, I certainly think there are women in the decision seats, where the decisions are being made, but, you know, I think in terms of leadership there's still not necessarily that like, you know, balance you want to see, so there's definitely I think work to be done to sort of help more women being in like positions of leadership. But I wouldn't say it's none, you know, there's definitely like many examples of women who are, you know, in policy making decisions particularly in Europe and the US. And I think specially I'm encourage by how many women I see going into the security field that would probably increase over time as, you know, more and more women are given the opportunities to than fully experience and hopefully then get into the leadership positions.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E12– I think that one thing I, you know, can actually speak on a little bit more specifically in terms of, is less counterterrorism and more security related, is the renewed focus I think on migration, is just one that I've taken note of, that's an issue I focus on here at the Soufan Center, and I think it's just become a renewed issue that people are, have always been concerned about, but seems to be with the recent level of migration going to Europe, something people have been really concerned about and I've been seeing that conversation lining more and more to security issues and grander strategy in terms of, maybe less like the official EU counterterrorism strategy but more just in general of the terms of trying to not only appeal the electorate but also in terms of security, particularly in the wake of the October 7th with concerns that people may try to commit attacks across Europe and so we've seeing some activity in that.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism programs are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E12– [Não respondeu]

M– Do you find gender stereotypes or even a gender-blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism programs?

E12– [Não respondeu]

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E12– Yes. I mean, I think it depends on the State, you know, how it's been applied and if it's been like a true priority to them. I think that, you know, some good examples, I think I've mentioned Mexico it's a country that, specially at the UN level, has really been quite, the only word that comes to me it's, progressive in terms of pushing not only the Women, Peace and Security agenda but also like a Feminist Foreign Policy, that's kind of one of theirs big things they really worked on after the time in the UN. Costa Rica I also think has being quite active in that as well, and then Malta as also been pushing the Women, Peace and Security agenda as well. So, I think in terms of how it manifests in a state it kind of depends on the state itself, like if that it's a priority for not only the country but also I've seen that at the UN level it can often be down at individuals, so is the person on a particular file, whether that's on the counterterrorism file or some other file within the mission take that issue really seriously and are they going to like push to integrate that within the priorities their pushing forward at the UN level which then can translate into, you know, national policy back home, and then their citizens can argue about whether or not that's been effective or not, because I'm sure there are many like, you know, Mexican citizens who may have opinions that actually that feminist foreign policy as not applied at home, you know, and to analyze that you kind of have to look at each country. But there's certainly countries that there're pushing forward for it at the UN level and those are some examples that either bring it up in terms of they make it to the Security Council, they bring it up as an issue they want to talk about, so Malta had a really big aria formula meeting, I'm not sure if you are familiar what those types of meetings are, but it's kind of like an informal meeting to address some sort of issues that State wants to make kind of their flagship issue when on the Council, especially if they are not permanent, if they are only there for two years, and that been some that Malta has done, they have done a lot on sexual and gender based violence as well on kind of on the broader Women, Peace and Security agenda. So, it's like I said, it's kind of state to state but there are definitely states pushing forward. I want to say Irland has also done some work at this on the multilateral level as well.

M— While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E12—That's a big question. I think that, you know, this is not anything ground breaking but I do think that listening to various voices is helpful so, like, obviously there have been I think, some states have done it better than others, but there has been a push for states listen the civil society a bit more in terms of, not just counterterrorism but more so like on the preventing and countering violent extremism aspect of things. And in that regard, I think that can be helpful, you know, in terms of mainstreaming women's voices, making sure they're heard especially different kinds of voices that are not necessarily from the hard security background. But I also think that, and I know I keep coming back to it, one of the big, like one issue I see is a lack of recognition the various roles women play, because this is a really impractical thing, we see someone come back from, you know, this had happen, this was happening in the UK with the case of the girl who came back from the Islamic State and, you know, is she only a victim, is she someone who perpetrated crimes, how do we dill with her, you know. And there's a lot of narratives going on about that and if we don't have an holistic understanding of the various kinds of roles people play and how we can navigate that, whether that's on the legal system or whether that's been on the people's citizenship and can come back and be a citizen, do we trial them or how do we reintegrate them into society and make sure they, you know, aren't further radicalized because of various experiences. To me, I think that's a very, very difficult thing to figure out but I think it's one that continues to kind of come back up and it continually puts, you know, states and practitioners on the back foot when you can't understand that out and you treat everyone exactly the same. We kind of have certain narratives on functioning with particularly women that can be really complicated. So, I think that recognizing that there is this multiplicity of roles is really important and that's also a call for civil society, I think there's also like some groups that don't want grapple with the fact that they like, especially some feminists' groups that won't grapple with that fact either, you know, so it's not just practitioners. But I think if people can really start to deal with that or at least try on understand what are this various roles, how do we then have ways in which we can look at each case with nuance and make decisions on that then, whether that's, you know, we want to trial someone

or we also understand some mitigated circumstances as we're going into the legal system, how to we tackle them. But I think it's just some of the practical stuff we really need to work through. I'm thinking mostly of the camps in Syrian, you know, still holding ISIS families and it's not only an humanitarian situation but it's also, I mean, we are also (inaudível) group of terrorists in many ways or people are suffering in this camps and radicalizing, but there are no one its take them back, no one its doing anything with them... We have these women, we have these child what do we do with them, do we like either, you know, trial them if there is crimes and availability of evidence or do we reintegrate them, how do we rehabilitate them, all of that, some states are (inaudível) on that but others are like, especially a lot, there're many European countries, you know, don't want to deal with it, and that's get really complicated in terms of preventing future terrorists acts, that it's just one example and that's a big one for Europe, specially, since grappling with citizens that left is, you know, question as kind of been unanswered for many years.

M– Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E12– No.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 13

26 abril 2024 – 11:04:43-11:34:10; Zoom; Duração: 00:29:28

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E13– Starting with an easy question I see. I don't think, in UK law, EU law, any international law, that there is a workable, agreeable, agreed definition of terrorism. I haven't specifically written, written on the definition of terrorism but I have done work around it in relation to what counterterrorism is identified as. But I'm thinking about specifically about how we understand terrorism, I think it is what (inaudível) might have called it a contested concept, consensually contested concept and it has been one where the content of it has shifted and moved overtime, and it has been adopted in ways to pursue types of repressive and far more preventive powers than had previously been engaged. I do think it is a phenomenon, that we might understand as seeking to engage in some level of violent activity which is generating fear but has a legal definition, I don't think that's terribly helpful. And in terms of counterterrorism, I think the laws had been structured in such a way that has not only become incredibly expansive as to what it catches, but that it is also shifted in what is counter as counterterrorism and I think in the last decade, 15 years we have seen it substantially move from a reactive phenomenon, in a kind of guides traditional criminal law, to one that is largely about preventing and inhibiting certain kinds of actions, that is encapsulated so many more elements of what the social structured is attempting to do.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E13– The challenge that I find with this question is twofold, which is not giving you a straight answer I think that definition of what you include as women or females, is going to be a challenge, and I think is also going to be a challenge about how we might understand the gender approach of law enforcement and of criminal law. So, I think there are activities which shouldn't be captured but we do not have this assumption that kind of violence tackles to a certain kind masculine or cis-male perspective. But I think probably is a sense in which the second part of your question is more accurate that

there is a new perspective, right, a new way of looking at material because I think there are instances, historical as well as modern of what we might terminate as female involvement in what is legally identified as terrorism in some jurisdictions.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E13– Yes! But often, this is not my area of expertise, but often in far more subtle and indirect ways. So, one of the areas in which I do have some knowledge and in which I had some researching about (inaudível) of what I think in the European Union (inaudível) is nonviolent countering extremism efforts. And in the UK that operates through a program that is known as “Prevent” and sometimes the “Prevent Duty” because it was brought in (inaudível) duty in public authorities in 2015. And what you see with a historical bases of that program is government funding being provide to, delivered to often highly community embedded organizations, and often ones which where around women’s rights or reproductive rights or women’s education or an involvement on that bases, not exclusively but there was a strong degree to which that was true to the “Prevent” program in internally formulations and which I think demonstrates a kind of identification that if you are focusing often in kinds of actors within a space then you will be undertaking counterterrorism work back to those prospects removed. But he other aspect that I think has started to come out in some of the research in the literature is the way in which counterterrorism as also moved into family law in a space were we might traditionally think of cis-females as fundamentally more involved or at least involving parental relations in a way they didn’t previously, there are a few people who written in this area. But there has also been, her name as popped out of my mind, about this change and shifted in the family courts and in this kind of relations, how there is a huge question there about whether that is gendered or kind of tacking to assumptions about who plays what role, and what stereotypes you might been talking, because, of course, parental relationships should be seen as primarily cis-female, but they often are. And I think there’s a sense in which kind of has polled quite a lot, substantially more into that space and I supposed you know, kind of general way in which counterterrorism is also lead more into traditional spaces of care and effects of care. So, one of the challenges for the “Prevent Duty”, for example, has been a way in which now being

adopted in opposed up on how care spaces, mental health spaces, education spaces, all the way down through the state structures, the way down those spaces we do identify that there is a disproportionately cis-female presence in nurseries, for example, or (inaudível) education.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E13–I think in legal academia in counterterrorism spaces there is a group of female presenting, cis-female actors who are researching in this space in a way that I think it's potentially unusual, I know that working in this way as some degree of social and legal work tact to it but is not purely social and legal, in some cases it is quite theoretical and philosophical. And there are some key females presenting people in those spaces in a way that I think it is unusual. But what I think it's interesting, if you see that as a balance in legal academic spaces that you don't see in like government or close government working spaces, so, when you see Parliamentary groups, for example, in the UK or when you see ministers working in this space or other kind of highly profile actors, you don't necessarily see women and you can never make any presumptions about what that might mean about the types of use they will put up forward. I think when you then start to look at people who might not be strictly in the academic sphere, who might be in those more high-profile policing or security services roles or military roles. You know, there's not a distinguishable gender difference in those leadership roles (inaudível) activities those peoples are taking.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E13–I think it depends on the government and it depends on the who's is on what position. So, if you took the UK government in the last, so you're going from the 2004, you are kind of going from the Second Back government through the kind of conservative governments, now, you will see key ministers in those roles, so one of those peoples will be Theresa May, she toke kind of a key role and you will also see the head of the Metropolitan Police, Cressida Deep. But I would have thought that the majority of the people working around them and also other ministers in those governments, are still trapped to a majority male presenting but I don't have the

statistics in front of me. And my sense has been that they being female doesn't necessarily make any difference to the types of the policy they might put forward. So, if you would asked me about someone like Theresa May, when she was Home Secretary and then when she was Prime Minister, but more when she was Home Secretary, at the time I would had told you that she was far more draconian than previous Home Secretaries, that she oversaw the introduction of a number of expansive counterterrorism laws and sault grater police powers, and called down counter activities through wider pots of society . However, since then what you have, several other female Home Secretaries, who have taken that to a far more repressive and interventive space in a way that has shocked a number of us. So, if we look to what's happening with ...

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E13– Complicated, as are most of them, I think it along with almost broadly Global North Western nations a huge increase, a huge shift post-9/11 but and this is something I tell my students when we teach counterterrorism law every year, while 9/11 it's not really a memory that they have, it's a turning point, it's not the whole story, it can't be the whole story so, I think the development of the various directives has been very interesting and the role of a number of different states in growing but also have degrees of tempering about what those procedures might mean, the challenge is that, form the UK perspective, the UK has had counterterrorism laws in its national jurisdiction for far longer and because of the role of the Northen Irland and the role of the (inaudível) in those spaces and the various spites over what is sometimes called self-determination, has been quite strong. But then there are contradictions between what the EU puts together as overarching strategy and policy and how it treats the different standing of relevance states and how they treat certain aspects of that and how that interacts with understandings of human rights. So, I think the kind of EU strategies will and always have been evolving, I think that has been some co-lessons in global approaches to counterterrorism but said will we still see this kind of queries at the boundaries this questions about how we identify this things there's far more consensus in the types of strategies that been agreed that not, you know, there's still a lack of agreement at UN level, for example, the kind of an international level there's still far more consensus. So the kind of areas agreement are those far more controversial and the consensus we now

see is that there should have been an explicit counterterrorism strategy that was new to some extent, that it shouldn't be simply identifying instances of types of terrorism, that it should be a more generic approach, one that encapsulates that broader definitional understanding. And that traditional reactive criminal law it's not sufficient, and I think it also has been co-lessons, but I think it's still a developing area of the law about whether there is a bright spaced coercive duty on states to ensure that risk is minimize and harm is prevented so, the kind of like, growth of what prevention means in the counterterrorism space has been extreme.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism programs are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E13– I don't know in enough detail what, like, the standing of the kind of EU strategies are to say this definitively but I would be surprise if they had any content that had any reflection on that as a difference or as in requiring an alternative approach, in part because they are so broadly anyway so, there is a tendency to look at identifying certain types of activity or certain types of view point, and that kind of been taking on board in this type of debate on what extremism is in recent years, but it's the type of policy that wouldn't had a insensitivity to that because it would be to have an implicit assumption of counterterrorism is something that is gendered, that counterterrorism is an activity largely undertaken by men.

M– Do you find any gender stereotypes or even a gender-blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism programs?

E13– Yes, but I think that's inevitable, I think it's inevitable, I'm not saying it's inevitable on the saying that we shouldn't be speaking about but it's one were the types of violence, the types of claim I usually associate it with those types of counterterrorism strategies, we do have a tracking to people who are cis-male, presenting as male, the types of kind of like proto kind of like paramilitary organization, if we are talking about more organized or even cell-based behavior. But I also don't think, I don't think that means that they are fully gender-blinded, because I also don't think most criminal law is gender-blind.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E13– No.

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E13– I think, I think it needs to be, and I placed this in the UK, but I do think the UK as taken a, or at least took kind of like attempted leadership role around how I approach counterterrorism, and how I think accentuates, but I haven't been looking at the EU strategy in depth recently. I think just needs to be a whole reassessment, I think it needs to be a better reflection on instead of what's happening in the UK, saying "oh, do we need another set of provisions, another set of powers", I think it needs to be a better consideration of what we already got. I think it needs to be a pulling in and (inaudível) a straight, I think that needs to be less focus on people's opinions as ones that are blustering division and violence and focus on how we create law open debate. But I think it needs to be a question about whether these extreme draconian powers are really ones that pick with our understanding of what justice needs.

M– Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E13– No.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 14

26 abril 2024 – 13:01:17-13:23:49; Zoom; Duração: 00:21:47

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E14– So, for me generally terrorism is always a type of political violence, it doesn't matter if we divide organization to religious one, one issue, single issue, left-wing, right-wing, is always connected with politics because the main objectives affect relation of power, they want to changed it, they want to achieve some results or changing of decisions of some governments or powerful institutions, however there what we have relation of power, we have apoliticality in Carl Schimdt sense, so, for me it can be strategy and method, and of course phenomena. And counterterrorism is all activity of institutions, of states, of allies of states, to combat not terrorism, only to combat terroristic offenses. We cannot combat phenomenon because terrorism is a phenomenon, we combat what we can see, what we can measure: acts of terrorism, financing terrorism, recruiting to terrorism, promoting hate speech, safe havens to terrorists; so, they are only acts, activity, terrorist activity, we cannot counter terrorism itself only what we can see as terrorist acts.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E14– It's a very important question. However, terrorism it's not *homoganus* so, it depends on what kind of terrorist activity we are talking about. When we want to measure female activity in far-right groups, in jihadi groups, in activity in one issue, eco-terrorist movements, it's not equal so, the higher impact of female involvement is in left-wing movements, groups and says, and the other side, the religious one there are some females as well, also, as invisible supporters. So, it is very difficult in patriarchal system to measure the involvement of female, because terrorism is not only act of terrorist, a fight as a warrior, also a producer of weapons, carry weapons, finding hiding, for example, female is active in this scheme, even in jihadi organizations. However, the stereotypes are always, especially in Europe they connect terrorist with male activity, from Middle East or from Africa.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E14– Actually it doesn't matter who commits crime from the perspective of antiterrorism institutions, because at the end you have an act of terrorism and the person who commits this acts, so, generally, I haven't observed it and for me the problematic is, I'm dealing with statistic data you don't have this columns with gender, and I don't see, I cannot judge that there is some kind of improvement or not. So, I think this, the lack of gender statistics causes that there is no gender approach in counterterrorism, its only wishful thinking. There're have published many analyses about it, for example, in NATO and also in other countries in Europe as well. However, it's only a kind of, I don't know, trend together with Women, Peace and Security, gender and gender mainstreaming however in national acts there is no such division, male/female terrorist, women added to counterterrorism, there is no discussion, discussion is only between us, the scientists.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E14– I have a very strong character, you know so, I do, like, walk with men and I'm such a person that nobody will touch me with stereotypes or some bad things because I'm, yes, I'm a strong and I have a strong position so, no one dears to deal with me. However, it's a very fragile subject because there is no female on the top positions and even in counterterrorism section, division. You know, I don't think so we should separate the subject male/women, I observed a huge difference in what kind of organization we are talking about because also terroristic organization they produce gender clichés and they use them to recruit, for example, "77 virgins after death" or "come to Syria and married a warrior", it was produce in Europe and in such organization it's a different approach. And it doesn't matter what kind of skills you have as a woman or as a men, only your knowledge about the subject, and I know many analysts, many experts and I don't see a gender in them however, in the narrative at the end, yes, in public space men are talking about counterterrorism not female who are added to this case, for example, prosecutors or something like that.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E14– No, of course not. On the top position we have got only men, however, one week ago we had the first female chief of military counterintelligence, so it's a sign of spring in Poland. However, when we compare other positions, no, I don't know, exception, nowadays, so, not the leadership its, specially, male leadership in counterterrorism and in counterespionage as well, because very often there are interrelated departments.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E14– It uses no gender lenses, so if you ask me about women all the time, it's a very old strategy, it's from 2005 and the evaluation of the strategy hasn't happened until now. So, it's based on the UK counter strategy, when you compare these both documents, however, counterterrorism UK its always, has been evaluated many times, in the European Union I think it's so general that its hasn't been improved. However, for me much more important is the second strategy, counter-radicalization strategy because in radicalization processes and de-radicalization that gender matters and I see the place for gender perspective in this efforts before something happens on radicalization because when you are talking about radicalization into terrorist activity or any political violence that individual circumstances can be a busters for this activity, and individual conditions are placed in these gender relationship in society, you as a woman you have other chances as a man in the same environment, for example, in patriarchal societies. So, were a gender gap on the labor market, it affects you, your sexuality, purity, for example, when there's some societal pressure on you, you have to marry a good guy and after a marriage you can have a child, not before. So, that some stereotypes in this *meso* level in societal networks which can affect you and they affect you in another way that other colleague of yours who is a male.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E14– In my opinion it wasn't, it's only a broad introduction of this Fouchet agenda in 2018 in the European union frame, framework. However, 18 years after the famous Resolution 1325 was adopted so, 18 years after the UN has developed the agenda, we

are of course later a resolution, the European Union finds that gender mainstreaming matters and generally in the European Union we have such a capsule that Fouchet agenda is seen has one of the objectives of sustainable development so, economic growth, digital society, human rights, etc. And for my perspective as a counterterrorism effort, no, we have to add female to institutions, to public institutions, to security institutions, there where the peace and security were created daily. So, I think the proposal of the European Union is good for countries like, develop countries like Norway, where gender and women rights are not discussed because it's not obvious that gender are equal. In Poland, for example, it's not so obvious because of the Catholic Church, in Hungary as well we see only men in the government. So, this approach, the European approach is based on Denmark experience, Sweden experience, France approach to women rights, not from the Central and Eastern European countries. In military, for example, in Poland, there is less than 10% women, in police forces 17 and is the biggest rate in all security institutions. So, I don't see myself this quality and Women, Peace and Security promoted by the European Union, and also the European Union hasn't strengthened their networking, based on this Fouchet WPS agenda.

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E14– In the EU counterterrorism? I think that first of all, definition of terrorist group because there are also blurred structures like networks, hybrid structures and in the EU framework Decision from 2002, it was changed in 2008, there is very old-fashion definition of terrorist group, and I think that, for me, counterterrorism avoids the cyberspace, recruitment and terrorist activity, and on the European Union level they don't have any idea how to counter and combat terrorist threats from cyberspace. It's on the connected we find financial markets on cyber, propaganda, promoting content propaganda, espionage, etc. And I don't think so the gender lens is useful here, has I mentioned before, only before committing the crimes when we talk about this procedure to becoming terrorist is important to promote gender approach, not when we are talking about criminal offences, it doesn't matter.

M— Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E14— No.

--Fim da Entrevista—

Entrevista 15

29 abril 2024 – 10:01:28-10:19:38; Zoom; Duração: 00:18:23

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E15– I guess, as you know there's no one definition of terrorism but generally understood, have five features so, it's the threat or an act of violence, to send a message, which creates fear and the message is generally to a government, and the target is normally civilians, but, and this is also ideological or, you know, broadly speaking ideological, so, there's a value system behind this. But lots of attacks are, you know, against the military, for instance, would also be defined as terrorism in the press and policy people. So, it's kind of a flexible definition. And counterterrorism is any act that attempts to stop that, so that could be kinetic, military or it might be soft community-based countering on extremism type programs.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E15– Well, I think there's slightly been an rise in the visibility of women and if you think back to the Islamic State's recruitment campaign which really kind of blossomed, one might say, into 2014, 2015 when there were some very visible high profile cases of young women travelling from all over the world, but in particular from particularly European Union countries, and this really put the issue of women involvement in support for terrorism very firmly on the policy radar. We also saw around the same time a lot of support on the internet for the Islamic State, they obviously were really exploiting the internet to send the message, and that also made visible women's support so, posts glorifying or propagandizing for Islamic State. So, this kind of two things, women's travels, women's support were visible around that time. I mean, actually as we know women, there isn't really a terrorist organization that hasn't have women in supporting or involved from the begins of the modern terrorism, from the anarchist movement in the 1800's, but it's been difficult for policy makers to see women, to recognize that they are there, there have, you know, been a number of underline assumptions which have made policy makers minimize even the threat for women or the facts that women could

possibly be interested in or supportive of terrorist groups. So, in the terms of the numbers it's difficult to say, we haven't always had good numbers but certainly you can say that the visibility become more prominent.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E15– I don't think it's just my opinion that, you know, you've got people like Laura Shepherd, who have done a lot of analysis of the ways in which the liberation of women have been, you know, has been a really crucial narrative, for instance, in the War on Terror, where we saw the invasion of the Afghanistan very strongly linked to the liberation of women's in Taliban oppression, obviously now the Taliban 're governing in Afghanistan and women face more restrictions than ever. So, yes, there's certainly been a strand of the narrative of Western powers that has saw to justify their counterterrorism decisions in terms of the benefits for women and generally that's the benefits for women on other countries and the, you know, the heroic nature of that western government in providing that protection. So, yes, that's certainly been a factor in some of the major counterterrorism military campaigns.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E15– I think my role in has academic is about just drawing attention to inequalities, to ways in which gender is present and making gender more visible because your contemporary terrorist groups are highly gendered, they have very different roles for men and for women, and they have very gender beliefs systems which they use to recruits and propagandize. And so, you know, in order to understand what terrorist groups are doing we do need to think about gender, you know, that's my role in that. And that's, you know, all you can do, you can draw attention to things, you can't make policymakers make particular decisions.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E15– I mean that's not something I've done research on. So, I mean structurally counterterrorism institutions have been for a long time run by men and, you know, so,

you have issues of inequality in the political systems, but, you know, I haven't specifically done research on that issue. It certainly taken quite a long time to get gender on into the documentation but, you know, there's reference now to gender in European Union counterterrorism documents and there's also reference to women and children, often together as, you know, one thing. So, and a lot of that it relating to returners from Islamic State but, you know, gender is there and it's becoming more important and more prominent, so, you know, there's has been change.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E15–Well, I mean, again, it's difficult to comment on. They broadly are similar to the UK's, they got, you know, it got four strands, four pillars based on different stages, different agencies that might be engaged in preventing terrorism and responding to it. We have that since 2005 and very much in the after match of the 9/11 and the War on Terror. So, we've got a structure and it's for different countries to interpret how they use that and, you know, that means that different countries have different, you know, approaches to thinking about terrorism and thinking about gender within counterterrorism approaches. But, you know, broadly speaking there's been progress in that policy and strategy since its inception in 2005, as I said, the latest editorations do mention gender and of course they follow United Nations in that regard when talking about gender-based violence used by terrorist groups, for instance, thinking about gender in de-radicalization and disengagement programs, so, they broadly eco the United Nations and there is also a number of European Union agencies which are tasked to looking into a particular aspects of counterterrorism, if you think about radicalization we had the Radicalization Awareness Network and, you know, that if you look at their documents they have done a lot on gender, again, with the focus on women and the focus on Islamic State returners but there is a lot there.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism programs are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E15– Certainly on paper it's what they are asking for, obviously, there's been a gap between policy on paper and policy on practice, and a lot falls then on individual European States, and it's about, you know, context, history, how long they've been in the European Union, have their court systems work, equality or inequality within their

own country system. So, there's a lot of different factors around in-practice, how policy is inactive.

M– Do you find gender stereotypes or even a gender-blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism programs?

E15– Well, again, this is not something I've systematically researched. So, you know would be difficult to, again, on paper this is, you know, all the paper policy wording is around the importance of gender sensitivity and, you know, essentially gender mainstreaming. How that works in practice would be imperfect because the policy is ahead of the practice. I know when I've been in different European countries, and you talk to practitioners they have been not always totally up to speed on gender, but they have been, you know, working with women, they have been thinking about the ways radicalization differed from men and for women. And in fact, those experiences do inform the policy, they feedback and the policy changes, evolves. So, you know, it's all a work in progress really, of course we know that in policing, generally in the courts we've seen assumptions, in France for instance, the courts initially, you know, we didn't see women returning from the Islamic State trailed in the courts, was only assumed that men would be a security threat, then we had a Paris plot by women and it changed in France. So, quite often individual countries are reactive to an incident and rather than, you know, immediately taking on board policy prescriptions. So, that's how it works in practice. So, yes of course stereotypes do come into how courts work, on the way the police think, and it takes time to change those stereotypes, and also requires people to see that the stereotypes don't help. So, until you get, you know, all the women prominent that police embarrassed recognized or actually this assumption of women don't pose any threat it's not right, it's not accurate, and that's generally when you get some change happening, it's around events not necessarily around what's written, again, in the policy.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E15– I mean, all of the, as I mentioned to you, the United Nations has instituted in a number of security resolutions how we should think about gender in both conflict and terrorist groups, and, you know, most importantly in 2015 we have the Resolution

around understanding gender as a crosscutting theme, we have the same language in the European Union counterterrorism strategy. And more recently we had the recognition in 2019 that gender based violence is commonly used as a tactic of terrorist groups. So, we have this, again, reflected in updated European Union policy, so, absolutely the United Nations sets the precedent, in incredibly important in directing how wider regional institutions and then down at the state level counterterrorism should be an active.

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E15– As I said, on paper there're really positive things, this space is always evolving, you know, that's the problem, there's always new threats, new groups, there're new networks of groups that had different ideologies and it takes time for, you know, you got to notice this things, the police notices them, academics notice them, it takes time to interfere to policy. And I think it's been positive change and, you know, the task is really to get the training in for those people who are practically working in this space so, whether is in the courts, or in the police or in NGO's or charities that work, you know, stop people from radicalizing, it's about training, it's about knowledge and of course it's a two way street, you have to listen to those people as well, that are, you know, at the front end of this work, so, you're no just impose things on them because as I say, people have to understand why they are doing something, they have to feel and understand the need for it, and they have to perceive that that works and has a benefit for them as practitioners. So, I think the key task its really keeping on top of the threats, keeping up to date, and on at training practitioners and making what its set on policy its translating to the practical space in which interventions actually happen.

M– Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E15– No.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 16

30 abril 2024 – 09:09:46-09:17:37; Zoom; Duração: 00:07:59

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E16– In terms of the European Union or just like generally? (your personal definition, personal view) So, I definitely I would say that terrorism are acts of violence in form, usually tend to be ideological reasons but can be other motivations behind those as well, but act of violence that cause extensive graveness to a certain population or a target of individuals, take file usually, often as well. So, I think it's a very broad definition that needs to be applied as well, it's not uniformed throughout the world as to what exact shape or form terrorism takes. Whereas I think counterterrorism are efforts put into place to prevent this and to ensure the safety and security for wider population.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E16– Like female actors who are perpetrators of terrorism? (Yes) I find that question very difficult to answer, I don't think there's a, I don't think that I'm in the place to answer that specifically.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E16– So, I do think gender is of course very important consideration to be implemented throughout any policies, including counterterrorism strategies, it is very useful to engage gender perspective taking into account the role of women, the role of children and also the role, when I say children, I mean young boys and girls as well, and how they can be impacted by acts of terrorism but also what role they can play in counterterrorism strategies, and how they should be included or thought while in the developing of any policy. So, gender has a very important role to play and will always, I think, have an important role to play. And in this, I don't speak exclusively of counterterrorism but just through general policy development.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E16– So, I don't actively work on counterterrorism myself currently so, in that sense I don't think I'm well placed to answer that question.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E16– I think in general I would say yes. But it very much depends of course on different contexts, I would say as with in any policy development across the world, different countries might be different opportunities, and also depends on the structures and places to support women in the labor force essentially. But I do think there are in general fair opportunities but of course, could things be better, as always but at the same time there are different female actors present and do make decisions. So, yes.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E16– I think it's quite comprehensive, noting of course that there has to represent all Member-States, and that counterterrorism strategy is at times also implemented at the ministries of the respective Member-States. But for the time being I do think it's quite comprehensive and I do think focus on human rights and gender of course remains very important.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism programs are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E16– I think yes, I think it can always be further improved in terms, when we use the word gender, we shouldn't just be limited to women but just more in general to diverse identities. But, yes, but could be improved always and I think that can be said for many things.

M– Do you find gender stereotypes or even a gender-blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism programs?

E16– It's a good question, gender-blindness at times perhaps, but I do think there're efforts to move away from that.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E16– Yes. has been a lot of engagement on the WPS, again, there I think the WPS has been really a frontrunner and also in terms of different Member-States I think WPS has always been looked at positively, also as a source of policy design. So, I do think there's a lot of engagement with the WPS, but, again, there's some lacking on the WPS also, in the sense, that's slightly outdated now, and it could be further, so to say, to still be more gender inclusive.

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E16– I do think further engagement and building on a gender lens would be helpful. I do think as times change becomes more and more important as well but also recognizing the role of women have to play and the role that beyond gender, and when I say gender, I find kind of important to look at cross identities, also the role of men, masculinities, all of these factors have to play. So, a greater inclusion of the gender lens moving forward.

M– Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E16– No.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 17

01 maio 2024 – 10:01:41-10:33:57; Zoom; Duração: 00:32:36

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E17– Beyond the traditional definition which is the one universally accepted, as the use of violence by an unconventional way, I think nowadays terrorism is the use of terrorism by those actors which are not entitled to use violence and the use of force, which is going beyond the traditional definition because in the past, I was just referring to non-state actors, but at the same time nowadays there's a several non-state actors that are using force and violence because they are outsourced by state. So, the notion as now it can be conceived as much more flexible so, it's still the use of force and the use of violence, but if referred to the actor which is making this use of force and violence the definition can be much more flexible. And when it comes to counterterrorism obviously very much depends, because it is no more which can be usually referred to the traditional law enforcement because depending on the nature of the terrorism and the nature of the actor which is using terrorism, other policies or other kind of measures may be necessary so, sometimes military tools can be necessary sometimes even more, let's say civilian tools like, for example, the radicalization policies can be also part of counterterrorism, and this means that also soft security tools can be necessary as well, because it very much depends on the nature of the actor, on the nature of the aims for each violence is used, and also it depends on the context.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E17– Well, I'm not really aware of the exact data referred to the number of female terrorists or female members or armed groups in, right now, at least in Europe or in some other regions. But for sure the role, also, of women its increasing, I mean, as active combatants because in the past even before this, the traditional literature let's say was referring to women as victims of terrorism which is usually, which is obviously true, because women are victims of terrorism and they're the most vulnerable victims of terrorism, but at the same time the number of active combatants in terrorist groups is

increasing and for we may see specially because this is due to the changing networks conflicts. So, depending on the different conflicts which may be civil conflicts or intra-states conflicts, the role of terrorists groups but also the role of insurgent groups may change, women can be part of this, part of this groups either because they are identifying with the cause or because may be forced to be involved in the cause, but also the number of radicalized women unfortunately is increasing and so, this radicalization can be successful, the number of this combatants can increase. Also referring to counterterrorism, referring to the previous definition that I provided, the role of women specially in those programs which are aimed in deradicalize or for contribute to intercommunity dialogue in develop societies is increase, so women are more and more involved in this process, although they still are in the backs, they are not the real, you know, leaders of peace-process, the real leader of peace-talks and so on, but their role is increasing.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E17– Well, we are less advanced, my own perception is European countries are less advanced that we may be expected to be, because unfortunately there is, there are several data about female, homicides are increasing and so, women are more and more victims of violence, sexual violence and homicides which are happening within family members or because of their partners. And this is increasing and should not be obviously compatible with an established democracies like, European countries specially Italy, for example, is a good example for this. So, this means that we are still a bit far for equality either for, in terms of equality for women and also generally speaking gender issue, LGBTQ+ issues so, there are still a lot of improvements to do and obviously this is also having an impact in different policies fields, including counterterrorism. E qui/and here consider traditional tools, like law enforcement or agencies, women are still, you know, trying to get more and more roles because, for example, in defense women and very few and it is also due to the fact many arm forces and corps are open in national level, they are women to women very recently so, it takes time for women to reach high ranking levels, for example, Italy don't have a general or a commander that are women. This is happening very slowly, this would happen obviously, this is happening slowly even

in other law enforcement agencies and so, for example, there are, the number of female peacekeepers is getting better but still very, very slow. It is a different thing if we consider women working in the social services or in other kinds of programs, probably there we may find more women involved.

M— As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E17— Well, I'm a bit unique let's say, because I'm a full professor—. So, I have a leading position, well obviously you will say, you're a professor, I'm a professor so, I'm working in education. But at the same time, given the role of this institutions, I'm also responsible for several, let's say, impact duties—.

M— Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E17—No, no, I don't think it's the case unfortunately, because also very much depends on the role of women in policymaking at the general level, because you see that we have very few female prime-minister, very few female defense minister or internal affairs minister. So, we have very few women in leading positions. So, obviously they, if we talk about policymaking in the high level, in the highest level, the impact unfortunately it's limited, I'm talking about Europe, it's quite limited. Obviously if we talk about influence in the policymaking process, they may be different because women are part of (inaudible), they are part of associations, they are part of municipal bodies, for example, so they have very good expertise and, so in that case they can be influential. But if you are asking about formal decision making or formal process in which women are leading because they have leading positions, unfortunately we are still far from being dominant like, compared to men.

M— How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E17— Well, that it will be, that could be a stronger and more impactful because we have lots of potentiality obviously, because we have Europol that works very well for collecting data and for building data bases, but then when it comes to being a little bit more proactive, everything is left to the states. And, so, there's a little of coordination, there's a very weak, let's say, conversion of policies that the inter-governmental in roles

of states is still too strong, obviously we need to understand that everything was built on states and there are some states, they have more expertise in counterterrorism compare to others so, obviously we cannot compare, for example, I don't know, Belgium and Italy or Belgium and the UK, because of historical legacies; there are some countries that have more expertise or it is difficult to push states to change their knowledge, their practices, laws. So, there are several constraints and so, because of these constraints, unfortunately, that policies are not so impactful on how they should be, because, for example, the impact of the foreign fighters, the first attacks to Belgium or France, for example, they were surprised for the Belgium police or for the French police because there was no preparedness in this field. So, the EU is quite weak in preparedness because of this inter-governmental constraints. Obviously, there are very good efforts because RAN is a good example, there are, let's say, some good examples of bilateral or trilateral cooperations among states, there are efforts done for making common data base which can be used by all states and try to make police forces or law enforcement agencies to cooperate and to be a bit more coordinated. But then, obviously, still, many things need to be improved.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism program(s) are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E17– We saw some, let's say, some attention to what was the role of women because, for example, when the RAN head, I attended some events mainly online but there was also a present event in Brussels, and we also discussed the role of women, obviously, we could more in terms of data, I don't know, I'm not aware of a real data base on the present for women or specific programs, obviously there are programs when women are victims so, radicalization, when women are victims of violence because of terrorism or also there are programs about female foreign fighters and specially when the phenomenon ISIS-brides was very, let's say, everywhere on the media, so, there were this kind of programs trying to understand why women radicalize, why women make this choice. But still a lot of things are also left to the national, domestic level let's say, so, there are some states which are more sensitive to these problems and obviously states which are less sensitive. So, in an (inaudible) there is an awareness, that women are at the same time victims and should deserve a greater attention, and also women

have more potentiality in active roles also in counterterrorism. But still, something more should be done, much more I would say.

M– Do you find gender stereotypes or even a gender-blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism programs?

E17– Well, there's a lot of stereotypes obviously, more than for terrorism I would say in other kind of subservice actors like organized crime, for example. So, it took a lot of scholars but also to practitioners and policy makers to understand that women in mafia type groups were also I would add leading roles, now it is clear women can also lead organized crime groups, they replaced men, so the sense is that a woman has a role, a leading role when they replace men, obviously, then the point is because men are in prison and or a man can be, they are killed and so on. But still, now it is clear there's an awareness that women can have a leading role. And when it comes to counter measures in the organized crime field, for example, it is clear that women are very active, women can be very, very active and women can have leading roles. And this is the same for terrorism, I mean, when women are felts, are perceived as active combatants it is still surprising that women may make this radical choice because in the general perception women are connected to peace, to a peaceful attitude so, the women are not associated to the use of violence and they are also not associated to an identification with a cause, for example, a woman is leading an organization or has an active role in an organization because she believes in a specific cause, this is still surprising, this is not so normal, let's say. So, there are a few stereotypes but still, I would say the main stereotype is that women are much better for bringing peace. But at the same time if we look at peace processes or policymaking processes, they are always driven by men so, women can be very helpful, they can assist, they can provide good expertise but when it comes to sign an agreement, deciding a bill, is always a man behind these decisions, women are not in the frontline of decision making let's say.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E17– Yes, sure, I did also part of my teaching agenda. Very, very, very scarcely let's say, in a very weak way because, just the fact that we are, we celebrated the 20th anniversary, well 24 years and we are still debating whether this resolution is useful, or we need to

update and we are still collecting about active role of women. So, basically, we may say that after many, many years very, very little have been done in terms of women's advancements in the role of women. The agenda, the UN agenda may look very, very advanced but then if we consider what the, I don't know, the UN Women group or other kinds of organizations, NGO's let's say or legal or smaller organization at the UN level had done, of course lots of conferences, lots of events, but then in practical terms so very little and if we have to say that US incorporated the agenda in its counterterrorism policies, well not yet, it's not the case. And, obviously, lot of things should be done. Although, again, in terms of rhetoric in all, in every document there's a reference to the agenda, a reference to the resolution and a reference to Women, Peace and Security, and the women are fantastic in providing peace and then no. If we are looking at the women, the female peacekeepers, the number is decreasing, it is sure that peacekeeping operations are decreasing generally speaking, but then the role of women is decreasing also. So, this is something that we should also consider.

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E17– In the EU counterterrorism, obviously, we cannot change the intergovernmental approach because this is very much state really, but we can try to implement a little bit more the bottom-up dimension, we cannot change the top, we can try to increase the bottom a little bit. So, the support to organizations, the civil society organizations, obviously when I say these things and criticize because everyone tells me this is rhetoric, yes ok, but I repeat again, because there are several organizations, civil society organizations in which women are leading, have leading roles, not necessarily women organizations because women have organizations in which we have men and women. But women have also leading roles, which are working a lot in several policy fields because everything it connected to terrorism, so, the migration is connected, sexual violence, prostitution is connected; all of this policy fields, radicalization, deradicalization, because everything can bring to terrorism. So, there are several organizations which are active, many of them are active at a local level and there is no awareness, there is no connection. So, any improvements, more support for organization, and also more involvement of this organizations in the initiatives that are

taken by the Commission, like the RAN. And secondly, education on low edge should be improved because what we do as professor, as scholars, as educators is always disconnected from the policies fields, for example, when we talk about radicalization, virtual radicalization, we may provide very good reports, but we don't know what this reports will be read/wright by politicians, for people in the policy fields. And the last thing that I would say is to change, but this will take ages, the, let's say, critical, the strategic culture in our societies because we still think that the counterterrorism is related to defense and security, and we think that this is something that society should not be involved in because all the time, they organize something under the label of security, we have people protesting, and people saying that states should be far from defense and security, because defense is automatically war, and then obviously counterterrorism is also equal, at least is what is happening in Italy but I see it everywhere, that its equal to walking with the military, walking with the police and so on. We should try to change this perception, and this will help the role of women as well, because women and all society should be involved in defense because defense is also linked to our daily life, to the security of our daily life and I feel the security and defense should be more responsive, and they can be responsive if they have the interest of common people involved. And so, women should be much more involved, but many women should also leave the perception that they should not be involved because defense and security are matters for men, matters for military, matters for those who are caring for these issues and nor for everyone. Everything related to counterterrorism should be part of our life because this is the security of our daily life. So, this is probably a change in mentality, a change in what I call the strategic culture of the society, because we are still, if we refuse to discuss about this topic, we are not pacifists, this is not pacifism, we are not making war if we are more involved in counterterrorism. So, the more involvement also from the society could, is necessary. And, so, these are efforts that should be ran at the domestic and EU level, for trying to make people understand that this is our life, this is not a matter for military, or for security people, let's say. And if a woman's starts this process, it will be fantastic. But right now, there are very few female scholars writing about these issues in terrorism, in defense, in counterterrorism, we find more women in the US, for example, more American scholars, European

scholars are not so many. This a reflection on our society needs to understand that this is a very important issue.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 18

01 maio 2024 – 10:59:35-11:18:10; Zoom; Duração: 00:18:49

M—How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E18— I supposed that I'm getting the academic definitions, for me it's really actions by a particular group against the state, when a group it's not a filiated to another state directly, or I would say when it's not recognized as an affiliated group to the state. I'm suppose that's being the traditional definition, but that's been challenge in a more smaller groups takin on aspects of the state, or aspects of the groups. I think is ever changing and I think it's something that maybe academically has always been a challenge. And I suppose for simplicity counterterrorism aspect is how you react to that or how you respond to that.

M— How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E18— I don't think it's a new phenomenon that females are involved, historically we know of cases, I mean, culturally we've often, like we do in criminality, we often look at female actors in any of these areas very differently, we treat them very differently. But I think nowadays more attention has been given to them, traditionally, I supposed, originally it kind of started as them being victims or a perception of them being coerced to those roles. But my belief is that many of them are fully aware of what they are involved in, they make decisions similar to men in terms of the information they have and their willingness to be active. I think the lack of research over the time make it look like its new phenomenon but I certainly wouldn't take that stance on it and I think in many ways not having the perspective over time put its really out of law of their role in the supporting activities as well as, you know, taking out a bomber or taking that kind of operation aspect that we often envision only men do, but we know for many cases that females have done the same in the past and are continuing to do it. And I think it goes back maybe to a short sightedness of who terrorists are, we predominantly see them as the actor of the event, as in if it is an big incident the a person or people who are involved in that direct element, we fail or don't put the same efforts in to looking at

all of the support mechanism set required for that took off. And I think we really miss female's role in that area and as well as being direct actors.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E18– I think so. I think probably is not just counterterrorism, I think there's definitely a very proactive political agenda in a lot of countries to increase efforts in areas around female participation in the good stuff and they're also looking at their role. I still think to a greater extent we are seeing as victims, and we explain their involvement differently. I think a lot needs to be done in that respect, but I think it's a cultural think that we probably have to get over, not just specific as a relation to terrorism studies or counterterrorism.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E18– Educationally it's kind of conducting research to trying expose areas of opportunities for operational projects being implemented, but really I suppose is trying to challenge in many ways the narrative that there's a simple explanation of why people join this groups, how people are groomed into this groups or attracted to them, and trying to just take a step back and look from other areas surrounding in our worlds, kind of being applied to the terrorist context and be used, I supposed be a little be more objective maybe in how we perceive our options from a counterterrorism perspective.

M– Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E18– I can only speak on my experiences. Operationally I would say when you're coming from a policing or security background, I would say just a shared number, the low numbers of female entering versus the higher numbers well it will look mathematically, in metrics there's just more men. But I think when you actually get the operational units you can see what the good countries or the good forces are actually identifying that men and women being very different , I suppose, perspectives or lenses to this problems, and they try, I would say, it's not if people want those roles operationally, I do think the number suggest more politically that men hold more of those roles. Academically it's

the opposite, I think, academic insights, knowledge and learnings from that perspective are much heavier, like, female lead in this this area and I know certain people don't consider maybe that in a counterterrorism perspective as the same degree as I do, but I think academic knowledge should be really driving or testing policy at least. So, I see them as a huge asset and, I would say, there's more females in that but I don't think it's a simple question in terms of, opportunities, female have the same opportunity in the forces or roles, yes, I don't feel that I was underrepresented because I was female, as I say, I think the good unit is realizing that needs diversity, and I think it's not just on a gender, its geographical, it's like people experience, people's abilities or kind of specialty or neurodiverse, people who bring a lot of assets to for their way of thinking. So, long story short, in academia its highly influenced by really, really good women, operationally I would say there are more men, but I think maybe that's a product of the organizations that you got to get in to have an influence in those areas.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E18– I would say that has strengths and weaknesses, I think we are clearly seeing that. I think that's a product of probably how the West, or the Western countries see terrorism, I think in many cases people see it as groups, like Islamic State or Al-Qaeda, religious motivated groups, I think so a lot of our policy it's been directed to those type of groups and that type of terrorism. Coming from Ireland I know that's very different in how we see terrorism in Ireland it's played out. Therefore I don't think sometimes the EU policy or strategy has enough of that depth of how we perceived different types of terrorism, I think we are seeing that know with far-right groups take greater hold in what we label them as, I think we seeing is in how we discuss foreign terrorist fighters and them leaving their own countries and go to other countries we speak, see that very differently when groups went to Syria and Iraq versus when people go to fight in Ukraine, where mercenaries and those groups considered to be foreign terrorist fighters and before, yes and know, probably no. So, I think in some ways it hasn't the level of objectivity but I think it should have, and as I said, we see it, it's been kind of, it evolved from a very singular perspective but I think needs to be changed and that we need to have this conversations much more out of an objective level, you know, if it's wrong for people to go over and fight in Iraq or Syria and the principle that is wrong to fight in a foreign war,

well then that means all wars, but as I said, I think our strategy as, the European strategy, as I should said, has not really discussed many of those issues that were on our face, but.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism program(s) are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E18– Part of me think's not enough but I think that goes back to really understanding the problem. I don't think they should be there just, like it should be a high degree of sensitivity just because we want to put a gender perspective on it, I think they should be led by what the problem is, what way it's manifesting and who's best to counter that. So, I would like to see more kind of evidence before they just change it just for change it say or, I would think that there is a need of kind of have that more objective review and just see what the merits are. But I think just looking at things through a gender lens because you feel it's the right thing to do, I think undermines the value of actually doing that exercise. But I do, in principle I think that more should be done, I just would like to see it backed up with evidence that suggests that sort of doing.

M– Do you find gender stereotypes or even a gender-blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism programs?

E18– Well, I think a lot of the nations' today have looked to women traveler in abroad as, you know, they were coerced or, you know, I think that's a blindness to the fact that women have agency and can decide what role they want to play or not play. And, how then their roles can be, I suppose, contained within the culture of the environment there in. But, I think there is a look its increasing, it is changing, I think there needs to be a higher degree in evidence that women finding themselves in this positions or making it choice, actually just have to acknowledge their agency and not just treat them or assume they're victims before they even start, if you want to that feud then you have to do that to in my opinion. So, I do think there's definitely more to be done to challenge the way we think about the role women can have and can seek to, activities they seek, can seek themselves to be part of. I think we need to look more at that and then open an accountable window to those actions and to the choices they made. But, I think in many of our cultures that's needs to happen at the same rate and it's not, you know, I think from a criminal justice perspective we do treat women offenders very differently than

we treat males, and I'm not sure the evidence suggests that that is warranted, I think our culture on societies have today's dictator of why we take that approach.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E18– I know of it, but not in detail. I would know well enough to answer to be honest.

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E18– Like I said, I think needs to be a little more openness and honesty about what we consider terrorism to be, what we are willing to label as terrorist activity, who we are willing to label, so as I said, like foreign terrorist fighter, for example, were if we went to countries to fight in Syria or Iraq regardless of whether you're with terrorist fighters or some of the mercenaries groups, you where consider a foreign terrorist fighter, and then we change those, maybe not formally, but we definitely put a difference level of acceptance of people who were gone to fight and support Ukraine in their war, even to the point that Ukrainians have set up mercenaries on unofficial way of doing things to navigate around those around foreign terrorist fighters. We need to have conversations about that, we need to be less target it in one form of terrorism and maybe take the learnings across terrorist groups and forms of terrorism, and see what things hold and actually watch, and maybe then, going back to your first question about the definition, that may enable us to come to a more objective definition of what terrorism is, what we accepted to be therefore and what we can do to counter it. But I think at the moment, not only as it ever difficult to define it on academic terms it's also ever changing in who this groups are versus what international organizations whether be the EU or a body the EU or the UN, what they define it as, and I think it's just too much of that ambiguity there that I think we need to address.

M– Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E18– No.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 19

08 maio 2024 – 12:04:50-12:34:55; Zoom; Duração: 00:30:25

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E19– That's not an easy question despite of all first appearances is actually, when it comes to define counterterrorism the first thing that is quite a bit a challenge is that there is not international agreement in a common definition of terrorism because it is linked to political things and revindication, most of the times depends really on the things so, there were some few attempts for it in international, low seem to do so. So, for that I will, not an expert on the legal aspect but in think that despite the absence of clear definition of what is terrorism and what is counterterrorism in response I would say the reference for that I will recommend to you to use is to look at the notion for terrorist offence which are reference to act of terror committed to political aim which is to related to intimidate the population and targeting civil, civilian population as well, to obtain for national legitimacy authority revindication and so, for that, in consequence, I would say counterterrorism is really like the response mechanism that can exist, that are implemented by states or international organizations to the threat of search for political motivated violence.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E19– I think this is both things at the same time. I think there's a thing about the numbers, I don't have them in mind, is quite difficult to have like precise data over the words regarding this specific thing. But it's not something super new, I think for some EU Member-States like France, for example, in the past year the implication of women in terrorist acts as terrorist perpetrators was, like, reemerge I would say, on the political response side because unfortunately a lot of attempts of terrorist acts that where involving women and if was, I think, in fact caught more attention to one like the international level, mistakes emerge because they were, they had really unclear strategy on involved women in their action. But this is not something that, this is not something new for terrorist organizations imply women, you have back in the days, there were

extreme left organizations with women perpetrating terrorist acts. I think one, unfortunately, famous one in Germany, I think on the 70's or 80's so, this is not something so much new, I think there was, maybe, in terms of volume probably more women or at least there were more involved and more visible on really the violent acts. But we should not overlook the fact that women are often in terrorism organizations, just like Boko Haram, as well, really strongly involved in all of the logistics operations as well, transporting weapons, supplies, do communication, do also some intelligence activity kinds of. So, I think there is, both of things, I think in terms of volume probably have a little bit of increase because of certain terrorist movements and organizations rising in the recent years. I think there as well were quite of honest reason as well because such use of women was more instrumental in more recent terrorist organizations. And I think the thing as well that it's also clouds a bit more attention because of all the gender-based cliché we can have on the women, and I think there is a really difficult understating and more severe judgments or different judgments at least of the involvement in terrorist organizations.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E19– I would say that a thing in counterterrorism response in general there is more and more vocal voice and opinion about the fact that such mechanism and response must be aligned and must be taking to account to a wider consideration and so, as well, women's rights on that. There are some examples across the world about that, how dramatic consequences could have when you do CT operations in a certain country, that you don't take into account the specificity of the local culture, and you have the example of American operation, for example, we just having questioning to some women and women are then killed by the community as they supposed that they degraded the honor to a certain way. So, I think it's just that the counterterrorism response general in the EU, tends to be, and must continue to have consideration for such, have quite an holistic and comprehensive action, making sure that there is not isolated, da you're taking into account the multiple factors to do so when you do such an operation.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E19—Rise awareness for the benefit, for the operational benefit of integrate more women in the counterterrorism response in the EU and overseas; and the fact that we try as much as possible within the project to first, we make sure that we understand the specific challenge of each type of state order or acting in the CT response was key; and also make sure that the argument has not only critical or based on, I would say, big speech and policy speech and etc; and don't have quite molarization of the nation on the topic as well; and I think the key on that was really to provide also very pragmatic and concrete guideline as well, for anyone implementing the project in the CT field, to make sure they have a gender by design approach when they are implementing a CT

M— Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?

E19— In CT is really case by case thing, but in general... in the EU, most of the western countries, legally and on the political level and regulatory level there is no technical barrier to access to women for such job, there are still some few in combat positions such in army and etc but tends to be removed. So, on the paper and in theory have the same opportunities, in real life this is of course very, very different, they can have the same opportunities but there is a lot of indirect more or less indirect privilege to do so. I think a lots is derived from the fact that the CT jobs, in general, are perceived to be very, and I will use air quotes on that, but really characterize by “male, masculine quality”, which is not the reality of the job because we think, first things first, to have a really frontline and like really chasing terrorist on the street and very dangerous area, which is very few persons of the CT response in general. So, I would say that in theory they have the same opportunities but in reality as lots of sectors in society, really not the case, first thing first, because they're not so much attracted by this type of sector for the mention there is, as I mention you don't see a lot of women in this field as well, whether they are not super visible for (inaudível) reason, and so doesn't attract them so, there is no representativity for younger women as well. This is difficult to stay in this position for long time with the other assumption and the other societal obligation that we can put on women, to have family, to take care of the family and the kids and etc. And, so that can be quite difficult at some point and also, I think the most important as well is that lots of CT, lots of security organizations in general, were designed by men for

men so, the factor that there's a cultural and organization points that were design originally without even considering having women in the staff which led as well to have this kind of endemic barrier to do so.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E19– I don't have a specific opinion on that.

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism programs are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E19– I think so, I think it is the case. And I think the fact that the Women CT project implemented, the WIIS was funded by the European Commission, provided by the EU institution, it's a clear signal that for the counterterrorism part this kind of consideration about women roles in it is really well considered, as well. The only thing I would say on that is despite, I think, a lot of good willing and I met a lot of women that are working in function in the EU staff in general, different agencies or national level as well, still this kind of initiatives to improve and raise awareness on the topic are very punctual and it is not a long standing and continuous effort, this is not formalized as, you know, there is like *ad hoc* initiatives where and there but there isn't such a continuum to really institutionalize such thing as well.

M– Do you find gender stereotypes or even a gender-blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism programs?

E19– At the policy level? On the operational level? Or in general? In general, it can be very difficult because you have to keep in mind the fact that when we talk about counterterrorism we are talking about different jobs and different institutions; you have the DGSE, you have the law enforcement, sometimes you have the military and armed forces depending on the country. So, this is really very, it depends on a lot about the local culture and etc. In general, I think of course, as we mostly living in patriarchal society, of course there is some cliché and some gender-blindness about a lot of different things, it can come to very pragmatic and concrete things, for example, maternals; bulletproof jackets are often not designed to be wear by women so, they are less protected so, they have more risk to be injured or killed during operations; it can go to having facilities like, for example, in police stations where there is no sperate

bathroom, lockers and etc; we also tend to see quite some negative effect of having sometimes good willing to integrate more women in certain functions, but we tend to limit them to, again, air quoting “women activity”, for example, we going to say “women tend to be more kind, more understandable, etc” so, if they are doing CT in law enforcement they will be very good to do community building, trusting or they will be what we call agent holding so, really just be committed to one type of function, for example, only searching for women, on the women suspects, for example. And so, we try to, there is sometimes tendency to limit them to what we project the feminine function to CT and not having competence bases policies on how you use strengths of the different staff and personal. So, I think there’s a tone of if unfortunately and I think that has a lot of this cliché are really based on really long decades and decades of social construction so, it takes a lot of time to de-building and debunk this types of cliché as well, so, it takes a lot of time but of course, there is a lot of cliché that’re impacting women in the function, and I think we can see it as well in terms of policy, decision making as well, which is that of course if you don’t have any women in the decision room or if you have a certain type of cliché about women in general, when you implement a project, a policy, whatever, and you have this kind of assumption on gender, if you have gender-blindness and you don’t consider gender at all when you do such thing, initiative, activity then you’re missing half of the population and so, you’re missing as well all the impact and get the impact one sometimes that can seem a very benign measure, can have very dramatic consequences on women.

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E19– So, yes, I would show disclaimer to the fact that I’m not an expert on the WPS, but I know it for sure. Not the biggest fan, if I can say so, in the terms that Women, Peace and Security agenda was really important for make sure that women, as well the minority in general, are really well to take into consideration as victim of terrorism, as well. So, of course, in terms of EU CT strategy it means that there is at least mention that specific actuation should be (inaudível) to women and specific measure on that, but only on the how do you make sure that you take into charge accordingly and efficiently women as victims of terrorism. But I think it is, then so, reenforce a certain type of cliché

we can have about women which is that there can be often consider as a poor victim of it as well and blinding all about first, being also potentially actors of terrorist acts and can be also part of the respond to terrorist organization.

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E19– So a lot, a tone for improvement and I think it will last for quite a long time as I said previously. I think a lot of the gaps are often deriving do to societal cultural building that we have on, first, CT activity and what it is to do such counterterrorism thing versus as well all in general assumption we have on what women should do in our society, how they should behave and etc. So, I think there is a lot of social debunking to do so and to also go to, I really dream about the day when we will have not to talk about gender because will not be a topic *per se* anymore, and we will go beyond this kind of consideration and just make sure we have a more diverse, not only about women but also ethnicity, also social background, cultural background in the CT response to make sure of you have a more diverse group pf decision makers, implementors, operation, more etc, for sure you have a more efficient response because it is more comprehensive and it's not decided by one specific group in society or few groups that are majority and doesn't (inaudível) do other part of the society. So, for sure a tone of room for improvement on that and I think the key for the EU at this stage, is a very personal take on that, but I think it is really to make sure that, we make sure that we really implement by design gender consideration in any type of CT activity and that we hold the gap, the trap, sorry, to have gender or women in CT specific initiative. A lot of the CT strategy in the EU also really a lots on the external relationship as well, with other nations and third countries so, the thing is you can always have this kind of in the EU or outside of the EU the first reaction on the operational which is, "yeah, right now the priority is to make sure that the population, that we reduce as much as possible the insecurity of the local population so, I don't have the time or don't have the priority or I don't have the funds or I don't have the time to pay attention to the gender/women topic on that, first things first, I will do my job", which is can be understood at a certain point of view, still doesn't mean that is correct and most efficient on the long term. So, I think what in terms of improvements that is really to have this kind of gender mainstreaming really integrated

to all CT activity by design and to make sure that the number of women in this thing, the role of women in this thing is really transcribed, reported, archived and accessible to the academic and scientific communities because there is a critical, critical gap of data on the field, that are not equal, they are not continuous as well, and to have such a thing, of course, I means some resource, financial and human resources has to be allocated on the long term and to make sure that we do not separate the gender aspect, gender issue and problematic from the other.

M– Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E19– No.

--Fim da Entrevista--

Entrevista 20

09 maio 2024 – 12:10:30-12:30:53; Zoom; Duração: 00:20:25

M– How would you define terrorism and counterterrorism?

E20– I mean terrorism is an action or activity which as political aim and so, political purpose, also political change but the main method that it's use is to create fear in the audience which sees what is happening so, not necessarily has also got affected by terrorism but audience is very important also see what is happening that terrifies and it creates pressure on the political actors to maybe change their policy, change their action. And counterterrorism these activities that are aimed to combat, to prevent terrorist acts.

M– How do you envision the growth of female terrorism? Is it really increasing or is it just a new perspective over terrorist agents?

E20– I think very often women participation in terrorism it's not noticed let's say, but I'm not sure if it is growing or if we just have more information currently about women participation in it, because in previous century we've also women terrorists like, for example, in the Tamil Tigers organizations, Sri Lanka so, there were a lot of women participating in it, in Chechnya as well, women terrorists became quite visible, let's say in ISIS also they were recruiting actively females, not only in the region but also from abroad, they were trying to attract as many as possible, they had quite an elaborated program to make it attractive for them. So, I think now we have more information about female terrorist so, it's more visible, but I'm not sure if they are more than before or not.

M– In your opinion, are women, women rights and gender being instrumentalized in counterterrorism?

E20–I don't think so, no.

M– As a woman, how would you describe your role and agency within counterterrorism?

E20– Well, specifically my role is related only to the fact that so, working to prevent and to react to cross border crimes and very often these, for example, it can be related in several ways so, first it can be people crossing the borders, there aim can be related to terrorist activities or they're planning to involved themselves in terrorist acts on the territory of Europe; secondly, very often some cross border crimes are facilitating terrorism activity so, it can be related to transfer of some goods, weapons for example, so which are illegal or, they can support terrorist activities—.

M– **Do women have the same opportunities as men in decision and policymaking in this field?**

E20– I can tell you how I see it, how it works in a law enforcement agency. So, I think opportunities are the same but there are different conditions maybe that women and men experience when they work in this type of environment because this is a very specific work environment, it's not like the privet sector when you are expected to do, let's say, more or less administrative job but this is an operational job. So, the environment its different, the conditions are different, obviously it is expected for both men and women to deliver results, but it is. But I think for women sometimes it can be more difficult to work in this conditions especially when it comes to family, for example, to maternity because this is a special period for every women when she needs, you know, proper care and it's not just that you go of maternity leave for half a year and that's it, it's a more prolonged period and it affects your work. So, sometimes this type of environment does not allow a lot of flexibility in terms of work. So, for example, for our experience I can say that this is not a very stable job in terms of where you are situated so, today you may be deployed to Bulgaria but then suddenly something happens and you need to go and be transferred immediately almost to another part of Europe, to Finland or to Spain. So, when you are alone and you are young is very easy, you are very flexible, you go here you go there and you don't care, but if you have a family so, for men is also difficult, when they have a family, when whey they have to transfer all family, it's also difficult but it's not them specifically. And another thing when you are a woman and you for example gave birth to a child so, then you're not already so flexible, it's not so easy to do such things. And this job is very demanding in terms of operation flexibility, being ready right here, right now so, this requires a lot of

movement, a lot of unexpected, reaction in unexpected situation and it also can be quite stressful. So, in this regard it may be more challenging for women, but in terms of opportunities I think currently in the EU we are really trying to invite, to give more opportunities for women. So, even, for example, Frontex, our recruitment is trying to attract more and more women, make it more balanced. However, there is not enough interest I would say still from women to be working in these operational conditions.

M– How would you describe the European Union's counterterrorism strategy?

E20– [Não respondeu]

M– Do you think the European Union's counterterrorism program(s) are sensitive to the role of women in terrorism and counterterrorism?

E20– [Não respondeu]

M– Do you find gender stereotypes or even a gender-blindness in the European Union's counterterrorism programs?

E20– [Não respondeu]

M– Do you know the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)? How do you see the WPS has been applied to European counterterrorism?

E20– Yes, yes. Well, I know its implemented in different EU programs and projects in third countries, for example, because previously I was working in peace building field so, when the EU tries to implement some kind of programs in third countries so, for example, countries affected by conflict, they really try to add this gender perspective, to invite women also to the negotiation table to the discussion to the needs in a specific area and to have this vision from both sides not only from men side but also to have women responsible later for the implementation of this programs and projects. This would be a practical example of how is implemented.

M– While there is always room for improvement, what would you suggest should be improved in European Union's counterterrorism?

E20– Well, in the counterterrorism field I think what is very crucial is the sharing of the information between the Member-States and I think, it's happening but it always could be better and faster so, I think Member-States should be more open to share

information about when it comes to terrorist activities. And then I think a lot could be done on the prevention side so, better monitoring of terrorist groups or individuals that are involved or were involved previously because I think that sometimes the reaction is a little bit delayed. I think that sometimes the reaction it's a little bit delayed so, better monitoring of suspicious individuals, of the groups, of the networks that have been established', could help to address this.

M— Is there anything else *you* would like to share about this topic?

E20— No.

--Fim de Entrevista--