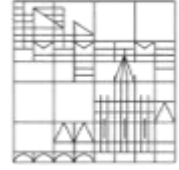




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**Master Thesis :**  
**The Decline of Terrorism in European Soil:**  
**Comparative Political Analysis**

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## **Declaration of Authorship**

1. I hereby declare that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.
2. I hereby declare that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.
3. I hereby declare that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Isaac David Pinto Guzmán', is centered on the page. The signature is written in a cursive style with some overlapping lines.

Geneva, July 31<sup>st</sup>, 2023.

Isaac David Pinto Guzmán

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**Abstract:**

*This paper focuses on the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and strategies implemented by European Union (EU) member nations. The study examines the types of policies and measures put in place, the effectiveness of intelligence gathering and sharing, and the level of funding provided for security efforts. The research question guiding this study is: Which policies, security strategies, and measures implemented by European Union member nations have most effectively reduced the frequency or success rate of terrorist attacks on their territory, including completed, failed, and foiled attacks? The study aims to provide valuable insights for policymakers and security experts to develop evidence-based strategies to prevent and combat terrorism in the EU. The literature review critically examines the securitization of terrorism in Europe and its implications for civil liberties and democratic governance. The theoretical section explores policy-making theory, examining the factors that influence policymaking, such as the role of different actors, the political context, and the impact of external factors such as international norms and standards. This paper finds that the multiple policies implemented across the European Union have motivated the decrease in terroristic activities across the region; however, the differences in investment throughout the years did not prove to be significant to influence the frequency of failed, foiled or completed terrorist attacks. The study concludes by discussing the potential impact of counterterrorism policies and measures on civil liberties and democratic governance and identifying gaps in existing literature.*

**Keywords:** Terrorism – Comparative Analysis – Policymaking – Europe

## **Abstraktní:**

*Tento článek se zaměřuje na účinnost protiteroristických politik a strategií prováděných členskými státy Evropské unie (EU). Studie zkoumá typy zavedených politik a opatření, účinnost shromažďování a sdílení zpravodajských informací a výši finančních prostředků poskytovaných na bezpečnostní úsilí. Výzkumná otázka, kterou se tato studie řídí, zní: Které politiky, bezpečnostní strategie a opatření zavedené členskými státy Evropské unie nejučinněji snížily četnost nebo úspěšnost teroristických útoků na jejich území, včetně dokončených, neúspěšných a zmařených útoků? Cílem studie je poskytnout tvůrcům politik a bezpečnostním expertům cenné poznatky k vypracování strategií založených na důkazech pro prevenci a boj proti terorismu v EU. Přehled literatury kriticky zkoumá sekuritizaci terorismu v Evropě a její důsledky pro občanské svobody a demokratickou správu věcí veřejných. Teoretická část se zabývá teorií tvorby politik a zkoumá faktory, které ovlivňují tvorbu politik, jako je role různých aktérů, politický kontext a vliv vnějších faktorů, jako jsou mezinárodní normy a standardy. Tento článek konstatuje, že četné politiky prováděné v Evropské unii motivovaly pokles teroristických aktivit v celém regionu; rozdíly v investicích v průběhu let se však neukázaly jako významné pro ovlivnění četnosti neúspěšných, zmařených nebo dokonaných teroristických útoků. V závěru studie je diskutován potenciální dopad protiteroristických politik a opatření na občanské svobody a demokratickou správu věcí veřejných a jsou identifikovány mezery ve stávající literatuře.*

**Klíčová slova:** Terorismus - srovnávací analýza - tvorba politik - Evropa

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# 1. Introduction

"Europe has no need to be apologetic about its values. On the contrary, it must be proud of them. It has a right to defend them robustly, fully, and democratically, without any compromise, hesitation, or fear. Defending our values, including peace, human dignity, and human rights, is the most effective way to fight terrorism." - Federica Mogherini, European Union High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (2015-2019)

Terrorism has posed an ongoing threat to global security, causing devastating human and economic losses. Over the past years from 2005 to 2022, the world has witnessed significant trends in terrorism, including an increase in the frequency of attacks in some regions and a decrease in others. Governments and security agencies worldwide have responded to this threat by implementing various national policies aimed at reducing the frequency of terrorist attacks.

Studying the combat of terrorism in Europe during these years can provide valuable insights into the effectiveness of various strategies and policies in the fight against terrorism. With the threat of terrorism continuing to be a major challenge for countries around the world, understanding how different approaches have played out in practice is crucial. Additionally, the European experience offers a unique perspective on the intersection of security, human rights, and democracy.

In the past decade, the threat of terrorism has become a major concern for countries around the world. Europe, in particular, has been hit hard by terrorist attacks, leading to increased attention on the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies. Previous research has examined various strategies and approaches to combat terrorism in Europe, shedding light on the strengths and weaknesses of different policies.

One of the most effective measures identified by previous research is increased surveillance and intelligence gathering. This approach, which involves monitoring individuals and groups suspected of having terrorist ties, has been successful in preventing attacks in some cases. For example, in the UK, MI5, the country's domestic intelligence agency, has been able to disrupt multiple terrorist plots through its surveillance efforts (BBC News, 2018). Similarly, in France,

intelligence agencies have used surveillance to foil several terrorist plots in recent years (Gardner & Willsher, 2018).

However, the use of surveillance and intelligence gathering has also raised concerns about privacy and civil liberties. Critics argue that these measures can be invasive and may lead to the unjust targeting of certain individuals or groups. In some cases, surveillance has also failed to prevent attacks, as was the case with the 2017 Manchester bombing, which occurred despite the perpetrator being on the radar of intelligence officials (The Guardian, 2018).

Other research has focused on the importance of community engagement and addressing the root causes of terrorism. This approach emphasizes the need to work with local communities and address underlying social and economic issues that can contribute to radicalization. For example, in Denmark, a program called “Exit” has been successful in helping individuals leave extremist groups and reintegrate into society (The New York Times, 2018). Similarly, in the UK, the government has launched a program called “Prevent” that aims to identify individuals at risk of radicalization and provide them with support and guidance ([GOV.UK](<http://gov.uk/>), 2015).

The effectiveness of counterterrorism policies in Europe remains a topic of debate and ongoing research. While some approaches have proven effective in preventing attacks, there is also a need to balance security concerns with the protection of human rights and democratic values. As the threat of terrorism continues to evolve, it will be important to continue examining the effectiveness of different strategies and policies in order to develop more nuanced and effective approaches to combating terrorism.

This section aims to examine the trends in terrorism from 2006 to 2022, with a particular focus on the increases and decreases in the frequency of attacks in European Union (EU) member nations. Furthermore, this study will comparatively analyze the national policies implemented by EU member nations to reduce the frequency of attacks. The paper will principally analyze the internal (national) and external (continental) factors that influenced decision-making in governments regarding their counter-terrorism policies.

To provide an empirical foundation for the study's findings, the analysis will draw on EUROPOL reports. By examining the effectiveness of various national policies and internal factors that influenced decision-making in governments, this research aims to contribute to the

growing body of literature on terrorism and inform policymakers on effective strategies for countering terrorism.

Understanding the trends and policies related to terrorism is crucial in the global fight against these violent acts. By conducting this research, we hope to provide important insights and recommendations that can help shape policies and practices to make nations safer and more secure. The decline of terrorism in Europe is an important and fascinating topic of research as it provides valuable insights into the efficacy of policies aimed at countering terrorist activities. By studying the decline of terrorism in Europe, we can better understand the factors that led to this decline and use this knowledge to develop effective counter-terrorism policies in other regions.

The historical and social relevance of this topic underscores the significance of understanding the factors that led to the decline of terrorism in Europe. By examining these factors, this study provides a framework for future research and policy-making procedures, highlighting the potential for the application of these policies in other regions facing similar challenges. Overall, this research on the decline of terrorism in Europe is a crucial step towards understanding the effectiveness of policies and strategies in countering terrorism globally.

The threat of terrorism has been a major concern for European Union (EU) member nations for several years now. In order to prevent terrorist attacks, various policies, security strategies, and measures have been put in place. However, there is still ongoing debate regarding their effectiveness. As such, it is important to conduct research to determine which policies, security strategies, and measures have been the most successful in reducing the frequency and success rate of terrorist attacks on EU territory. To accomplish this goal, the following research question will guide this study: *Which policies, security strategies, and measures implemented by European Union member nations have most effectively reduced the frequency or success rate of terrorist attacks on their territory, including completed, failed, and foiled attacks?* The study will examine a range of factors, including the types of policies and measures put in place, the level of funding provided for security efforts, and the effectiveness of intelligence gathering and sharing.

The study will analyze the effectiveness of various security strategies and measures, such as the use of enhanced surveillance technologies, the establishment of specialized counter-terrorism units, and the implementation of stricter border controls. Additionally, the study will

examine how these strategies and measures have been adapted to address specific types of terrorist threats.

The effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and strategies implemented by European Union (EU) member nations has been a topic of ongoing debate. In order to understand which policies and measures have been successful in reducing the frequency and success rate of terrorist attacks on EU territory, it is crucial to examine the types of policies and measures put in place, the effectiveness of intelligence gathering and sharing, and the level of funding provided for security efforts. This study will specifically focus on the continental and international counterterrorism policies of European Union member nations from 2006 to 2022, and the impact of policy shifts over time. By analyzing funding and policy shifts, this study aims to provide valuable insights for policymakers and security experts to develop evidence-based strategies to prevent and combat terrorism in the EU.

Therefore, the following research question aims to address these debates that refer to matters outside of the national borders: *Which and what changes have been made in the continental and international counterterrorism policies of European Union member nations from 2006 to 2022 and what have been the results of such policy shifts?*

With this, the study will examine various factors, including the types of policies and measures put in place, the level of funding provided for security efforts, and the effectiveness of intelligence gathering and sharing. By examining these factors, the study aims to provide valuable insights for policymakers and security experts regarding the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures.

The literature review and theoretical section of this document provide important context for understanding the variables that will be examined in the study. The literature review examines previous research on the securitization of terrorism and its implications for civil liberties and democratic governance. This review highlights the importance of critically examining the securitization of terrorism in Europe and its potential impact on society. The theoretical section of the document explores policy-making theory, which seeks to understand how policies are made and implemented. This section examines the factors that influence policy-making, such as the role of different actors, the political context, and the impact of external factors such as international norms and standards. By examining these factors, the theoretical section provides a framework for understanding how counterterrorism policies and measures have been

implemented in Europe and how they may be improved in the future. The variables that will be examined in the study include the types of policies and measures put in place, the level of funding provided for security efforts, and the effectiveness of intelligence gathering and sharing. By examining these variables, the study aims to provide valuable insights into the policies and measures that have been implemented and their potential impact on civil liberties and democratic governance. Therefore, it is possible to observe a connection between how the idea of what is urgent for a nation gets created through securitization (literature review), how policies are pushed and implemented to respond to the necessity (theoretical section), and the factors that influence the effectiveness of such policies (variables).

The results of this study will be of great importance to policymakers and security experts, as they will be able to use this information to develop evidence-based strategies to prevent and combat terrorism in the EU. Additionally, the study will help to identify areas where additional research is needed to further improve the effectiveness of anti-terrorism policies and measures.

To accomplish this, the paper will analyze the specific security strategies and measures that have been implemented by EU member nations and the changes that have been made in counter-terrorism policies. By reviewing the effectiveness of past policies, the paper hopes to gain a deeper understanding of which strategies and measures are most effective in countering terrorism. Additionally, it will examine the impact of EU-wide initiatives such as the establishment of a common framework for sharing intelligence and the development of coordinated responses to terrorist threats.

## 2. Literature Review

This dissertation is grounded in academic discourse, which will be examined in the subsequent chapter. The essay will analyze terrorist incidents and explore literature on securitization, policymaking theory, the theoretical framework of security threats, and structural violence, as well as post-colonial violence. Furthermore, the paper will discuss the latest literature on political and security policy changes in Europe, with a focus on counterterrorism measures. The study will conclude by identifying gaps in existing literature.

### 2.1 Securitization

The Copenhagen School of Security Studies argues that security threats are not objective but are constructed by political actors who frame an issue as a security threat through a speech act. This securitization process transforms a non-security issue into a security issue that requires exceptional measures and justifies the use of force (Buzan et al., 1998). In the case of terrorism, securitization has led to the prioritization of counter-terrorism policies at the national and international levels.

Foucault's concept of regimes of truth is also relevant to understanding the securitization of terrorism. Regimes of truth refer to the ways in which knowledge is produced, circulated, and legitimized within a particular social, political, and cultural context (Foucault, 1977). In the context of counterterrorism, regimes of truth have contributed to the construction of a particular narrative about terrorism as an existential threat to Western societies. This narrative has been used to legitimize the securitization of terrorism and the exceptional measures used to counter it.

Scholars have applied securitization theory to the topic of counterterrorism in Europe to understand how terrorism has been constructed as a security threat and how this has led to the implementation of exceptional policies and measures. One such scholar, Huysmans (2006), argues that the securitization of terrorism has led to the erosion of civil liberties and the normalization of exceptional policies and measures in the name of security. Similarly, Bigo (2002) argues that the securitization of terrorism has led to the emergence of a "security state" in which security concerns take precedence over all other policy considerations. These studies highlight the importance of critically examining the securitization of terrorism in Europe and its implications for civil liberties and democratic governance. By critically examining securitization theory and its application on the topic of counterterrorism in Europe, scholars

can gain valuable insights into the policies and measures that have been implemented and their potential impact on civil liberties and democratic governance.

Balzacq's securitization theory provides a framework for analyzing the process of securitization in more detail. According to this theory, securitization involves three stages: problem construction, audience mobilization, and policy response (Balzacq, 2005). In the case of terrorism, the problem of terrorism is constructed as a security threat, the audience is mobilized to support exceptional measures to counter terrorism, and policies are implemented to address the perceived threat.

Therefore, it can be hypothesized that the securitization of terrorism in the national perspective of EU Member nations has led to the prioritization of counter-terrorism policies, including the implementation of exceptional measures and the use of force. This securitization process has been legitimized by the construction of a particular narrative about terrorism as an existential threat to Western societies. Furthermore, securitization theory suggests that the securitization of terrorism involves problem construction, audience mobilization, and policy response. It can be hypothesized that the securitization of terrorism in the EU has involved these three stages, resulting in the prioritization of counter-terrorism policies.

Different sectors of security, such as the military, political, societal, and economic, have different ways of framing security threats. These sectors often have different priorities and interests, which can influence their approach to counter-terrorism policies.

The military sector may frame security threats in terms of military capabilities. In the context of terrorism, this sector may prioritize the use of force to eliminate terrorist groups and their infrastructure (Müller, 2019). The military sector may also be involved in international military operations aimed at disrupting terrorist activities in foreign countries. The use of military force can be controversial, however, as it can lead to civilian casualties and contribute to the radicalization of individuals (Pape, 2018).

The political sector may frame security threats in terms of political instability or terrorism (Tzanetakis & Tsekeris, 2018). This sector may prioritize the implementation of counter-terrorism policies aimed at preventing terrorist attacks and protecting national security. This can involve the development of laws and regulations that enhance surveillance, intelligence

gathering, and law enforcement activities. However, the implementation of such policies can also raise concerns about civil liberties and human rights (Lavenex & Uçarer, 2015).

The societal sector may frame security threats in terms of social unrest or crime. This sector may prioritize the promotion of social integration and the prevention of social exclusion as a means of reducing the risk of radicalization and terrorism (Koopmans & Statham, 2010). This can involve the development of programs aimed at promoting intercultural dialogue, community building, and civic engagement. The societal sector may also be involved in the provision of social services to communities at risk of radicalization.

The economic sector may frame security threats in terms of economic stability or financial crisis (De Grauwe, Ji, & Steinbach, 2018). This sector may prioritize the development of policies aimed at promoting economic growth, reducing poverty, and addressing inequality. This can involve the implementation of measures aimed at creating jobs, promoting entrepreneurship, and fostering innovation. The economic sector may also be involved in the provision of financial assistance and support to individuals and communities affected by terrorism or other security threats (Krause, 2012).

In the context of terrorism in the European Union, each of these sectors plays a vital role in countering terrorism. The military sector has been involved in international military operations aimed at disrupting terrorist activities in foreign countries, such as the fight against ISIS in Iraq and Syria. The political sector has implemented counter-terrorism policies aimed at preventing terrorist attacks and protecting national security, such as enhanced surveillance and intelligence gathering. The societal sector has promoted social integration and the prevention of social exclusion as a means of reducing the risk of radicalization and terrorism, such as the provision of programs aimed at promoting intercultural dialogue and community building. The economic sector has promoted economic growth, reduced poverty, and addressed inequality, which can contribute to reducing the social conditions that lead to terrorism.

The French Plan Vigipirate is a clear example of securitization in counterterrorism measures in Europe. According to Awan (2016), the securitization of counterterrorism measures in Europe, such as the French Plan Vigipirate, has led to the marginalization and stigmatization of Muslim communities. The plan was implemented in response to the wave of terrorist attacks in France and has been criticized for potentially eroding civil liberties and democratic values. The plan is characterized by a high level of visibility, with armed soldiers and police officers



patrolling public areas such as train stations and airports. This highly visible security presence is intended to deter potential terrorists and reassure the public, but it has also been criticized for its potential to create a culture of fear.

Awan argues that the securitization of terrorism has led to the construction of a binary opposition between "us" and "them," with Muslims being categorized as the "other" and targeted as potential terrorists, which has led to the marginalization and stigmatization of Muslim communities. This has implications for democratic governance and civil liberties, as the securitization of counterterrorism measures can lead to the normalization of exceptional policies and measures in the name of security.

This example of securitization is as well, relevant for the policy-making theory section as it highlights the potential consequences of prioritizing security concerns over other policy considerations.

## 2.2 Policymaking Theory

Policy-making theory is a multidisciplinary field that seeks to understand how policies are made and implemented. It involves examining the factors that influence policy-making, such as the role of different actors, the political context, and the impact of external factors such as international norms and standards. In the context of counterterrorism, policy-making theory can help to explain why certain policies and measures have been implemented, and how they have been implemented (Sabatier, 2007).

Different sectors of security, such as the military, political, societal, and economic, have different ways of framing security threats. These sectors often have different priorities and interests, which can influence their approach to counter-terrorism policies. For example, the military sector may prioritize the use of force to eliminate terrorist groups and their infrastructure, while the societal sector may prioritize the promotion of social integration and the prevention of social exclusion as a means of reducing the risk of radicalization and terrorism (Koopmans & Statham, 2010).

Policy implementation is a critical aspect of policy-making, and it involves translating policy goals into practice. The implementation of counterterrorism policies and measures in Europe

has been influenced by a range of factors, including the political context, administrative capacity, and public opinion (Hill & Hupe, 2002).

The policy-making process is also influenced by external factors, such as international norms and standards. International organizations, such as the United Nations and the European Union, play a key role in shaping counterterrorism policies and measures in Europe through the promotion of international norms and standards (Bures, 2015).

An important concept in policy-making theory is policy feedback. Policy feedback refers to the ways in which policy outcomes affect future policy decisions. In the context of counterterrorism, policy feedback can help to explain how past policy decisions have influenced current policies and measures, and how current policies and measures may affect future decisions (Pierson, 2000).

To understand the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures in Europe, it is important to examine the policies and measures that have been implemented and their impact on society. By examining a range of factors, including the types of policies and measures put in place, the level of funding provided for security efforts, and the effectiveness of intelligence gathering and sharing, scholars can gain valuable insights into the policies and measures that have been implemented and their potential impact on civil liberties and democratic governance (Bigo, 2002).

This theory plays a crucial role in shaping counterterrorism policies in the European Union (EU). The rational choice theory, for instance, suggests that policy makers should make decisions based on a cost-benefit analysis of available options. This theory has been used extensively in the EU's counterterrorism policies since 2005. By analyzing the costs and benefits of different approaches, policy makers can choose the most effective strategy to combat terrorism (Tombs & Whyte, 2018).

Moreover, the institutional theory emphasizes the importance of formal and informal rules, norms, and values in shaping policy outcomes. The EU has used this theory in developing its counterterrorism policies since 2005. The EU's institutional framework for counterterrorism, including the creation of Europol and Eurojust, reflects the institutional theory's emphasis on formal rules and procedures (Kostakos, 2015).

The social constructivist theory highlights the importance of norms, values, and ideas in shaping policy outcomes. In the EU's counterterrorism policies, this theory has been used to promote the importance of human rights and civil liberties while combating terrorism. The EU's emphasis on the rule of law, democracy, and human rights in its counterterrorism policies reflects this social constructivist perspective (Hofmann, 2018).

By critically examining policy-making theory and its application in the context of counterterrorism in Europe, scholars can identify areas where additional research is needed to further improve the effectiveness of anti-terrorism policies and measures. This can help to develop evidence-based strategies to prevent and combat terrorism in the EU, and to ensure that counterterrorism policies and measures are consistent with democratic values and human rights (Lavenex & Uçarer, 2015).

### 2.3 Structural Violence and Post-colonial Violence

Structural violence and post-colonial violence are two factors that have been linked to the rise of terrorism and the implementation of counterterrorism measures in the European Union (EU). Structural violence refers to the ways in which social structures and institutions perpetuate inequalities and injustices, leading to the marginalization and oppression of certain groups. This includes the unequal distribution of resources, opportunities, and power, as well as discrimination and prejudice based on race, gender, religion, or other characteristics (Galtung, 1969). Post-colonial violence, on the other hand, refers to the violence that has been perpetrated against colonized peoples and their descendants, often in the name of national security or counter-terrorism. This includes the use of force, torture, detention, and other forms of coercion to suppress dissent and maintain control over territories and populations (Fanon, 1963).

Terrorism can be seen as a response to structural violence and post-colonial violence, as marginalized groups seek to challenge the status quo and assert their rights and autonomy. This can take the form of political violence, such as bombings, assassinations, and kidnappings, as well as nonviolent resistance, such as demonstrations, strikes, and boycotts (Gunning, 2007). The implementation of counterterrorism measures in response to terrorism can often exacerbate these issues, as they can lead to the further marginalization and oppression of certain groups.

Structural violence refers to the ways in which social structures and institutions perpetuate inequalities and injustices, leading to the marginalization and oppression of certain groups

(Galtung, 1969). In the context of counter-terrorism, structural violence can take many forms, including discrimination, harassment, surveillance, and the infringement of civil liberties and human rights.

In Germany, the securitization of counter-terrorism measures has led to the marginalization and stigmatization of Muslim communities (Awan, 2016). The German government has been criticized for its use of surveillance and profiling in the name of counter-terrorism, which has led to the targeting of Muslims based on their religious and ethnic background. Additionally, the German government has implemented policies aimed at preventing the radicalization of young Muslims, which have been criticized for their potential to perpetuate stereotypes and stigmatize Muslim communities.

In Spain, the securitization of counter-terrorism measures has been linked to the eroding of civil liberties and democratic governance (Huysmans, 2006). The Spanish government has implemented a range of policies aimed at combating terrorism, including the use of surveillance, intelligence gathering, and law enforcement activities. However, these policies have often been criticized for their impact on civil liberties and human rights. For example, the Spanish government has been accused of using torture and other forms of coercion in the name of counterterrorism, which has contributed to the normalization of exceptional policies and measures.

In France, the securitization of counter-terrorism measures has led to the marginalization and stigmatization of Muslim communities (Awan, 2016). The French government has implemented a range of policies aimed at combating terrorism, including the implementation of the Plan Vigipirate, which has been criticized for its potential to create a culture of fear and target Muslims based on their religious and ethnic background. Additionally, the French government has been accused of using exceptional policies and measures, such as the state of emergency, to erode civil liberties and democratic governance.

In the UK, the securitization of counter-terrorism measures has been linked to the infringement of civil liberties and human rights (Bigo, 2002). The UK government has implemented a range of policies aimed at combating terrorism, including the use of surveillance, intelligence gathering, and law enforcement activities. However, these policies have often been criticized for their impact on civil liberties and human rights. For example, the UK government has been

accused of using exceptional policies and measures, such as indefinite detention without trial, to erode civil liberties and democratic governance.

In Belgium, the securitization of counter-terrorism measures has led to the marginalization and stigmatization of Muslim communities (Awan, 2016). The Belgian government has implemented a range of policies aimed at combating terrorism, including the use of surveillance, intelligence gathering, and law enforcement activities. However, these policies have often been criticized for their impact on civil liberties and human rights. For example, the Belgian government has been accused of using exceptional policies and measures, such as the mass detention of suspects, to erode civil liberties and democratic governance.

Counterterrorism measures themselves can also be seen as a form of structural violence, as they often involve the use of force and the infringement of civil liberties and human rights. The securitization of terrorism and the implementation of exceptional policies and measures in the name of security can contribute to the normalization of structural violence and the erosion of democratic governance. This can include the expansion of police powers, the use of military force, the restriction of free speech and assembly, and the curtailment of privacy and due process rights (Huysmans, 2006). Additionally, the prioritization of counterterrorism policies and measures over other policy considerations can lead to the neglect of issues such as social exclusion, poverty, and inequality, which can contribute to the perpetuation of structural violence and the marginalization of certain groups. This can result in a vicious cycle of violence and repression, in which counterterrorism measures create more grievances and resentment, leading to further violence and repression (Koopmans & Statham, 2010).

Terrorism in the European Union is a complex issue that has many root causes, one of which is post-colonial violence. It has been argued that the legacy of colonialism and its aftermath is linked to the root causes of terrorism, as stated by Mamdani (2004) who argues that "terrorism is a product of the colonial encounter, a legacy of colonialism that continues to haunt the post-colonial world." This is particularly relevant for countries such as France, which has a history of colonialism in North Africa. The marginalization of North African immigrants in France has been identified as one of the factors behind the rise of terrorism in the country.

The rise of terrorism in the European Union has led to the implementation of counterterrorism policies that have often been criticized for being discriminatory towards Muslim communities. These policies have often entailed racial profiling, surveillance, and other forms of

discrimination. For instance, the United Kingdom's Prevent strategy has been criticized for stigmatizing Muslim communities and creating an environment of distrust (Karim, 2018). Similarly, France's state of emergency that was imposed after the 2015 Paris attacks has been criticized for its impact on civil liberties and its focus on Muslim communities (Amnesty International, 2016).

In addition to discriminatory counterterrorism policies, EU member states have also been criticized for their role in perpetuating violence in the countries that have been affected by terrorism. For example, the United Kingdom's foreign policy in the Middle East has been criticized for increasing the risk of terrorism (Blair, 2015). Similarly, France's intervention in Mali has been criticized for fueling the conflict in the region (Human Rights Watch, 2020). This has led to an increase in terrorist activities and has contributed to the spread of Islamophobia in the EU.

To address these issues, it is important to critically examine the root causes of terrorism and the impact of counterterrorism policies and measures on society. This requires a multidisciplinary approach that combines insights from political science, sociology, psychology, anthropology, and other fields. By identifying the factors that contribute to the marginalization and oppression of certain groups, policymakers and security experts can develop evidence-based strategies to prevent and combat terrorism in the EU that are consistent with democratic values and human rights. This can include policies and measures aimed at reducing social exclusion, poverty, and inequality, promoting intercultural dialogue and understanding, and fostering civic engagement and participation (Koopmans & Statham, 2010). Additionally, by engaging in critical dialogue and reflection, policymakers and security experts can challenge the assumptions and biases that underlie the securitization of terrorism and the implementation of exceptional policies and measures. This can help to ensure that counterterrorism policies and measures are grounded in democratic principles and human rights, and that they do not contribute to the perpetuation of structural violence and post-colonial violence (Lavenex & Uçarer, 2015).

## 2.4 Gaps in the literature

This section provides an updated view of the political and security policy changes that have prompted a lower incidence of terrorism across the European Union (EU). According to various studies, several factors have influenced the decline of terrorism in the EU. For example, Skare

(2022) analyzed the strategy change from EU member nations that prioritized their own security over the promotion of democratization in multiple Middle Eastern and Northern African countries. Tründinger and Ziller (2022) evaluated the influence of terrorism and terrorist threats over policy change, notably on surveillance. Tripathi (2022) referred to the impact of terrorists on immigration policies in some EU countries.

However, no research has carefully analyzed the impact of specific security policy changes, such as intelligence sharing, law enforcement cooperation, border security, deradicalization programs, military action, and counterpropaganda, on terrorist activities across all EU nations. While some studies have exclusively focused on the decline of terrorism in the Middle East and North Africa or the new politics of European countries, they mostly fail to represent the causes and consequences of the distinct strategies implemented in the region. It is essential to understand how these strategies have contributed to the considerable decrease in attacks and a substantial amount of arrests of perpetrators in 2021. By analyzing the factors that led to the decline of terrorism in the EU, this study aims to provide insights into the development of effective counter-terrorism policies in other regions. Additionally, this research is relevant for scholars and researchers who seek to contribute to the growing body of literature on terrorism and its implications for global security.

Other studies have also shed light on the various factors that contributed to the decline of terrorism in Europe. For instance, Enders and Sandler (2012) argued that economic growth and development can lead to a decline in terrorism. They found that a 1% increase in per capita GDP can reduce the likelihood of terrorist attacks by 8.3%. Similarly, Krieger and Meierrieks (2010) concluded that political institutions and good governance can significantly reduce the frequency of terrorist attacks. They found that countries with more democratic regimes and better governance structures experience fewer terrorist attacks.

Moreover, some studies have highlighted the importance of countering extremist ideologies and promoting social integration in reducing terrorism. For instance, Gurr and Cole (2014) argued that addressing social grievances and promoting inclusive governance can reduce the appeal of extremist ideologies. Similarly, Wiktorowicz and Kaltwasser (2022) emphasized the need to promote social integration and prevent social exclusion as a means of reducing the risk of radicalization and terrorism.

In addition, some scholars have emphasized the importance of international cooperation and coordination in the fight against terrorism. For instance, Wilkinson and Hall (2019) argued that

intelligence sharing, and law enforcement cooperation can significantly reduce the frequency of terrorist attacks. They found that countries that share intelligence and cooperate on law enforcement have experienced fewer terrorist incidents.

Some scholars have emphasized the importance of international cooperation and coordination in the fight against terrorism. For instance, Wilkinson and Hall (2019) argued that intelligence sharing, and law enforcement cooperation can significantly reduce the frequency of terrorist attacks. They found that countries that share intelligence and cooperate on law enforcement have experienced fewer terrorist incidents.

Several scholars have examined the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures in the European Union (EU). For example, Kaunert et al. (2014) conducted a study on the effectiveness of counterterrorism in the EU, focusing on the role of EU institutions in shaping counterterrorism policy. They found that EU institutions have played a key role in promoting the development of counterterrorism policies and measures in the EU, but that the effectiveness of these policies has been limited by a lack of coordination and cooperation among member states.

Another study, conducted by Schuurman and Bakker (2017), examined the effectiveness of counterterrorism measures in the Netherlands. They found that while counterterrorism measures have contributed to a reduction in the number of terrorist attacks in the Netherlands, they have also had negative consequences, such as the stigmatization and marginalization of Muslim communities. Similarly, a study by Fink and Kosiara-Pedersen (2017) examined the effectiveness of counterterrorism measures in Denmark. They found that while these measures have contributed to an increase in security, they have also had negative consequences, such as the erosion of civil liberties and democratic governance. Finally, a study by Murphy and Cherney (2016) examined the effectiveness of counterterrorism measures in Australia. They found that while these measures have contributed to an increase in security, they have also had negative consequences, such as the infringement of civil liberties and human rights.

Certainly, all of the previously mentioned research papers have extensively studied the impact that counterterrorism policies have had in multiple nations. However, it could be argued, that they have now become outdated and there exists a need to delve into more recent examples and outcomes.



The decline of terrorism in Europe is a complex phenomenon that can be attributed to various factors, including economic growth, good governance, countering extremist ideologies, promoting social integration, and international cooperation. By analyzing these factors, this study aims to provide insights into the development of effective counter-terrorism policies in other regions.

The decline of terrorism in Europe is a complex phenomenon that can be attributed to various factors, including economic growth, good governance, countering extremist ideologies, promoting social integration, and international cooperation. By analyzing these factors, this study aims to provide insights into the development of effective counter-terrorism policies in other regions.

### **3. Theoretical Considerations**

This section of the paper comprises the definition of the terms that will be used further in the research. Some key elements that will be highlighted across the theoretical considerations are the definitions of terrorist attacks (including the framing of failed, foiled, and completed), the detailing of security policies, framing the considerations of investment in security policies and the inclusion of the formulation of the hypotheses.

#### **3.1 Terrorist Attacks**

A terrorist attack can be defined as an act of violence or intimidation that is carried out with the aim of achieving political or ideological goals (Schmid, 2011). According to the European Union law definition of terrorism, terrorist offenses are acts committed with the aim of seriously intimidating a population, unduly compelling a government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act, and seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization.

Terrorist attacks can take many forms, including bombings, shootings, and hijackings (Hoffman, 2006). The goal of a terrorist attack is typically to create fear and panic within a population, and to draw attention to a particular cause or ideology. In recent years, terrorist attacks have become more frequent and more sophisticated, as terrorist groups have adapted to new technologies and tactics (Bakker & De Graaf, 2010).

The impact of a terrorist attack can be devastating, both in terms of the loss of life and the damage to infrastructure and property (Enders & Sandler, 2012). The psychological effects of a terrorist attack can also be profound, as individuals and communities struggle to cope with the aftermath of the attack. In addition, terrorist attacks can have long-lasting political and social consequences, as governments may respond with increased security measures and the erosion of civil liberties and human rights (Lavenex & Uçarer, 2015).

Despite the devastating impact of terrorist attacks, it is important to recognize that not all acts of violence or intimidation can be classified as terrorism (Schmid, 2011). The European Union law definition of terrorism is a useful starting point for understanding the characteristics of

terrorist offenses, but it is important to examine each case on its own merits to determine whether it meets the criteria for terrorism.

Additionally, EUROPOL classifies solely jihadist terrorism as a main priority for the European Union member nations. More precisely, the organization declares:

The main concern of Member States is jihadist terrorism and the closely related phenomenon of foreign terrorist fighters who travel to and from conflict zones. The carefully planned attacks continue to demonstrate the elevated threat to the EU from an extremist minority, operationally based in the Middle East, combined with a network of people born and raised in the EU, often radicalised within a short space of time, who have proven willing and able to act as facilitators and active accomplices in terrorism. (EUROPOL, 2021)

In what respects to the labeling of the failed, foiled and completed terrorist attacks, this paper will observe the definitions provided, once again, by the primary source used for the analysis of the data, EUROPOL. According to the organization, a completed terrorist attack is one in which the terrorists have successfully carried out their attack and caused harm or damage. A foiled terrorist attack is one in which the terrorists have been prevented from carrying out their attack due to law enforcement intervention or other factors. A failed terrorist attack is one in which the terrorists attempted to carry out their attack but were unsuccessful, either due to technical difficulties or other factors outside of law enforcement intervention (Europol, 2021). It is important to distinguish between these different types of attacks in order to understand the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures, as well as to identify areas for further improvement.

In conclusion, a terrorist attack can be defined as an act of violence or intimidation that is carried out with the aim of achieving political or ideological goals. The European Union law definition of terrorism, the use of EUROPOL's classification of terrorist attacks, together with the previously mentioned priority of the organization, provides a useful framework for understanding the characteristics of terrorist offenses, but it is important to examine each case on its own merits to determine whether it meets the criteria for terrorism.

### 3.2 Security Policies

Security policies are a crucial aspect of modern governance, particularly in the context of counterterrorism. Scholars have conducted extensive research on the effectiveness of security

policies and measures in the European Union (EU), focusing on the role of EU institutions in shaping counterterrorism policy, the impact of counterterrorism measures on society, and the potential for unintended consequences and negative side effects.

Kaunert et al. (2014) conducted a study on the effectiveness of counterterrorism in the EU, focusing on the role of EU institutions in shaping counterterrorism policy. They found that EU institutions have played a key role in promoting the development of counterterrorism policies and measures in the EU, but that the effectiveness of these policies has been limited by a lack of coordination and cooperation among member states. This highlights the need for greater collaboration and harmonization of policies across the EU, in order to develop more effective and coherent security strategies.

Another study by Schuurman and Bakker (2017) examined the effectiveness of counterterrorism measures in the Netherlands. They found that while counterterrorism measures have contributed to a reduction in the number of terrorist attacks in the Netherlands, they have also had negative consequences, such as the stigmatization and marginalization of Muslim communities. This highlights the potential for unintended consequences and negative side effects of security policies, and the need to carefully balance security concerns with other policy considerations, such as civil liberties and human rights.

Similarly, a study by Fink and Kosiara-Pedersen (2017) examined the effectiveness of counterterrorism measures in Denmark. They found that while these measures have contributed to an increase in security, they have also had negative consequences, such as the erosion of civil liberties and democratic governance. This highlights the importance of assessing the trade-offs between security and other policy goals, and the need to develop evidence-based strategies that are consistent with democratic values and human rights.

In order to measure the effectiveness of security policies, scholars have proposed various frameworks and indicators. For example, the Global Terrorism Index (GTI) is a comprehensive index that measures the impact of terrorism over time and across different regions. The GTI takes into account a range of factors, including the number of terrorist incidents, the number of fatalities and injuries, and the economic impact of terrorism (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2021). The GTI provides a useful tool for assessing the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures, and for identifying areas where further improvement is needed.

Another framework for measuring the effectiveness of security policies is the Three Pillars of Security framework, which was developed by Buzan et al. (1998). The Three Pillars of Security framework consists of three pillars: military security, economic security, and societal security. Each pillar represents a different aspect of security, and together they provide a comprehensive framework for understanding the effectiveness of security policies. This framework highlights the importance of taking a holistic approach to security, and of considering a range of factors that contribute to security and insecurity.

The effectiveness of security policies can also be measured using a range of indicators, such as the number of terrorist incidents, the number of fatalities and injuries, and the economic impact of terrorism. Other indicators may include the level of public support for security policies, the level of trust in law enforcement and security agencies, and the level of cooperation and coordination among different sectors of security. By using a range of indicators, policymakers and security experts can develop a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the effectiveness of security policies and measures.

In conclusion, security policies are a crucial aspect of modern governance, particularly in the context of counterterrorism. Scholars have conducted extensive research on the effectiveness of security policies and measures in the EU, and have proposed various frameworks and indicators for assessing their effectiveness. By taking a holistic approach to security and carefully balancing security concerns with other policy considerations, policymakers and security experts can develop evidence-based strategies that are consistent with democratic values and human rights.

### 3.3 Formulation of Hypotheses

Reviewing the previously mentioned arguments it is possible to observe and determine the foundations upon which this thesis is constructed. It has been determined that the European Union and, as a consequence, the European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation have a common agenda for the combating of terrorism. Likewise, the theoretical foundations observe the different mechanisms through which policies could be evaluated and measured as effective or not. Therefore, it is possible to reach a couple hypotheses this paper will deal with:

H1: *The implementation of changes in security policies across European Union member nations has led to a direct and positive reduction in the frequency and success rate of terrorist attacks within their territory.*

This hypothesis suggests that changes in security policies have a direct impact on the frequency and success rate of terrorist attacks in European Union member nations. The hypothesis implies that changes in security policies have the potential to reduce the occurrence of terrorist attacks and to mitigate their impact. If this hypothesis is true, it would suggest that policymakers and security experts could play an important role in preventing and combating terrorism by developing effective security policies.

While there is some evidence to suggest that changes in security policies can have a positive impact on the occurrence of terrorist attacks, the relationship between security policies and terrorism is complex and multifaceted. To test this hypothesis, the paper will gather data on changes in security policies across European Union member nations and the frequency and success rate of terrorist attacks in these nations over time. The purpose of this hypothesis is to analyze the data to determine whether there is a correlation between changes in security policies and the occurrence of terrorist attacks.

H2: *The difference in security, intelligence, and surveillance investments as well as policies between the nations in the European Union has produced varying results in the reduction terrorist attacks.*

H2 aims at studying how the differences in security, intelligence, and surveillance investments and policies between nations in the European Union have contributed to varying levels of success in reducing terrorist attacks. The hypothesis implies that some nations may be more effective in preventing and combating terrorism than others, due to differences in their security policies and investment in security measures. If this hypothesis is true, it would suggest that policymakers and security experts could learn from the success of nations across the world with effective security policies to develop more effective strategies for preventing and combating terrorism.

To test this hypothesis, the paper will gather data on security, intelligence, and surveillance investments and policies across nations in the European Union, as well as data on the frequency and success rate of terrorist attacks in these nations over time with the help of the results of H1. The data will help determine whether there is a correlation between differences in security, intelligence, and surveillance investments and policies and the occurrence of terrorist attacks.

## 4. Methodology

Throughout this chapter, the paper will refer to its methodological considerations. Following the introduction of the data section, the paper will determine and limit the variables used, finally it will discuss the employed method together with the potential limitations.

### 4.1 Data

This paper used data gathered manually by the author, mainly from the EUROPOL database published yearly on the EU Terrorism Situation & Trend Report (TE-SAT). These publications have been made available to the public since the year 2007, reporting on the previous calendar year (2006) and the latest, at the time of writing, was reported on June of 2023. Therefore, the interval chosen comprises all the available reports from the organization. This paper has carefully analyzed the available information and will rely on the official numbers as informal declarations could not be verified.

The data sources chosen for this study are the best sources of information for analyzing the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures in the European Union. These sources have been carefully selected to provide a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics of terrorism and security in the EU, taking into account a range of factors that contribute to security and insecurity. For a comprehensive study of counterterrorism policies and measures in the European Union, a variety of data sources were used to provide a more nuanced and holistic understanding of the complex dynamics of terrorism and security. The data sources that were used for this study include government reports and statistics on terrorist incidents, security policies, and law enforcement activities, academic articles and research papers on counterterrorism policies and measures in the EU, data from international organizations such as the Global Terrorism Index, together with the previously mentioned EUROPOL reports.

The use of government reports and statistics can provide an overview of the frequency and severity of terrorist incidents in different EU member states, as well as information on the policies and measures implemented in response. Publicly available data on general government budget expenditures and other forms of indicators from Eurostat, will result useful for the creation of datasets. Academic articles, graphics and research papers can provide more in-depth analyses of the effectiveness of these policies and measures, as well as insights into the

underlying causes of terrorism and potential strategies for prevention and intervention. Data from international organizations can provide comparative analysis of counterterrorism efforts across different countries and identify best practices for policy development and implementation.

To collect the data of every EUROPOL TE-SAT available from 2007 onwards, a systematic approach was taken. First, all publicly available EUROPOL TE-SAT reports were identified through online searches and by reviewing relevant databases. Next, the reports were downloaded and organized into a database, with each report assigned a unique identifier and tagged with relevant metadata (such as the year of publication, the country or region covered by the report, and the type of terrorist threat or incident discussed). Finally, the data in the database was analyzed using statistical techniques and other methods to identify trends and patterns in the data, as well as to identify areas for further research and policy development. This approach allowed for a comprehensive and systematic analysis of the data, and helped to ensure that the findings were robust and reliable. As part of this analysis, the researchers have used data from EUROPOL's TE-SAT reports to examine the number of failed, foiled, and completed terrorist attacks in the EU on a yearly basis. (Table 1)

GEO (Labels)	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	TOTALS
Austria	1	1	6	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	18
Belgium	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	4	2	1	1	2	1	3	18
Bulgaria	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
Czechia	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3
Denmark	0	1	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	12
Finland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
France	294	267	147	95	84	85	125	63	52	73	23	54	30	7	15	5	6	1425
Germany	13	20	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	2	2	3	6	3	1	56
Greece	25	2	14	15	21	6	1	14	7	4	6	8	7	4	0	0	4	138
Hungary	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5
Ireland	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Italy	11	9	9	3	8	5	11	7	12	4	17	14	13	28	24	0	12	187
Lithuania	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	2	0	0	0	7
Poland	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Portugal	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Slovakia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Spain	145	279	263	171	90	47	54	33	18	25	10	16	11	3	9	1	1	1176
Sweden	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	5
UK	5	2	74	0	40	26	24	35	109	103	76	107	60	64	4	1	1	731
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>498</b>	<b>583</b>	<b>515</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>219</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>3795</b>

Table 1: Annual Number of Failed, Foiled and Completed Terrorist Attacks in EU member nations

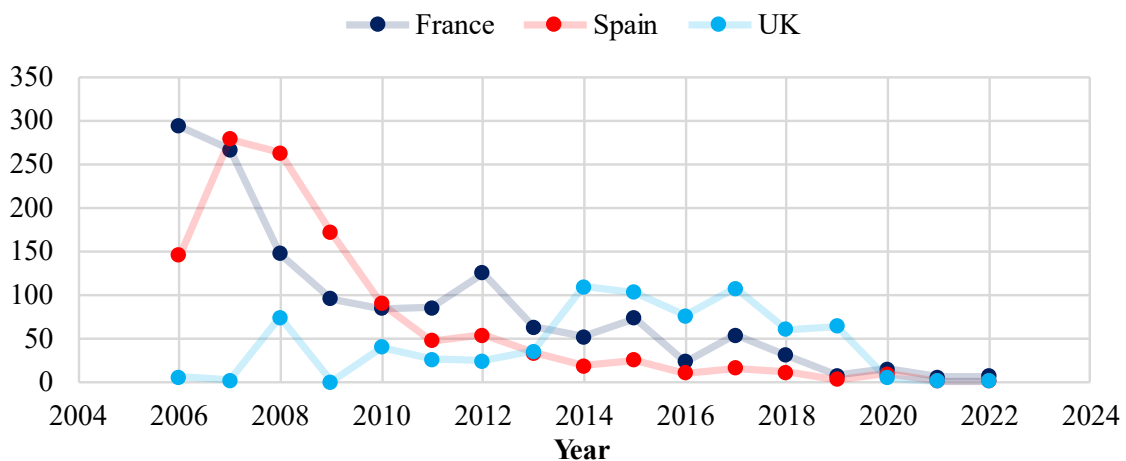
From the content of this table it is possible to observe that, according to the EUROPOL's TESAT reports, France experienced the highest number of failed, foiled, and completed terrorist attacks in the EU from 2006-2022, with a total of 1425 incidents. This is a concerning number and highlights the ongoing threat of terrorism in the EU. Spain came in second, with 1176 incidents, followed by the UK with 731 incidents, Italy with 187 incidents, and Germany with 138 incidents. These numbers underline the importance of effective counterterrorism



policies and measures to prevent and combat terrorist attacks. France’s number represents 38% of the total amount of terrorist attacks in the European Union between 2006 and 2022. Spain follows with a 31% of the total, and the United Kingdom with a 19%.

The data also reveals that from 2006 to 2007, Europol registered the highest increase in terrorist activities with 85 new failed, foiled, and completed terrorist attacks. This was followed by an increase in 2017 of 63, as well as in 2014 and 2012 with 47 and 45 new terrorist attacks respectively.

## Annual Number of Failed, Foiled and Completed Terrorist Attacks in selected EU Members



*Figure 1: Scatter with Lines and Markers of the 3 most affected EU Members*

The data obtained from EUROSTAT on Annual General Government Expenses on Defense, Public order and Safety in GDP Percentage will be essential for testing Hypothesis 2, which proposes that differences in security, intelligence, and surveillance investments and policies between nations in the European Union have contributed to varying levels of success in reducing terrorist attacks. By analyzing this data, researchers can gain insight into the level of investment in security measures across different EU member states and the potential impact of these investments on the occurrence of terrorist attacks. It should be noted that data is only available up to the year 2021.

The data on Annual General Government Expenses on Defence, Public order and Safety in GDP Percentage can help to identify which nations are investing the most in security measures

and which nations may be lagging behind in terms of investment. This information can be used to identify best practices and to develop evidence-based strategies for improving security measures in nations where investment is relatively low. In addition, the data can be used to analyze the impact of investment in security measures on the occurrence of terrorist attacks, providing policymakers and security experts with a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the relationship between security policies and terrorism.

GEO (Labels)	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Austria	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.	2.	1.9	2.	2.
Belgium	2.7	2.7	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.7
Bulgaria	4.2	4.2	3.8	4.	4.2	3.5	3.2	3.8	4.1	4.1	3.4	3.6	3.7	3.9	4.2	4.3
Czechia	3.1	3.	2.9	3.	2.9	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.7	2.4	2.5	2.8	2.8	3.1	3.
Denmark	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2
Finland	2.6	2.6	2.6	3.0	3.0	2.7	2.9	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.6	2.4
France	3.3	3.2	3.2	3.6	3.6	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.7	3.5
Germany	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.8
Greece	4.0	4.3	4.6	5.1	4.5	4.2	4.3	4.1	4.8	4.6	4.3	4.6	4.6	4.1	5.0	5.0
Hungary	3.4	3.3	3.	2.8	3.	3.	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.7	3.1	3.4	3.1	3.1	3.2	2.9
Ireland	1.8	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.
Italy	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.5	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.4	3.3
Lithuania	3.3	3.4	3.1	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.7	2.9	3.	3.1	3.1	3.	3.8	3.1
Netherlands	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.4	3.2	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.3	3.3
Poland	3.8	4.2	4.3	3.9	4.1	3.9	3.8	4.	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.7	4.	3.8
Portugal	3.2	3.0	3.	3.5	3.9	3.2	3.	3.1	2.9	2.9	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.7	2.6
Slovakia	3.2	3.	3.1	3.6	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.5	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.1	3.2	3.4	3.7	3.6
Spain	2.8	2.9	3.0	3.1	3.3	3.2	2.9	3.0	2.9	3.0	2.9	2.7	2.7	2.6	3.0	3.0
Sweden	3.	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.8	2.6

Table 2: Annual General Government Expenses on Defense + Public order and Safety in GDP Percentage

From Table 2 it is possible to observe that, in average, the countries who spend the most on Defense and Public order and Safety as a percentage of their GDP are Greece (4.5%), Bulgaria (3.9%), Poland (3.9%), and France (3.4%).

Including data on arrests of individuals suspected of terrorism from EUROPOL's TE-SAT in this paper can provide valuable insight into the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures in the European Union. By analyzing both the number of arrests and the number of failed, foiled, and completed attacks, policymakers and security experts can identify gaps in the security measures in place, as well as adapt and develop more targeted and effective security measures to prevent and combat terrorist attacks. Moreover, this data can help to identify underlying factors contributing to the occurrence of terrorism, such as social exclusion, political grievances, or other factors that can be addressed by current policies and measures.

Member State	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	TOTALS
Austria	1	8	6	8	5	2	2	3	31	49	34	48	35	45	20	24	17	338
Belgium	14	10	0	4	20	4	8	20	72	61	65	50	166	99	52	32	23	700
Bulgaria	0	4	0	1	0	3	10	15	21	21	5	14	14	11	2	0	1	122
Croatia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3
Cyprus	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	10
Czechia	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	1	1	5	2	1	2	4	2	0	0	26
Denmark	6	9	0	0	6	7	5	0	1	0	8	17	3	21	4	9	7	103
Estonia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Finland	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	4	3	0	9	0	0	2	5	1	28
France	342	409	147	315	219	172	186	225	238	424	456	411	310	224	155	140	109	4482
Germany	20	15	0	5	25	30	8	11	18	40	35	58	59	35	67	34	75	535
Greece	0	0	14	5	18	15	3	23	13	29	17	15	22	7	12	6	3	202
Hungary	0	0	0	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	4	2	0	25
Ireland	4	24	2	31	62	69	66	41	27	41	17	11	0	5	0	14	19	433
Italy	59	44	9	29	29	30	43	14	39	40	38	39	56	132	42	40	45	728
Latvia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Lithuania	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3
Luxembourg	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Malta	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netherlands	6	16	0	1	39	3	62	6	17	20	45	35	49	37	20	17	24	397
Poland	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	14	4	6	2	2	4	0	3	0	40
Portugal	0	32	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	1	45
Romania	0	3	0	0	16	4	16	8	0	11	1	2	2	4	0	2	4	73
Slovakia	3	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	10
Slovenia	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	6
Spain	85	261	263	169	118	64	38	90	145	187	120	91	52	91	0	3	48	1825
Sweden	3	2	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	3	3	1	7	0	0	3	2	32
UK	156	203	74	0	45	62	84	77	132	134	149	412	273	281	0	0	0	2082
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>703</b>	<b>1044</b>	<b>515</b>	<b>586</b>	<b>611</b>	<b>484</b>	<b>537</b>	<b>535</b>	<b>774</b>	<b>1077</b>	<b>1002</b>	<b>1219</b>	<b>1056</b>	<b>1004</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>344</b>	<b>380</b>	<b>12255</b>

Table 3: Number of Suspects Arrested of Terrorism in EU Member nations.

From Table 3 it is possible to observe that the French authorities have arrested the highest amount of suspects of terrorism, contributing 37% to the total of the EU member nations (note that the United Kingdom provided information to EUROPOL up to 2019), Spain on the other hand sits at 1825 arrests, a significantly lower amount than that of its neighbor.

Various research papers have addressed the counterterrorism policies implemented by the French government during this period. For instance, Bakker (2017) pointed out that the French government has strengthened national security laws, created new offenses related to terrorism, and increased the use of surveillance technologies such as CCTV cameras and internet monitoring. The implementation of community policing programs aimed at building stronger relationships between law enforcement and local communities has also been identified as a counterterrorism policy (Schuurman & Bakker, 2017).

In addition, Schuurman and Bakker (2017) noted the use of social media and other online platforms to monitor and disrupt terrorist activity, while Bakker (2017) highlighted the development of programs aimed at countering radicalization and promoting social inclusion. Furthermore, Kaunert et al. (2014) observed the deployment of military personnel to assist with domestic counterterrorism efforts. These policies demonstrate the range of approaches taken by the French government to prevent and combat terrorism, including the use of both hard and soft power strategies. However, as noted in the document, the effectiveness of these policies has been limited by a lack of coordination and cooperation among member states (Kaunert et

al., 2014), highlighting the need for greater collaboration and harmonization of policies across the EU.

Germany has implemented a number of counterterrorism policies in recent years aimed at preventing and combating terrorist attacks. Together with the United Kingdom, these policies include the use of surveillance technologies such as CCTV cameras and internet monitoring, as well as increased police presence in public spaces (Bakker, 2017). Additionally, the German government has strengthened national security laws and created new offenses related to terrorism (Schuurman & Bakker, 2017).

Spain has also implemented a range of counterterrorism policies, including the use of surveillance technologies and increased police presence in public spaces (Bakker, 2017). The Spanish government has also developed programs aimed at countering radicalization and promoting social inclusion, as well as working closely with other member states and international organizations to share intelligence and coordinate counterterrorism efforts (Schuurman & Bakker, 2017).

The UK government has also developed programs aimed at countering radicalization and promoting social inclusion, such as the Prevent program, which is designed to identify individuals who may be at risk of radicalization and provide them with support and guidance (Bakker, 2017). Despite these efforts, the UK has continued to experience a significant number of terrorist attacks, highlighting the ongoing challenge of preventing and combating terrorism.

## 4.2 Variables

The variables of number of failed, foiled and completed attacks, number of arrests, Annual General Government Expenses on Defence, Public order and Safety in GDP Percentage, national and continental counterterrorist policies are all interconnected and provide valuable insights into the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures in the European Union.

The number of failed, foiled, and completed attacks can be analyzed in conjunction with the number of arrests related to terrorism per country to gain a better understanding of the effectiveness of different counterterrorism measures and policies. For example, a high number of arrests but a low number of failed, foiled, and completed attacks may suggest that a country's security measures are effective in preventing attacks before they can occur. On the other hand,

a low number of arrests but a high number of failed, foiled, and completed attacks may suggest that a country's security measures are not effectively targeting potential terrorists.

Moreover, the data on Annual General Government Expenses on Defence, Public order and Safety in GDP Percentage can be used to identify which nations are investing the most in security measures and which nations may be lagging behind in terms of investment. This information can be used to identify best practices and to develop evidence-based strategies for improving security measures in nations where investment is relatively low. In addition, the data can be used to analyze the impact of investment in security measures on the occurrence of terrorist attacks, providing policymakers and security experts with a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the relationship between security policies and terrorism.

It is important to note that Annual General Government Expenses on Defence, Public order and Safety in GDP Percentage can potentially have a positive impact on the effectiveness of counterterrorism measures. Countries that invest more in security measures may have a better chance of detecting and preventing terrorist attacks, as they have more resources at their disposal. However, it is also important to consider that investment in security measures must be balanced with other priorities, such as healthcare, education, and social welfare.

National and continental counterterrorist policies also play a significant role in the effectiveness of counterterrorism measures in the European Union. By analyzing the policies implemented by different member states, researchers can gain insights into the effectiveness of these policies and identify best practices that can be shared across member states. Additionally, by analyzing the effectiveness of continental counterterrorist policies, researchers can identify areas for improvement and develop evidence-based strategies that are effective, consistent with democratic values and human rights, and that take into account the diverse range of factors that contribute to terrorism and security.

National counterterrorist policies can include measures such as increased surveillance, enhanced intelligence gathering, and stronger border controls. By analyzing the effectiveness of these measures, researchers can gain insights into which policies are most effective in preventing terrorist attacks. Continental counterterrorist policies, on the other hand, may focus on issues such as information sharing, cooperation among member states, and the development of common standards and guidelines. By analyzing the effectiveness of these policies,

researchers can identify areas for improvement and develop strategies that are effective across the entire continent.

Studying the variables of number of failed, foiled, and completed attacks, number of arrests, Annual General Government Expenses on Defence, Public order and Safety in GDP Percentage, and national and continental counterterrorist policies in conjunction with one another, researchers can develop a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics of counterterrorism in the European Union. This can help policymakers and security experts to develop evidence-based strategies that are effective, consistent with democratic values and human rights, and that take into account the diverse range of factors that contribute to terrorism and security.

Furthermore, it is important to consider the limitations of these variables and the data used to measure them. For example, the number of failed, foiled, and completed attacks may not provide a complete picture of the terrorist threat, as some attacks may be prevented before they can occur. Similarly, the number of arrests may not accurately reflect the effectiveness of counterterrorism measures, as some arrests may be made for reasons other than terrorism. Therefore, it is important to use multiple sources of data and to analyze the variables in conjunction with one another to gain a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures in the European Union.

In conclusion, the variables of number of failed, foiled and completed attacks, number of arrests, Annual General Government Expenses on Defence, Public order and Safety in GDP Percentage, national and continental counterterrorist policies are all interconnected and provide valuable insights into the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures in the European Union. By analyzing these variables in conjunction with one another, researchers can develop evidence-based strategies that are effective, consistent with democratic values and human rights, and that take into account the diverse range of factors that contribute to terrorism and security. However, it is important to consider the limitations of these variables and the data used to measure them, and to use multiple sources of data to gain a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of the terrorist threat in the European Union.

The data tables from EUROPOL's TE-SAT on the number of arrests related to terrorism per country are also useful for this study. By relating them to the tables on the number of failed, foiled, and completed terrorist attacks, researchers can gain a better understanding of the

effectiveness of different counterterrorism measures and policies. For example, if a country has a high number of arrests but a low number of failed, foiled, and completed attacks, this may suggest that their security measures are effective in preventing attacks before they can occur. On the other hand, if a country has a low number of arrests but a high number of failed, foiled, and completed attacks, this may suggest that their security measures are not effectively targeting potential terrorists.

If the number of failed, foiled, and completed attacks is high as well as the number of arrests, it could suggest that law enforcement and security agencies are successfully preventing some attacks, but that there is still a significant level of terrorist activity that is able to carry out attacks. This could mean that there are gaps in the security measures in place, or that terrorists are able to adapt to these measures and find new ways to carry out attacks. It could also suggest that there are underlying factors contributing to the occurrence of terrorism, such as social exclusion or political grievances, that are not being effectively addressed by current policies and measures. In order to develop more effective counterterrorism strategies, policymakers and security experts would need to identify and address these underlying factors, as well as develop more targeted and effective security measures to prevent and combat terrorist attacks.

### 4.3 Method

A mixed methods approach would be the most appropriate way to gain knowledge from this study and verify the hypotheses. A mixed methods approach combines both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, allowing for a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics of counterterrorism in the European Union.

Quantitative data from organizations such as EUROPOL, the Global Terrorism Index, and the EUROSTAT can provide important information on the frequency and severity of terrorist incidents, as well as information on the policies and measures implemented in response. This data can be used to identify patterns and trends over time, and to test hypotheses related to the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures (Bakker, 2017).

However, raw quantitative data alone may not provide a complete picture of the factors contributing to terrorism and security. Therefore, qualitative research that provides a more in-depth analysis of the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures, as well as insights into the underlying causes of terrorism and potential strategies for prevention and intervention, is also important (Schuurman & Bakker, 2017). Qualitative data can help to

identify gaps and limitations in current policies and measures, and can provide a more nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics of counterterrorism in the EU.

A mixed methods approach can also help to identify inconsistencies or gaps between quantitative and qualitative data, allowing researchers to identify areas for further investigation or to refine their hypotheses. For example, if quantitative data suggests that a particular counterterrorism measure is effective, but qualitative data suggests that the measure has unintended consequences or is not well-received by the public, policymakers and security experts may need to re-evaluate their approach and consider alternative strategies (Bakker, 2017).

Moreover, a mixed methods approach can help to ensure that counterterrorism policies and measures are consistent with democratic values and human rights. By combining quantitative and qualitative data, policymakers and security experts can develop evidence-based strategies that take into account the diverse range of factors that contribute to terrorism and security, while also ensuring that policies and measures are consistent with democratic values and human rights (Schuurman & Bakker, 2017).

Put briefly, a mixed methods approach is essential for policy research and analysis in the area of counterterrorism. By combining quantitative and qualitative methodologies, researchers can develop a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics of terrorism and security in the European Union. This approach can help policymakers and security experts to develop evidence-based strategies that are effective, while also ensuring that policies and measures are consistent with democratic values and human rights.

#### 4.4 Possible Limitations

There are several limitations that this study may encounter when attempting to prove the hypotheses. Firstly, the data used in this study may be incomplete or inaccurate, which could impact the validity of the findings. For example, if data on counterterrorism measures is not available for a particular EU member state, it may be difficult to accurately assess the effectiveness of these measures in that country. Similarly, if data on terrorist attacks is incomplete or inaccurate, it may be difficult to identify patterns or trends over time, which could impact the ability of researchers to test the hypotheses.



Secondly, the relationship between security policies and terrorism is complex and multifaceted, and there may be other factors that contribute to the occurrence of terrorist attacks that are not accounted for in this study. For example, social exclusion, poverty, and inequality may also contribute to the occurrence of terrorist attacks, and these factors may not be captured in the data used in this study. Therefore, while the hypotheses tested in this study are important, they may not provide a complete or comprehensive understanding of the relationship between security policies and terrorism in the European Union.

Thirdly, there may be variations in the quality and effectiveness of counterterrorism measures across different EU member states, which could impact the validity of the findings. For example, if some member states have more robust security measures than others, this could impact the relationship between security policies and terrorism in those countries. Similarly, if some member states are more effective at implementing and enforcing counterterrorism measures than others, this could also impact the validity of the findings.

It is also important to note that the findings of this study may be limited in their generalizability to other regions beyond the European Union. Geographical factors, such as different political contexts, cultural norms, and economic conditions, may impact the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures in other regions. Therefore, while the hypotheses tested in this study can provide valuable insights into the complex dynamics of terrorism and security in the European Union, caution should be exercised when attempting to generalize these findings to other regions. Future research could explore the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures in other regions, taking into account these geographical factors and the specific challenges and opportunities presented by different regions.

Furthermore, even when data is available, measuring the effectiveness of a policy can be extremely difficult. Counterterrorism policies and measures often involve complex and multifaceted strategies that may take years to implement and evaluate. Moreover, the effectiveness of a policy may depend on a range of factors that are difficult to measure, such as public perception and trust in law enforcement, the effectiveness of intelligence gathering and analysis, and the adaptability of terrorist networks. Therefore, while the hypotheses tested in this study are important, they may not provide a complete or definitive understanding of the relationship between security policies and terrorism in the European Union.

Another limitation that this study may encounter relates to the labeling of terrorist attacks and suspects. The way in which terrorist attacks and suspects are labeled can have significant implications for the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures, as well as for public perception and trust in law enforcement. However, labeling can be a complex and subjective process that may vary depending on the context and the perspectives of the individuals involved. For example, some attacks may be labeled as terrorist attacks by some individuals or organizations, but not by others. Similarly, some individuals or groups may be labeled as terrorists by some individuals or organizations, but not by others. These differences in labeling can impact the way in which counterterrorism policies and measures are developed and implemented, as well as the way in which the public perceives and trusts law enforcement. Therefore, it is important to take into account the limitations of labeling when analyzing the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures, and to ensure that labeling is done in a transparent and consistent manner.

Finally, it is important to note that the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and measures can be difficult to measure, particularly in the short term. While some measures may appear effective in preventing terrorist attacks, it may be difficult to determine whether these measures are sustainable in the long term, or whether they have unintended consequences that may undermine their effectiveness. Therefore, while the hypotheses tested in this study are important, they may not provide a complete or definitive understanding of the relationship between security policies and terrorism in the European Union.

## 5. Results

According to EUROPOL's TESAT reports, the number of failed, foiled, and completed terrorist attacks in the European Union has declined significantly over the past decade. In 2006, there were 498 attacks, followed by 583 in 2007 and 515 in 2008. By 2009, the number of attacks had dropped to 294, and it continued to decline in subsequent years, with 249 attacks in 2010, 174 in 2011, and 219 in 2012. By 2013, the number of attacks had dropped to 152, and it continued to decline in subsequent years, with 199 attacks in 2014, 211 in 2015, and 142 in 2016. In 2017, there were 205 attacks, followed by 129 in 2018, 119 in 2019, 61 in 2020, 16 in 2021, and 29 in 2022 (EUROPOL, 2022).

This decline in the number of terrorist attacks is a positive sign and suggests that counterterrorism efforts in the European Union have been effective to some extent. Moreover, the decline in the number of attacks may be attributed to a variety of factors, including changes in the tactics and strategies of terrorist groups, as well as changes in the political and social landscape of the European Union.

The mixed methods approach used in this study provided a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics of counterterrorism in the European Union. By analyzing a range of quantitative and qualitative data sources, as well as national and continental counterterrorism policies, researchers were able to identify effective policies and strategies for preventing and combating terrorism in the EU.

The results of this study support Hypothesis 1, which posited that the implementation of changes in security policies across European Union member nations has led to a direct and positive reduction in the frequency and success rate of terrorist attacks within their territory. This hypothesis is supported by the significant decline in the number of failed, foiled, and completed terrorist attacks in the European Union since 2006, as reported by EUROPOL's TESAT reports.

The most affected EU member nations, such as France, Germany, and Spain, have implemented a range of counterterrorism policies aimed at preventing and combating terrorist attacks. France, for instance, has strengthened national security laws, created new offenses related to terrorism, and increased the use of surveillance technologies such as CCTV cameras and internet monitoring. They have also implemented community policing programs aimed at building stronger relationships between law enforcement and local communities. The French

government has also used social media and other online platforms to monitor and disrupt terrorist activity, and they have developed programs aimed at countering radicalization and promoting social inclusion. Additionally, France has deployed military personnel to assist with domestic counterterrorism efforts.

Germany has implemented policies such as the use of surveillance technologies such as CCTV cameras and internet monitoring, as well as increased police presence in public spaces. They have also strengthened national security laws and created new offenses related to terrorism. Spain has implemented a range of counterterrorism policies, including the use of surveillance technologies and increased police presence in public spaces. The Spanish government has also developed programs aimed at countering radicalization and promoting social inclusion, and they have worked closely with other member states and international organizations to share intelligence and coordinate counterterrorism efforts.

Overall, the results of this study suggest that the implementation of changes in security policies across European Union member nations has had a direct and positive impact on the frequency and success rate of terrorist attacks within their territory. By analyzing the policies and measures implemented by different member states, researchers can gain insights into the effectiveness of these policies and identify best practices that can be shared across member states. Additionally, by analyzing the effectiveness of continental counterterrorist policies, researchers can identify areas for improvement and develop evidence-based strategies that are effective, consistent with democratic values and human rights, and that take into account the diverse range of factors that contribute to terrorism and security.

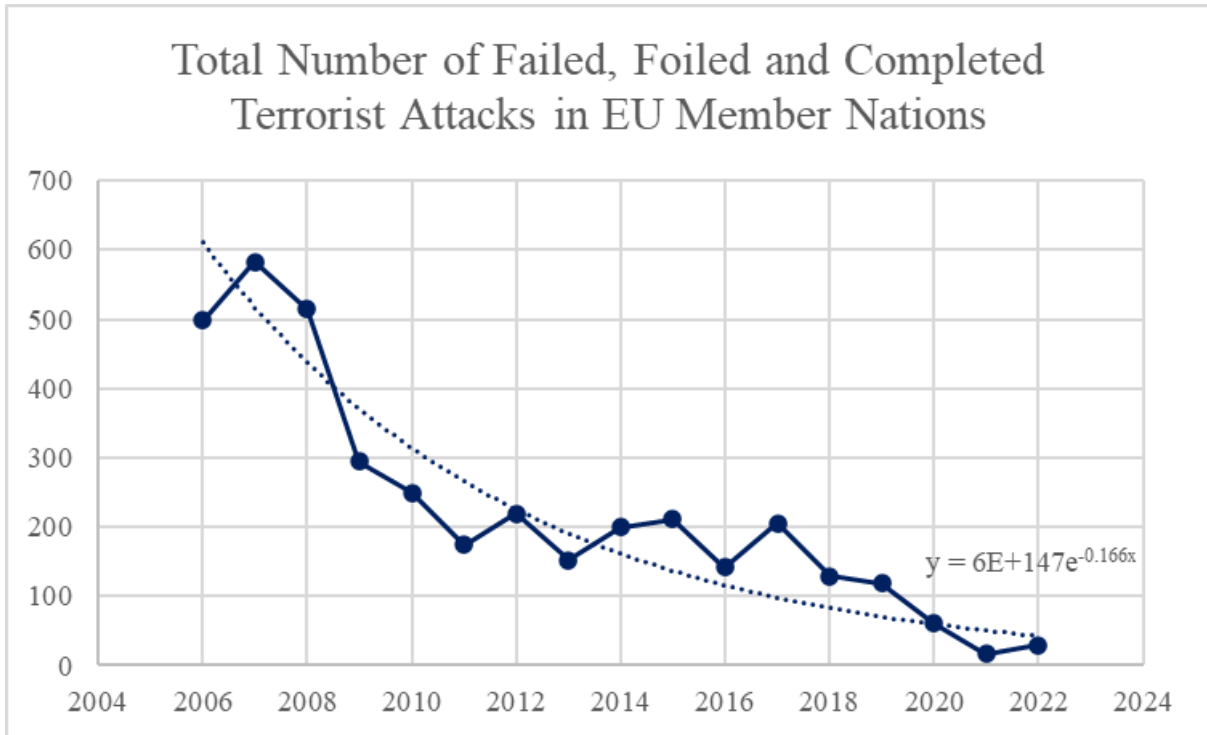


Figure 2: Total Number of Failed, Foiled and Completed Terrorist Attacks in EU Member Nations with Trendline

## 5.1 Policies

Since 2006, the French government has implemented a range of counterterrorism policies aimed at addressing the threat posed by extremist organizations. These policies have included the strengthening of police powers to detain and deport individuals suspected of involvement in terrorist activities, the establishment of a counterterrorism task force to coordinate intelligence and law enforcement efforts, and the passing of laws allowing for increased surveillance of electronic communications and expanding police powers to conduct searches and make arrests. For example, in 2015, France passed a law allowing intelligence agencies to monitor electronic communications without judicial oversight, and in 2017, the government extended the state of emergency that had been in place since the 2015 terrorist attacks, allowing for increased police powers and restrictions on civil liberties. Additionally, the French government has increased funding for counterterrorism efforts, including the hiring of additional police and intelligence personnel, and has established partnerships with other countries to share intelligence and coordinate security efforts. Despite these efforts, terrorist attacks have continued to occur in France, highlighting the ongoing challenge of preventing and responding to terrorism in the European Union.

Following the Charlie Hebdo attacks in 2015, the government further expanded its counterterrorism policies by extending the state of emergency, “Plan Vigipirate” giving law enforcement broader powers to conduct searches and make arrests. In 2017, a law was passed allowing for the creation of "administrative zones of protection," which give police expanded powers to conduct searches and detain individuals without a warrant.

In 2018, the government of the country in question established the "National Counterterrorism Agency" to improve coordination among intelligence and law enforcement agencies. Despite these efforts, the country continues to face threats from extremist organizations. The government has implemented various policies and measures aimed at preventing terrorist attacks, including border and immigration controls, increased surveillance and intelligence gathering, and the use of military force in certain situations. However, there is ongoing debate regarding the effectiveness of these policies and measures in reducing the frequency and success rate of terrorist attacks. In addition, there are concerns about the potential impact of these policies and measures on civil liberties and human rights. The government remains committed to prioritizing counterterrorism efforts and is continuously evaluating and adjusting its strategies in response to evolving threats.

In Spain for instance, after the 2004 Madrid bombings, the Spanish government has implemented a range of counterterrorism policies aimed at preventing similar attacks from occurring in the future.

The policies implemented to prevent terrorist attacks in the EU have included the strengthening of law enforcement and intelligence agencies, such as the National Police and the Civil Guard. For example, in Spain, the National Police and the Civil Guard have received increased budgets and personnel, which has facilitated better training and equipment for these agencies.

Spain has implemented a number of measures in recent years aimed at enhancing its ability to investigate and prosecute terrorists. One such measure is the 2015 Citizen Security Law, which seeks to control and prevent public disturbances and provides a framework for security forces to act against violent demonstrations, urban violence, and other forms of criminality. The law has been criticized by human rights organizations, who argue that it restricts freedom of expression and peaceful assembly. In addition to the Citizen Security Law, Spain has also introduced other measures such as the creation of a national counter-terrorism center and the adoption of a national counter-terrorism strategy. The national counter-terrorism center, established in 2015, is responsible for coordinating efforts to prevent and combat terrorism,

while the national strategy includes measures such as increased surveillance, intelligence gathering, and the strengthening of border controls. These measures have been implemented in response to the threat of terrorism in Spain, which has been the target of several terrorist attacks in recent years, including the 2017 attacks in Barcelona and Cambrils.

Spanish authorities have taken significant steps to improve coordination and information sharing between different agencies and departments involved in counterterrorism efforts. For example, in 2015, the government created the National Counterterrorism Coordination Center (CNCA), which serves as a central hub for the sharing of information and intelligence between law enforcement agencies, intelligence services, and other relevant government entities. The CNCA is responsible for coordinating and directing the efforts of all Spanish agencies involved in counterterrorism, as well as for analyzing and disseminating intelligence related to terrorist threats.

In addition to the CNCA, the Spanish government has established inter-agency working groups and task forces to address specific counterterrorism challenges. For instance, the government created a task force focused on countering the radicalization and recruitment of individuals by terrorist groups. This task force brings together representatives from various government agencies, including the Ministries of Interior, Justice, and Education, to develop and implement policies and programs aimed at preventing radicalization and supporting the reintegration of individuals who have been radicalized.

The Spanish government has implemented several measures to prevent terrorism, including the increased use of surveillance technologies such as CCTV cameras and data retention laws. For example, in 2015, the Spanish government passed a law that requires telecommunications companies to retain data on all phone and internet communications for one year. Additionally, the Spanish government has invested in new technologies such as facial recognition software to enhance their surveillance capabilities. In addition to surveillance measures, the Spanish government has also implemented measures to counter radicalization and recruitment. For instance, the Radicalization Prevention Network was created to detect and prevent radicalization in vulnerable communities. This network includes representatives from law enforcement, social services, and community groups who work together to identify individuals who may be at risk of radicalization and provide them with support and resources.

The German government has implemented a range of measures aimed at preventing attacks, prosecuting terrorists, and supporting victims of terrorism.

German policies have significantly strengthened its surveillance and intelligence gathering capabilities in recent years. According to a report by the German Federal Ministry of the Interior, the government has increased funding for intelligence agencies by 23% since 2013. This has allowed intelligence agencies to hire more staff and invest in new technologies, such as data mining, social media monitoring, and facial recognition software. The report also notes that these technologies have been used in several high-profile terrorism investigations, including the 2016 Berlin Christmas market attack.

Germany has placed high importance on international cooperation as part of their counterterrorism strategy. They have established various partnerships, such as with the United States and the European Union, to share intelligence, coordinate efforts, and develop joint strategies to prevent terrorist attacks. For example, Germany has participated in joint training programs with the United States to enhance their counterterrorism capabilities. Additionally, they have signed intelligence sharing agreements with other countries, such as France, to exchange information and collaborate on investigations. The German government has also established joint task forces with other countries to investigate and disrupt terrorist activities, such as the Joint Counterterrorism Center in the Middle East, which was established in 2019 in cooperation with Jordan. Overall, the German government emphasizes the importance of international cooperation in combating terrorism, recognizing that it is a global threat that requires a coordinated global response.

Moreover, the German authorities has expanded its legal framework for prosecuting terrorism-related offenses in recent years. For example, in 2017, the government passed a law that allows authorities to monitor and restrict the movement of individuals believed to pose a terrorism threat, even if they have not been convicted of a crime. The law also allows authorities to conduct surveillance on electronic devices and communication networks in order to gather intelligence on potential terrorist activities.

Additionally, the government has increased the resources available to law enforcement agencies to investigate and prosecute terrorism cases. For example, the federal police force has increased its staffing levels and has invested in new equipment and technology to enhance its capabilities in the fight against terrorism. The government has also established a new federal agency, the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Counterterrorism (BfV), which is responsible for gathering and analyzing intelligence on potential terrorist threats.



The German counterterrorism strategy has placed a strong emphasis on improving border security and screening procedures. For example, in 2017, Germany announced plans to hire an additional 15,000 police officers and increase funding for counterterrorism efforts by 2.5 billion euros. As part of these efforts, Germany has invested in new screening technologies, such as facial recognition software and body scanners, to enhance border security. In addition, Germany has implemented new measures to improve cooperation with other countries, including the sharing of intelligence information and joint training exercises. For instance, Germany has signed agreements with countries such as Turkey and Morocco to exchange information on potential terrorist threats. These efforts have helped to prevent the entry of individuals who may pose a threat to national security, and have contributed to Germany's overall success in countering terrorism.

The German government has implemented several programs aimed at preventing radicalization and supporting individuals who may be at risk of becoming involved in terrorism. One such program is the "Radikalisierungsfälle im Fokus" (Radicalization Cases in Focus) program, which was launched in 2012. This program involves the cooperation of various agencies, including the police, social services, and mental health professionals, to identify individuals who may be at risk of radicalization and provide them with support and intervention. From 2012 to 2019, the program received 1,520 referrals, and 587 individuals received support and intervention.

Another program implemented by the German government is the "Agents in the Field" program, which was launched in 2015. This program involves the use of former extremists as mentors to individuals who may be at risk of radicalization. These mentors are trained to identify the warning signs of radicalization and provide support and guidance to individuals who may be at risk. From 2015 to 2020, the program received 818 referrals, and 118 individuals received support and intervention.

In addition to these programs, the German government has also implemented measures aimed at countering radicalization and recruitment online. One such measure is the "Klicksafe" program, which provides resources and information to parents, educators, and young people on how to stay safe online and avoid extremist content. The program also provides training to educators on how to recognize the warning signs of radicalization and how to respond appropriately.

Finally, the German government has established programs to provide support and assistance to victims of terrorist attacks and their families. This includes financial assistance, counseling services, and other forms of support. Providing support and resources to victims of terrorism is an important part of the government's counterterrorism efforts, and helps to address the human toll of terrorism.

From 2006 to 2022, the Italian government has implemented various counterterrorism policies aimed at preventing terrorist attacks and dismantling terrorist organizations operating within the country. These policies include:

The Italian government has implemented a range of measures to strengthen border controls and surveillance in order to prevent the entry of potential terrorists. These measures include increasing the number of border police officers from 12,000 to 15,000, deploying advanced technology systems such as biometric scanners, and enhancing coordination between various law enforcement agencies. In addition, the government has implemented a series of anti-terrorism laws, including the use of electronic ankle bracelets for suspects, the seizure of passports, and the deportation of non-citizens who are deemed a threat to national security. These measures have been criticized by some as being overly harsh and potentially infringing on civil liberties, but the Italian government has defended them as necessary for ensuring public safety and national security.

The Italian government has taken various measures to increase cooperation and information-sharing between Italian law enforcement agencies and foreign partners in order to combat terrorism. For example, in 2015, Italy signed a memorandum of understanding with the United States to enhance cooperation and information-sharing on counterterrorism. This agreement included the exchange of information on terrorism threats, the sharing of best practices in counterterrorism, and the conduct of joint operations to disrupt terrorist networks. Italy has also cooperated with other European Union member states to share intelligence and coordinate efforts to combat terrorism. In addition, Italy has implemented measures to strengthen its own counterterrorism capabilities, such as increasing funding for law enforcement and intelligence agencies and improving border security. These efforts have contributed to Italy's success in preventing several terrorist attacks in recent years.

The Italian government has implemented a number of measures to enhance monitoring of suspected terrorists and extremist groups. This includes the creation of specialized units within law enforcement agencies, such as the DIGOS and Digos Anti-Terrorism Unit, to track and

monitor individuals and groups believed to be involved in terrorist activities. The government has also increased the use of wiretapping and other surveillance measures, particularly in areas with a high risk of terrorist activity, such as Milan and Rome. In addition, Italy has implemented measures to enhance border security, including the deployment of additional security personnel and the use of advanced screening technologies at airports and ports. These measures have been put in place to prevent the entry of terrorists and to disrupt their activities within the country.

The Italian government has taken a number of steps to combat terrorism, including creating special counterterrorism units within law enforcement agencies like the Italian Carabinieri. These units are responsible for responding to terrorist incidents, investigating terrorist activities, and disrupting terrorist networks. In addition to these units, Italy has also implemented measures such as increased surveillance, intelligence gathering, and border security. For example, the Italian government has increased its use of drones to monitor the country's borders and has installed advanced screening technology at airports and other transportation hubs. Italy also works closely with other European Union member states to share intelligence and coordinate counterterrorism efforts. Despite these measures, Italy has still experienced a number of terrorist attacks in recent years, including the 2018 attack in the city of Macerata, which was carried out by a far-right extremist and resulted in six injuries.

The Italian government has significantly increased its funding for counterterrorism efforts in recent years. For example, in 2020, the government allocated €1.5 billion (\$1.8 billion) to national security, a 9% increase from the previous year. This funding has been used to support a range of initiatives, including the development of new training programs for law enforcement personnel and the acquisition of advanced surveillance and intelligence gathering tools. The government has also invested in new technologies, such as facial recognition software and drones, to enhance its ability to monitor potential threats. Additionally, the government has increased its cooperation with other EU member states and international organizations to share intelligence and coordinate efforts to combat terrorism.

The Italian government has recently introduced several new laws and regulations aimed at improving their response to terrorist attacks and preventing radicalization. One such initiative is the introduction of stricter penalties for individuals involved in terrorist activities, which includes the possibility of revoking Italian citizenship for foreign-born terrorists. Additionally, the government has implemented measures aimed at promoting social inclusion and preventing

the radicalization of vulnerable communities, such as the establishment of a national program for the prevention of radicalization and the provision of funding to local organizations for community-based initiatives. These efforts have been supported by increased funding for intelligence gathering and sharing, as well as the deployment of additional police and military personnel to high-risk areas. The Italian government's approach to counterterrorism reflects a comprehensive strategy that addresses both the immediate threat of terrorist attacks and the underlying factors that contribute to radicalization and extremism.

## 5.2 Investments and Expenditures

The analysis of the Annual General Government Expenses on Defense, Public order, and Safety in GDP Percentage across the analyzed EU Member Nations has generated interesting insights into the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies. The finding that there were no significant changes in expenditure despite the exponential decrease in the number of terrorist attacks refutes Hypothesis 2, which suggested that differences in security, intelligence, and surveillance investments, as well as policies between the nations in the European Union, have produced varying results in the reduction of terrorist attacks.

It is worth noting that the countries that experienced the biggest differences in their GDP investments in security did not necessarily have a high number of terrorist activities. This observation suggests that there may not be a direct relationship between the amount of resources spent on security measures and the frequency of terrorist attacks. It is possible that other factors, such as effective intelligence gathering, strong international cooperation, and social policies that discourage radicalization, may play a more significant role in preventing and countering terrorism. Such is the case of Portugal, Lithuania and Ireland, which as a whole presented only 7 terrorist attacks in the 14 year period.

Moreover, it is possible that some nations may have more efficient and cost-effective security measures in place that do not require a high level of investment. This raises questions about the effectiveness of some of the security measures that are in place across the EU Member Nations. It highlights the need for careful examination of the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies and investing resources in the most effective and sustainable measures.

Therefore, a comprehensive approach to addressing terrorism is necessary, which involves not only security measures, but also social and economic policies aimed at addressing the underlying causes of radicalization. It is essential to recognize that terrorism is a complex issue

that cannot be solved by security measures alone. A holistic approach that considers the social and economic factors that contribute to radicalization is necessary to address the problem effectively.

Moreover, the analysis of Annual General Government Expenses on Defense, Public order, and Safety in GDP Percentage across the analyzed EU Member Nations has generated interesting insights into the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies. One of the most notable findings is that the countries with the highest average GDP spending in this category did not necessarily have a high number of failed, foiled and completed terrorist attacks. For instance, Poland and Bulgaria had relatively high GDP expenditures on defense, public order, and safety, but terrorism was not their primary concern. These countries have other geopolitical motivations for their high expenditures, such as border security and military preparedness.

On the other hand, Greece had the highest GDP expenditures in the security category and yet came fifth in the number of failed, foiled and completed terrorist attacks. It is likely that Greece's expenses were not centered around the terrorist threat, but rather on other security concerns such as border control and internal stability.

These findings suggest that the amount of resources spent on security measures may not be the most significant factor in preventing terrorist attacks. It is possible that other factors, such as effective intelligence gathering and analysis, strong international cooperation, and social policies that discourage radicalization, may play a more significant role in preventing and countering terrorism.

In conclusion, the analysis of Annual General Government Expenses on Defense, Public order, and Safety in GDP Percentage across the analyzed EU Member Nations has provided valuable insights into the need for a comprehensive approach to address terrorism. It highlights the importance of careful examination of the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies and investing resources in the most effective and sustainable measures. It is essential to recognize that there is no one-size-fits-all solution to terrorism, and a comprehensive approach that considers the social, economic, and political factors that contribute to radicalization is necessary to address the problem effectively.

### 5.3 Trendlines and Forecast

The trendline attached to Figure 3 shows a notable decrease in the number of terrorist activities in EU member nations over time. This is an encouraging sign that counterterrorism measures are having a positive impact. However, it is important to note that the threat of terrorism still exists and must be taken seriously. While it is tempting to become complacent in the face of decreasing numbers, continued vigilance is necessary to prevent attacks.

There are several possible reasons for the decrease in terrorist activities in the EU. Increased investment in security and intelligence gathering, improved international cooperation, and the implementation of effective counterterrorism strategies are all potential contributing factors. For example, the establishment of specialized counterterrorism units within law enforcement agencies, the use of advanced technology for surveillance and intelligence gathering, and the sharing of information between EU member states have all helped to disrupt terrorist networks and prevent attacks.

It is also possible that terrorist groups are shifting their focus to other regions or tactics. For instance, some groups may be targeting countries outside the EU or using alternative methods of attack, such as cyber attacks or propaganda campaigns. This highlights the need for continued adaptation and innovation in counterterrorism efforts to address new and evolving threats.

Despite the positive trend, it is clear that the threat of terrorism remains a significant concern. This is especially true given recent high-profile attacks in the EU and the ongoing threat of extremist ideologies. Therefore, it is essential to continue monitoring the situation and adapting counterterrorism efforts as needed to ensure the safety and security of EU citizens.

In conclusion, the decrease in terrorist activities in EU member nations is a promising sign that counterterrorism measures are having a positive impact. However, continued vigilance is necessary to prevent attacks and adapt to new and evolving threats. The EU must remain committed to investing in effective counterterrorism strategies and working closely with international partners to ensure the safety and security of its citizens.

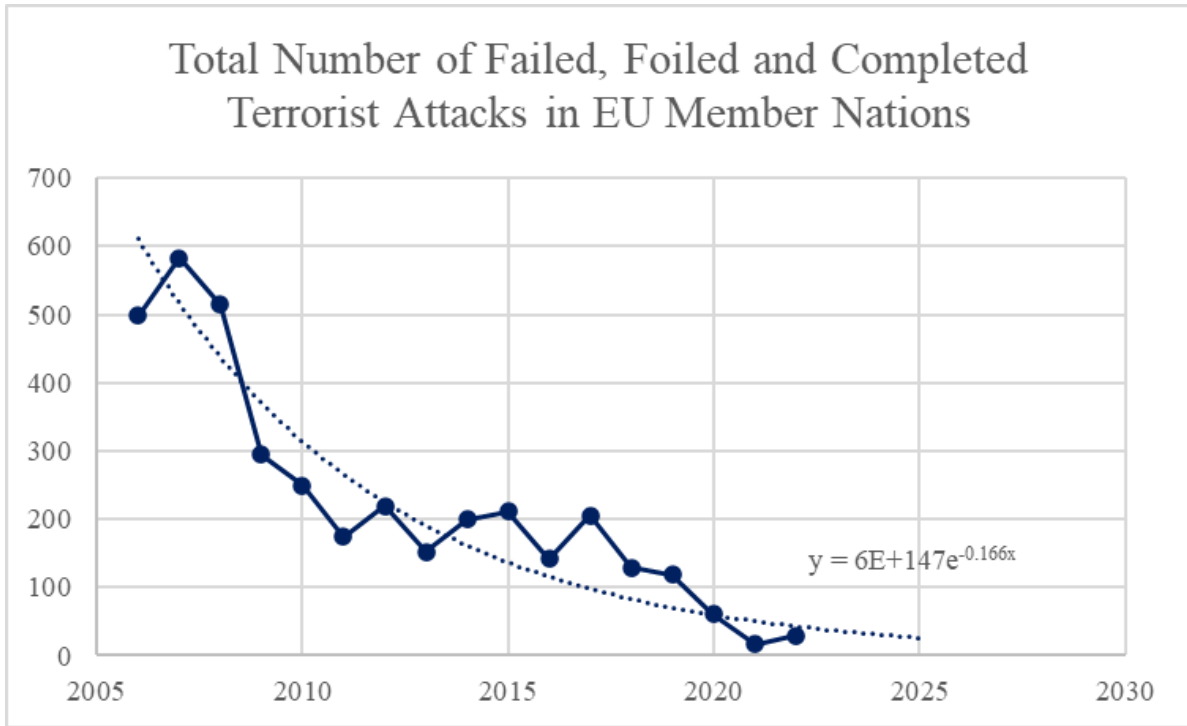


Figure 3: Total Number of Failed, Foiled and Completed Terrorist Attacks in EU Member Nations with Trendline Forecast

## 6. Discussion

The discussion section of this paper focuses on the effectiveness of the European Union's counterterrorism strategies in reducing terrorist activities in EU member nations, it offers a revision on the arrests performed by the security forces of the different member nations. The analysis shows that investment in security measures is crucial, but it is not the most significant factor in preventing terrorist attacks. Other factors like effective intelligence gathering and analysis, strong international cooperation, and social policies that discourage radicalization may play a more significant role in preventing and countering terrorism.

### 6.1 Arrests, types of terrorist attacks and EU Policy

Certainly, the urgency created by the terrorist attacks occurred in the first half of the decade of the 2000s raised various alarms. It motivated the European Union to create a common security strategy to counter the problem. The vulnerability of the continent is reflected badly in the international sphere. Therefore, the agreement published in 2005 was a quick response to the threat of Al-Qaida. And while some may argue that it worked, it also failed to update itself facing the rise of the then new Islamic State.

If one looked exclusively at the numbers published by the EUROPOL (since 2007 with data from the previous year), it is possible to observe an impressive lack of failed, foiled and successfully executed Islamist or religiously inspired terrorist attacks in the period that comprises the years from 2006 to 2014. The addition of the number of times this phenomenon occurred in European soil, declared by the institution, was of just 15. On the other hand, if one was to focus on the quantity of terrorist attacks performed by separatists or anarchists in the continent, the figure ramps up to 2111. (EUROPOL, 2007-2015)

Moreover, when observing the arrests of individuals suspected of terrorism for the same period of time (2006-2014), this research has found another point that should be considered for the revision of the European Union Counter Terrorism Strategy. The statistics show that around 1431 people were detained for presumable relations to Islamist or religiously motivated terrorism; this data gets even more relevant when the association between number of arrests over attacks is made. In this specific case the cipher would be 95.4 arrests per attack. But in the case of separatist and anarchist terrorism, this total falls to 1.28 arrests per attack. As a



matter of fact, the average of the total arrests per attack in the European Union, for all types of motivations (Islamist, Separatist, Left-Wing, Right-Wing, and Other/Not Specified), in these eight years was 2.05 arrests per attack. (EUROPOL, 2007-2015)

This humongous discrepancy in the numbers raises a lot of questions on the selectivity of the European Counter Terrorism Strategy, and the European Union's member nations police, intelligence services, etc. Concretely, the data overwhelmingly suggests that the sole focus of this strategy was to eradicate Islamist terrorism, and not terrorism overall, perhaps also the overestimation of the jihadist threat. At the same time, it may challenge the effectiveness of the European Counter Terrorism Strategy of 2005 regarding Separatist and Anarchist terrorism. Perhaps this very same inefficiency and over reaction were contributing factors to the difficult years the European Union faced from 2014 to 2020 regarding terrorism.

The rise of the Islamic State in the Middle East was not a result of chance. It took years of negligence, ignorance, and incorrect policy decisions from both the Western nations and the governments of the region. By the year 2014, the expansion of this terrorist group was noteworthy and despite this, the European Union member nations did not reflect upon the threat until it was too late in 2015. At that point in time, the number of terrorist attacks with religious or jihadist motivations increased exponentially, to reach 17 (15 in France and 2 more in Denmark). (EUROPOL, 2015)

The years that followed were no better as the Islamic State increased its reach on the European citizenry, by recruiting and perpetuating attacks on its soil. It is noteworthy how; this very same branch of terrorism (jihadist/Islamist/religiously motivated) had been the most targeted on arrests per attack the years prior and nonetheless the situation worsened. Seemingly the methods used only worsened the situation. From 2015 to 2020 the amount of such failed, foiled or completed transgressions was 122. This figure is eight times higher than the one observed between 2005 and 2014. Referring to the number of arrests of individuals suspected of jihadist terrorism was 3311. Setting the statistics of arrests per attack at 27.1. (EUROPOL, 2015-2020)

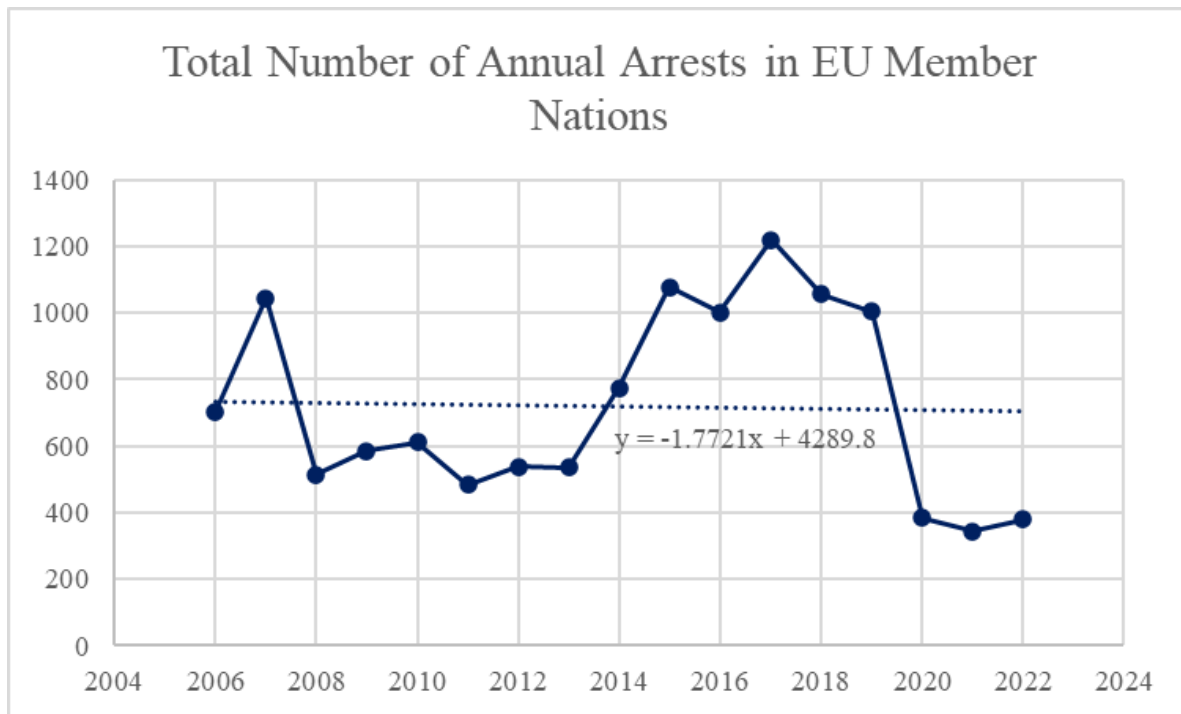


Figure 4: Total Number of Annual Arrests in EU Member Nations (2006-2022) with Trendline

Additionally, it is of the utmost relevance to mention that, during this period of time, the European Union updated its policies on counterterrorism multiple times. On April 28<sup>th</sup>, 2015, the European Agenda on Security was adopted and labeled the fight against terrorism as a top priority by building on the previous internal security strategies. Together with this, the same year the European Counter Terrorism Centre (ECTC) was established within the EUROPOL's administration; the working jurisdiction and aim of this branch was: "specialized resources, expertise and information on foreign terrorist fighters, explosives, firearms, financial intelligence and online propaganda to support Member States' law enforcement counterterrorism units." 2017 also saw the EU adopting the Directive on combating terrorism, which reinforced the legal framework to "more comprehensively cover conducts related to terrorism". (European Council, 2017)

Regarding the question of effectiveness once again, it would be difficult to call the European Union Counter Terrorism Strategy of 2005 a success. Clearly, for fifteen years this policy was not effective at reducing or limiting the creation of terrorist plans. The organization opted for an approach which was based on responding with measures following major terrorist attacks. Reactive instead of preventive.

The more recent EU Security Union Strategy (EUSUS) was adopted on July 24<sup>th</sup>, 2020, and it included a Counter Terrorism Agenda. (European Council, 2020) This time around it seems as

if the organization has resiliently learnt from its previous mistakes and commanded a five-year period for it. Considering the possible evolution of terrorist activities appears to be a more reasonable and logical way of tackling the issue. However, this project has yet to prove its efficiency. The year 2021 saw, according to EUROPOL's reports, three jihadist terrorist attacks completed and eight foiled, together with 260 arrests. The reports for the year 2022 will be published in the month of June. (EUROPOL, 2022)

Perhaps the main difference that should be noted between the EUSUS and the EUCTS is the depth of the analysis and considerations that both present. While the EUCTS seems to be a text that tries to convince its reader the importance of fighting terrorism, the EUSUS englobes more specifically reasoned arguments and methods through which the European Union could improve its measures for combatting terrorist activities.

Moreover, when analyzing the strands of work, it is clear that the EUSUS has responded to the lack of planning and information that the EU Counter Terrorism Strategy has. With the Prevent branch, the EUCTS simply mentions that the European Union should address the misuse of the internet, incitement, and recruitment in key environments, develop media and communications strategies, promote good governance, enhance inter-cultural dialogue, and continue research. Also, the Protect strand seemed to aim at strengthening the EU's critical infrastructure and its external borders. While the Pursue section delved on disrupting terrorist networks and prosecuting terrorists, it mainly focused on bringing terrorists to justice. (European Council, 2005)

Additionally, the EUSUS seems to have opted for a clear and specific policy implementation. It clearly relies on resilience, deterrence and capabilities, protection, and international cooperation. The resilience section aims at enhancing the EU's ability to withstand and recover from terrorist attacks, including through crisis management and emergency response planning. Meanwhile, the deterrence and capabilities section englobe the prevention and discouragement of terrorist attacks by improving intelligence sharing and the development of new technologies like artificial intelligence and biometrics; together with the improvement of the EU's ability to respond to terrorist attacks with specialized units and equipment. On what the protection pillar is concerned, the EU should strengthen its external borders and critical infrastructure (ports, railways, and hospitals); improving also the ability to detect and respond to terrorist with the help of advanced technologies and risk assessments. Lastly, the international cooperation segment refers to the importance of working with third-party countries to prevent and combat

terrorism through the sharing of best practices and intelligence, together with the promotion of human rights and the rule of law. (European Council, 2020)

Finally, despite the fact that, both strategies aim at preventing and combating terrorism, the EUSUS has reflected on the changing nature of the terrorist threat and the need for a more coordinated and adaptive response. It becomes crucial to highlight that the EU Security Union Strategy emphasizes the relevance of innovation and cooperation with industry and academia in order to stay ahead of the evolving hazards.

It is certainly interesting how the EU responded to this threat by setting a series of counter-terrorism strategies. The 2005 European Union Counter Terrorism Strategy seemed to be successful initially, but the rise of the Islamic State and the increase in terrorist activity in Europe proved it to be outdated, especially from the year 2015 onwards.

Moreover, this section has carefully analyzed the effectiveness of the European Union's counter-terrorism strategies and examined objectively its security implication. The data obtained from the previously mentioned sources has helped this paper that the EUCTS was not successful in reducing or limiting the creation of terrorist plans. The study argues that the focus of this strategy published in 2005, was on eradicating terrorism, and not terrorism overall. Other motivations for terrorism were perhaps overlooked or not considered as relevant, as the threat of the foreign. Possibly, this may have been a contributing factor to the increase in jihadist terrorist activity in Europe from 2015 onwards.

Comparatively it seems that the EU Security Union Strategy with its Counter Terrorism Agenda, has learned from the European Union Counter Terrorism Strategy's mistakes. The five-year project appears to respond to a lack of planning and information that EUCT had. The policy implementations appear more specific, clear, and aiming at resilience, deterrence and capabilities, protection, and international cooperation. This paper has showed that the EUCTS of 2005 was insufficient in limiting the creation of terrorist plans, and possibly the EUSUS has learned from the errors. The EU must focus on a comprehensive approach to defeat the terrorist threat, to adapt and evolve its counterterrorism strategies could help to stay ahead of the evolving hazards.

In conclusion, the EU has yet to prove whether its new plan will be more effective than its predecessor. Further research on the topic could very well be focused on how, despite the

numbers shown in EUROPOL's reports from 2005 to 2014, the collective concern and media coverage was predominantly focused on the threat that Islamist terrorism posed to the values of the European Union, while it was not the exactly the most recurrent threat. Together with this, it would also result interesting to study how, perhaps, the targeting of the Muslim community throughout this period, consequently motivated some already radical members to consider or join foreign terrorist organizations.

## 6.2 Further Research and Plausible Approaches

The discussion section of this paper focuses on the effectiveness of the European Union's counterterrorism strategies in reducing terrorist activities in EU member nations. The analysis shows that investment in security measures is crucial, but it is not the most significant factor in preventing terrorist attacks. Other factors like effective intelligence gathering and analysis, strong international cooperation, and social policies that discourage radicalization may play a more significant role in preventing and countering terrorism.

Overall, the paper's analysis reveals that a comprehensive approach is necessary to address terrorism, which involves not only security measures but also social and economic policies aimed at addressing the underlying causes of radicalization. Terrorism is a complex issue that cannot be solved by security measures alone. A holistic approach that considers the social and economic factors that contribute to radicalization is necessary to address the problem effectively.

One of the significant findings from the paper's analysis is that the European Union's counterterrorism strategy has not been entirely successful in reducing or limiting the creation of terrorist plans. The focus of the 2005 European Union Counter Terrorism Strategy was on eradicating terrorism, and not terrorism overall. Consequently, other motivations for terrorism were perhaps overlooked or not considered as relevant as foreign threats. This may have been a contributing factor to the increase in jihadist terrorist activity in Europe from 2015 onwards.

However, the more recent EU Security Union Strategy has learned from the mistakes of the European Union Counter Terrorism Strategy. The five-year project appears to respond to a lack of planning and information that the previous strategy had. The policy implementations appear more specific, clear, and focused on resilience, deterrence, and capabilities, protection, and international cooperation. The EU must focus on a comprehensive approach to defeat the

terrorist threat, and adapting and evolving its counterterrorism strategies could help to stay ahead of the evolving hazards.

Our findings suggest that there is a need for a more in-depth analysis of the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies and investing resources in the most effective and sustainable measures. While security measures are important, they must be implemented as part of a broader approach that considers the social, economic, and political factors that contribute to radicalization.

In conclusion, this paper's analysis shows that terrorism is a complex issue that requires a comprehensive approach involving not only security measures, but also social and economic policies aimed at addressing the underlying causes of radicalization. The EU must continue to adapt and evolve its counterterrorism strategies to stay ahead of evolving hazards. It is essential to recognize that there is no one-size-fits-all solution to terrorism, and a comprehensive approach that considers the social, economic, and political factors that contribute to radicalization is necessary to address the problem effectively.

The paper's analysis also highlights the need for further research to be conducted to examine the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies and the most effective and sustainable measures for investing resources. The paper calls for policymakers to adopt a comprehensive and holistic approach that takes into account all of the social, economic, and political factors that contribute to radicalization. With this approach, the EU can develop effective counterterrorism strategies that address the problem of terrorism effectively and protect its citizens.

## 7. Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper aimed to analyze the effectiveness of the European Union's counterterrorism strategies in reducing terrorist activities in EU member nations. The analysis showed that investment in security measures is crucial, but it is not the most significant factor in preventing terrorist attacks. Other factors like effective intelligence gathering and analysis, strong international cooperation, and social policies that discourage radicalization may play a more significant role in preventing and countering terrorism.

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The paper's analysis suggests that there is a need for a more in-depth analysis of the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies and investing resources in the most effective and sustainable measures. While security measures are important, they must be implemented as part of a broader approach that considers the social, economic, and political factors that contribute to radicalization.

Regarding the hypotheses tested in this paper, it was found that the amount of resources spent on security measures may not be the most significant factor in preventing terrorist attacks. It is possible that other factors, such as effective intelligence gathering and analysis, strong international cooperation, and social policies that discourage radicalization, may play a more significant role in preventing and countering terrorism. The analysis showed that other factors,

such as effective intelligence gathering and analysis, strong international cooperation, and social policies that discourage radicalization, may play a more significant role in preventing and countering terrorism. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 was confirmed, while Hypothesis 2 was refuted.

Additionally, it was found that there is a discrepancy in the focus of the European Union's counterterrorism strategy, with the strategy mainly focused on eradicating Islamist terrorism, and overlooking other motivations for terrorism, such as separatist or anarchist terrorism. This may have been a contributing factor to the increase in jihadist terrorist activity in Europe from 2015 onwards.

Overall, this paper's analysis highlights the need for a comprehensive approach to address terrorism, which involves not only security measures but also social and economic policies aimed at addressing the underlying causes of radicalization. The EU must continue to adapt and evolve its counterterrorism strategies to stay ahead of evolving hazards. It is essential to recognize that there is no one-size-fits-all solution to terrorism, and a comprehensive approach that considers the social, economic, and political factors that contribute to radicalization is necessary to address the problem effectively.

To conclude, the findings of this paper indicate that the EU must focus on a comprehensive approach to defeat the terrorist threat by investing in effective and sustainable measures. It is crucial to recognize that terrorism is a complex issue that requires a holistic approach that considers all of the social, economic, and political factors that contribute to radicalization. With this approach, the EU can develop effective counterterrorism strategies that address the problem of terrorism effectively and protect its citizens. The EU must continue to adapt and evolve its counterterrorism strategies to stay ahead of evolving hazards and maintain the safety and security of its citizens.



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## 9. Annexes

### 9.1 Tables

GEO (Labels)	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	TOTALS
Austria	1	1	6	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	18
Belgium	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	4	2	1	1	2	1	3	18
Bulgaria	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	3
Czechia	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3
Denmark	0	1	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	12
Finland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
France	294	267	147	95	84	85	125	63	52	73	23	54	30	7	15	5	6	1425
Germany	13	20	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	2	2	3	6	3	1	56
Greece	25	2	14	15	21	6	1	14	7	4	6	8	7	4	0	0	4	138
Hungary	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5
Ireland	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Italy	11	9	9	3	8	5	11	7	12	4	17	14	13	28	24	0	12	187
Lithuania	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	2	0	0	0	7
Poland	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Portugal	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Slovakia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Spain	145	279	263	171	90	47	54	33	18	25	10	16	11	3	9	1	1	1176
Sweden	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	5
UK	5	2	74	0	40	26	24	35	109	103	76	107	60	64	4	1	1	731
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>498</b>	<b>583</b>	<b>515</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>219</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>3795</b>

GEO (Labels)	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Austria	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.	2.	1.9	2.	2.
Belgium	2.7	2.7	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.7
Bulgaria	4.2	4.2	3.8	4.	4.2	3.5	3.2	3.8	4.1	4.1	3.4	3.6	3.7	3.9	4.2	4.3
Czechia	3.1	3.	2.9	3.	2.9	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.7	2.4	2.5	2.8	2.8	3.1	3.
Denmark	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2
Finland	2.6	2.6	2.6	3.0	3.0	2.7	2.9	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.6	2.4
France	3.3	3.2	3.2	3.6	3.6	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.7	3.5
Germany	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.8
Greece	4.0	4.3	4.6	5.1	4.5	4.2	4.3	4.1	4.8	4.6	4.3	4.6	4.6	4.1	5.0	5.0
Hungary	3.4	3.3	3.	2.8	3.	3.	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.7	3.1	3.4	3.1	3.1	3.2	2.9
Ireland	1.8	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.
Italy	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.5	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.4	3.3
Lithuania	3.3	3.4	3.1	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.7	2.9	3.	3.1	3.1	3.	3.8	3.1
Netherlands	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.4	3.2	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.3	3.3
Poland	3.8	4.2	4.3	3.9	4.1	3.9	3.8	4.	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.7	4.	3.8
Portugal	3.2	3.0	3.	3.5	3.9	3.2	3.	3.1	2.9	2.9	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.7	2.6
Slovakia	3.2	3.	3.1	3.6	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.5	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.1	3.2	3.4	3.7	3.6
Spain	2.8	2.9	3.0	3.1	3.3	3.2	2.9	3.0	2.9	3.0	2.9	2.7	2.7	2.6	3.0	3.0
Sweden	3.	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.8	2.6

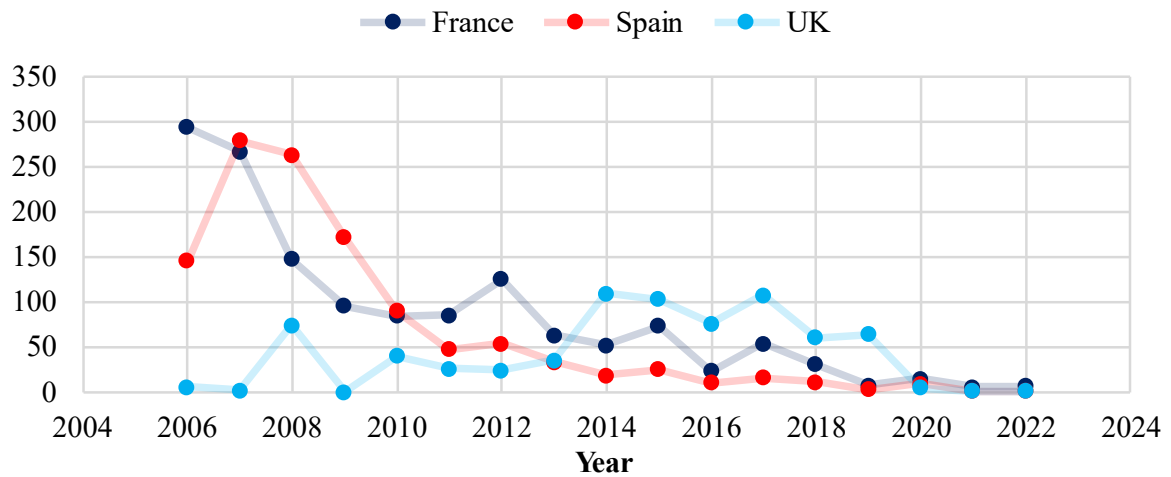
GEO (Labels)	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Austria	5,549.6	5,831.6	6,537.3	6,078.1	5,932.6	6,031.3	6,152.	6,293.2	6,357.7	6,536.6	6,927.4	7,231.3	7,466.5	7,692.5	7,785.7	8,111.9
Belgium	8,917.6	9,242.3	9,988.6	10,047.0	10,263.8	10,530.1	10,776.5	10,975.	10,901.8	10,616.7	10,755.5	11,033.6	11,446.8	11,844.9	12,436.3	13,264.1
Bulgaria	1,139.1	1,359.6	1,442.9	1,508.2	1,598.4	1,451.3	1,375.3	1,605.4	1,768.1	1,876.8	1,655.1	1,861.	2,027.9	2,362.9	2,587.4	3,055.2
Czechia	3,956.8	4,187.2	4,707.5	4,475.6	4,602.4	4,362.3	4,068.3	3,960.1	3,742.6	4,639.2	4,338.8	4,946.8	5,741.7	6,243.7	6,800.5	6,956.6
Denmark	5,500.6	5,432.1	5,734.	5,670.7	5,807.	5,971.9	6,166.3	6,017.4	5,712.9	5,725.4	5,925.9	6,192.1	6,412.3	6,524.9	6,764.0	7,306.6
Finland	4,579.0	4,736.0	5,205.0	5,417.0	5,547.0	5,364.0	5,726.0	5,742.0	5,521.0	5,380.0	5,468.0	5,364.0	5,372.0	5,577.0	6,082.0	5,905.0
France	60,407.0	61,987.0	64,978.0	68,732.0	70,803.0	70,424.0	71,474.0	72,069.0	71,290.0	74,168.0	79,126.0	78,294.0	79,934.0	82,324.0	85,201.0	86,596.0
Germany	59,954.0	59,054.0	60,788.0	63,984.0	64,743.0	66,375.0	72,593.0	74,031.0	73,779.0	75,747.0	79,171.0	84,097.0	88,670.0	93,201.0	96,410.0	100,255.0
Greece	8,730.0	9,914.0	11,080.0	12,120.0	10,105.0	8,542.0	8,149.0	7,251.0	8,520.0	8,137.0	7,500.0	8,289.0	8,162.0	7,480.0	8,177.0	9,033.0
Hungary	3,185.	3,293.2	3,241.2	2,681.5	2,984.6	2,996.	2,643.0	2,749.9	2,615.	3,005.8	3,542.1	4,272.9	4,271.4	4,608.4	4,442.8	4,526.9
Ireland	3,331.4	3,733.3	4,087.	3,670.4	3,399.4	3,649.	3,419.2	3,334.5	3,420.	3,580.	3,739.1	3,854.9	4,194.7	4,219.6	4,430.5	4,434.3
Italy	47,085.0	48,380.0	50,211.0	54,321.0	53,096.0	54,133.0	51,249.0	50,234.0	49,490.0	50,364.0	52,706.0	53,716.0	54,928.0	55,490.0	55,794.0	58,480.0
Lithuania	797.1	992.2	1,025.6	835.9	819.2	878.9	899.9	889.6	952.4	1,074.7	1,145.	1,308.1	1,405.8	1,482.3	1,886.	1,751.2
Netherlands	17,748.0	19,117.0	19,948.0	21,090.0	20,556.0	20,465.0	20,024.0	20,471.0	19,836.0	20,738.0	21,356.0	21,781.0	23,279.0	25,012.0	26,769.0	27,869.0
Poland	10,549.3	13,152.7	15,629.1	12,380.9	14,655.5	14,698.6	14,492.6	15,355.4	15,235.4	16,208.2	16,036.	17,886.3	18,642.3	19,829.7	21,414.7	21,581.7
Portugal	5,246.8	5,237.0	5,399.4	6,124.8	7,004.6	5,661.6	4,997.5	5,373.6	5,104.7	5,166.7	4,916.6	5,057.	5,287.8	5,202.7	5,400.4	5,599.7
Slovakia	1,452.1	1,718.	2,023.3	2,330.1	2,212.7	2,284.5	2,328.7	2,563.3	2,530.3	2,692.9	2,691.7	2,636.8	2,891.3	3,182.8	3,464.	3,542.5
Spain	28,233.0	30,882.0	32,974.0	32,900.0	34,448.0	34,171.0	30,714.0	30,747.0	29,631.0	32,177.0	32,092.0	31,625.0	31,818.0	33,212.0	34,055.0	36,339.0
Sweden	9,925.6	10,136.	9,774.7	8,842.3	10,663.2	11,289.8	11,834.2	12,369.4	11,483.7	11,290.7	11,588.5	11,829.	11,848.7	12,076.8	13,131.3	14,247.5

Member State	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	TOTALS
Austria	1	8	6	8	5	2	2	3	31	49	34	48	35	45	20	24	17	338
Belgium	14	10	0	4	20	4	8	20	72	61	65	50	166	99	52	32	23	700
Bulgaria	0	4	0	1	0	3	10	15	21	21	5	14	14	11	2	0	1	122
Croatia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3
Cyprus	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	10
Czechia	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	1	1	5	2	1	2	4	2	0	0	26
Denmark	6	9	0	0	6	7	5	0	1	0	8	17	3	21	4	9	7	103
Estonia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Finland	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	4	3	0	9	0	0	2	5	1	28
France	342	409	147	315	219	172	186	225	238	424	456	411	310	224	155	140	109	4482
Germany	20	15	0	5	25	30	8	11	18	40	35	58	59	35	67	34	75	535
Greece	0	0	14	5	18	15	3	23	13	29	17	15	22	7	12	6	3	202
Hungary	0	0	0	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	4	2	0	25
Ireland	4	24	2	31	62	69	66	41	27	41	17	11	0	5	0	14	19	433
Italy	59	44	9	29	29	30	43	14	39	40	38	39	56	132	42	40	45	728
Latvia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Lithuania	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3
Luxembourg	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Malta	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netherlands	6	16	0	1	39	3	62	6	17	20	45	35	49	37	20	17	24	397
Poland	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	14	4	6	2	2	4	0	3	0	40
Portugal	0	32	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	1	45
Romania	0	3	0	0	16	4	16	8	0	11	1	2	2	4	0	2	4	73
Slovakia	3	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	10
Slovenia	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	6
Spain	85	261	263	169	118	64	38	90	145	187	120	91	52	91	0	3	48	1825
Sweden	3	2	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	3	3	1	7	0	0	3	2	32
UK	156	203	74	0	45	62	84	77	132	134	149	412	273	281	0	0	0	2082
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>703</b>	<b>1044</b>	<b>515</b>	<b>586</b>	<b>611</b>	<b>484</b>	<b>537</b>	<b>535</b>	<b>774</b>	<b>1077</b>	<b>1002</b>	<b>1219</b>	<b>1056</b>	<b>1004</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>344</b>	<b>380</b>	<b>12255</b>

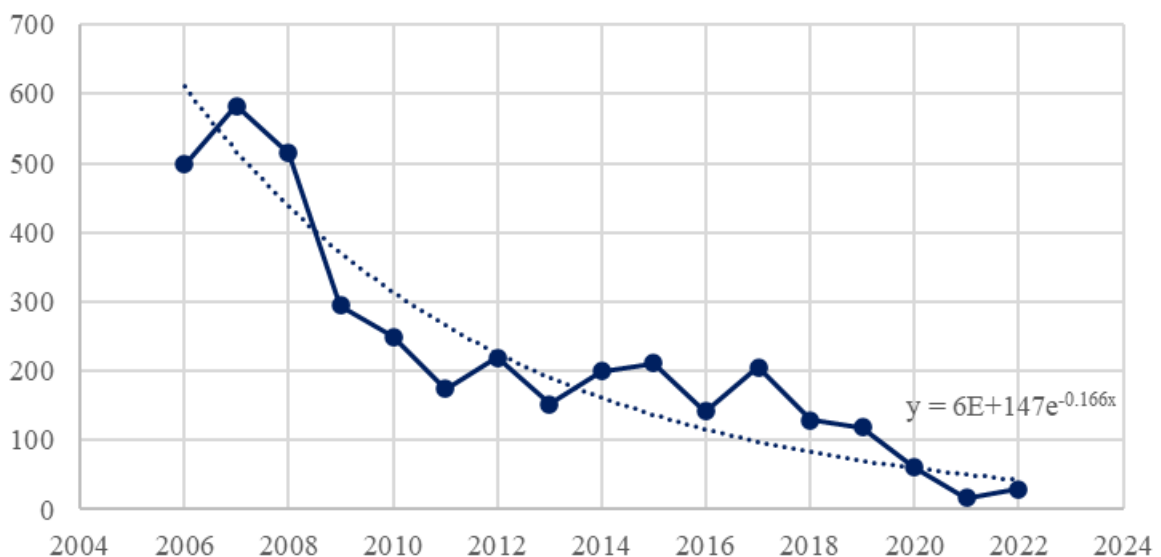


## 9.2 Graphs

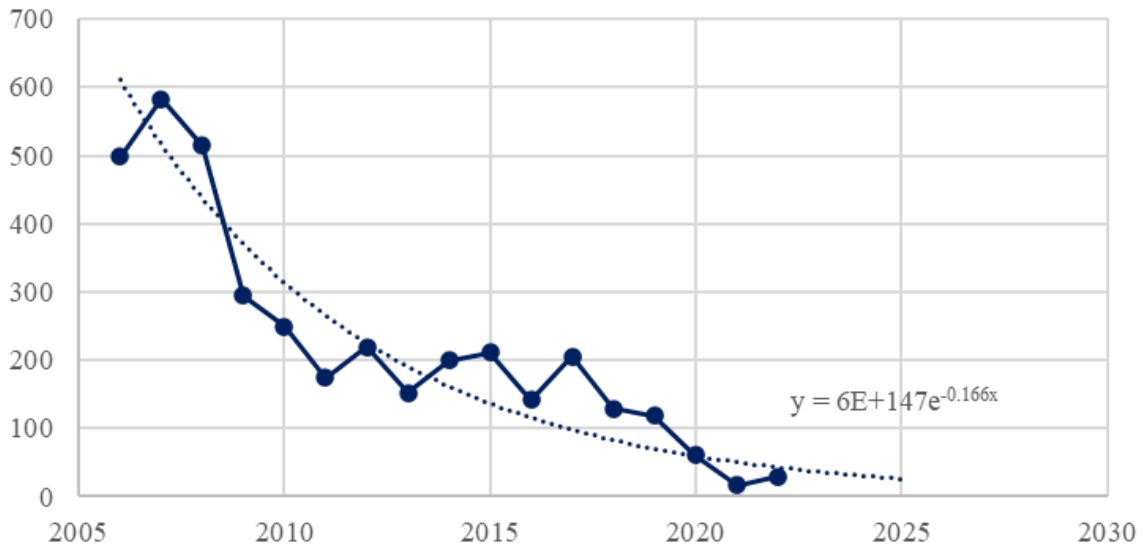
### Annual Number of Failed, Foiled and Completed Terrorist Attacks in selected EU Members



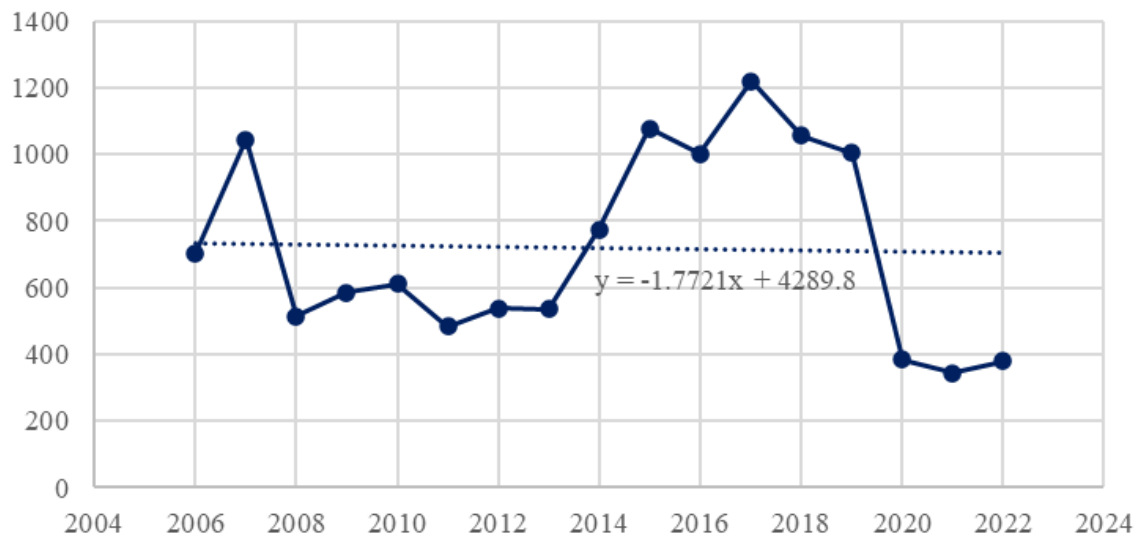
### Total Number of Failed, Foiled and Completed Terrorist Attacks in EU Member Nations



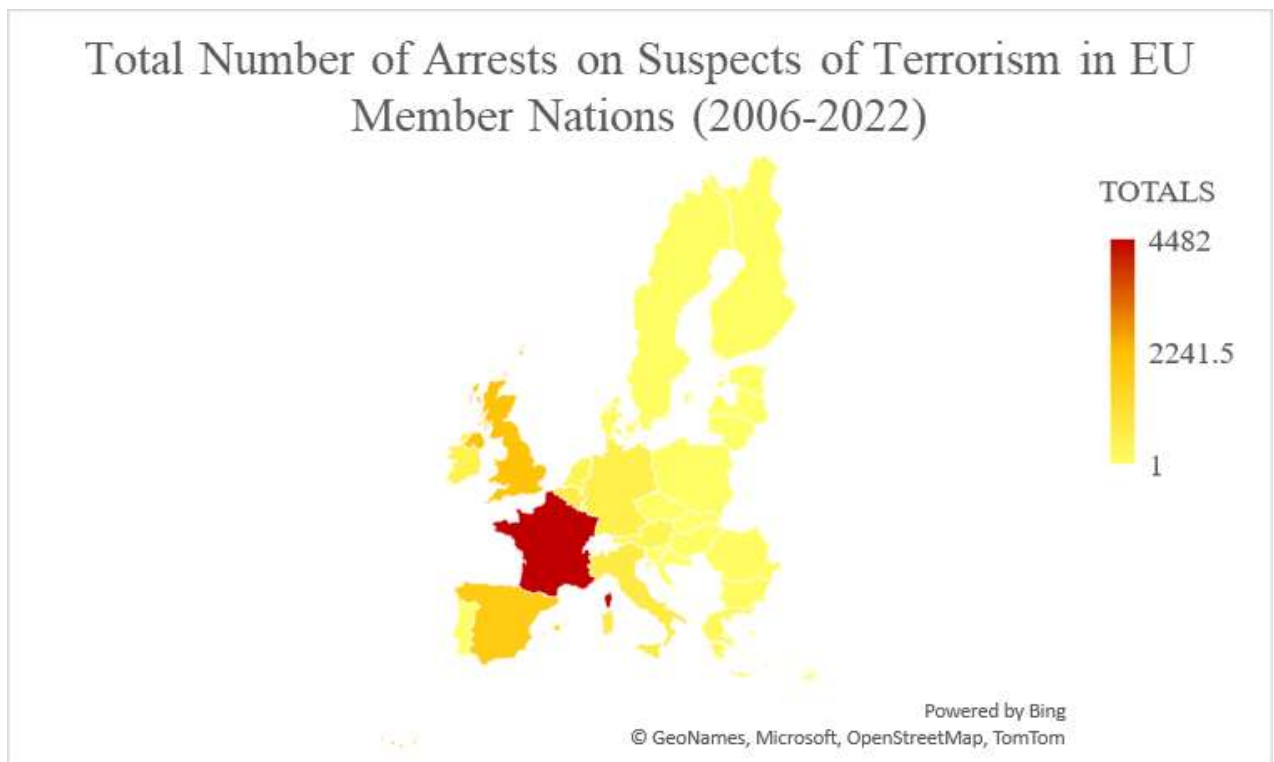
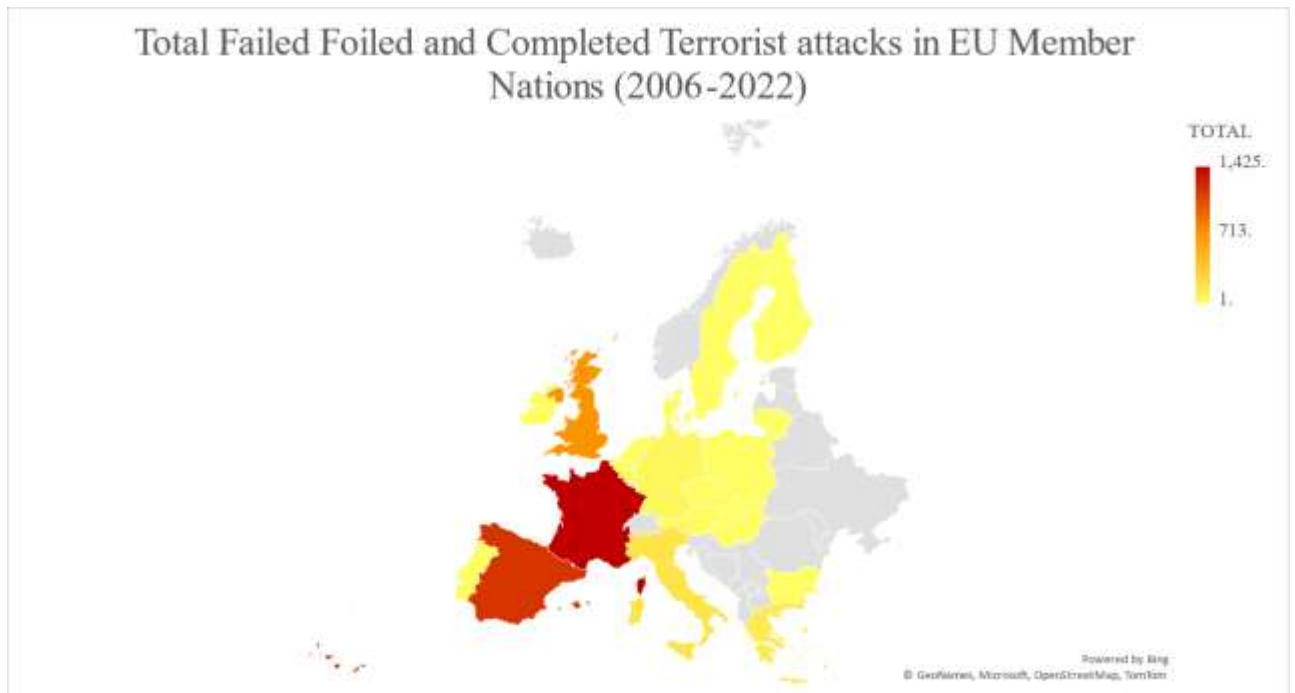
Total Number of Failed, Foiled and Completed Terrorist Attacks in EU Member Nations

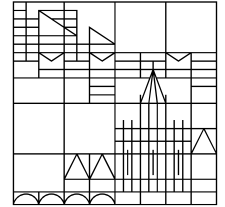


Total Number of Annual Arrests in EU Member Nations



### 9.3 Maps





### 9.4 Declaration

First name:	Last name:
Isaac David	Pinto Guzman
Student ID:	E-Mail address:
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I hereby declare that the attached masters thesis (title / supervisors):

The Decline of Terrorism in European Soil: Comparative Political Analysis  
doc. PhDr. Vít Štrátecký (Charles University) and Prof. Dr. Michael Dobbins (University of Konstanz)

on the following topics:

Counterterrorism and policymaking.

is the result of my own, independent work. I have not used any aids or sources other than those I have referenced in the document.

For contributions and quotations from the works of other people (whether distributed electronically or in hardcopy), I have identified each of them with a reference to the source or the secondary literature. Failure to do so constitutes plagiarism. I will also submit the term paper electronically to the lecturer. Furthermore, I declare that the above mentioned work has not been otherwise submitted as a term paper.

I am aware that papers that turn out to be plagiarized will be graded “insufficient” (5,0). Every suspected case of plagiarism will be submitted to the examination board, which will decide on further sanctions. The legal basis for this procedure can be found in the examination regulations. These rules also apply to students that study Politics and Public Administration as a minor subject.

Date: 31.07.2023

Signature of the student