

# Council of Europe Conference on the Roles of Women and Children in Terrorism

15 – 16 December 2021, Hybrid, Strasbourg

## Event Summary

*Disclaimer: The positions presented in this event summary do not represent the official position of the Council of Europe.*

The Council of Europe Committee on Counter-Terrorism (CDCT), in collaboration with other relevant bodies of the Council of Europe, namely, the Gender Equality Commission (GEC), the Steering Committee for the Rights of the Child (CDENF) and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe held an International Conference on the Roles of Women and Children in Terrorism at the Council of Europe Premises, in hybrid format, on 15-16 December 2021.

The discussions brought together more than 200 speakers and participants from Council of Europe member and observer States, partner organisations including the United Nations, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the U.S. Department of State as well as high-level representatives in this domain, namely policymakers, parliamentarians, academics, journalists and independent experts.

This Conference focused on the questions related to the involvement of women and children in terrorist activities and the challenges linked to their repatriation and reintegration into societies. Such discussions took place across five thematic sessions, addressing the roles of women and children, separately, in different terrorist organisations, the situation of returnees with links to ISIL (“Daesh”), reintegration and rehabilitation policies and finally, a Parliamentary roundtable on measures taken by Council of Europe member States to repatriate and re-integrate the children from post-war and post-conflict areas. The Conference, therefore, aimed to provide contextual and background information to the issue itself and to highlight the scale and diversity of the challenges now facing States.

## **Opening Session: Welcoming Statements and Introductory Remarks**

During the opening remarks, the importance of this issue was underlined, taking into consideration the recent experience of many States with nationals departing for Syria and Iraq to join ISIL (“Daesh”) and the continuing concerns with regards to their return to their countries of origin. The recent experience has taught us that we need to view the issue of the involvement of women and children in terrorism beyond solutions to the current situation of those located in North-East Syria and to devote equal efforts to the prevention of any future attempts of their radicalisation and recruitment by terrorist organisations, as emphasised in the recent inquiry into emerging terrorist threats conducted by the Council of Europe Committee on Counter-Terrorism (CDCT). It was recognised that any discussions on solutions aimed at addressing this issue should reflect the complexity of the matter due to the convergence of various rights and interests in this sphere, such as national security concerns, individual human rights and the interests of the general public. This is also visible from divergent approaches taken by countries to date that have attempted to address the involvement of women and children, their nationals, with terrorist organisations. The speakers highlighted that ideally, all future efforts aimed at prevention, adjudication, and reintegration should reflect a balance between these competing priorities, in line with the long-standing approach of the Council of Europe and the European Court of Human Rights.

Similarly, the importance of ensuring that any policy to address the challenges of repatriation and reintegration remains mindful of the human rights implications of long-term detention in very difficult conditions was emphasised. The women and children concerned cannot simply be left to languish indefinitely in such conditions, as a problem too difficult to address. In line with the Council of Europe Strategy for the Rights of the Child, the Committee for the Rights of the Child (CDENF) held a first thematic exchange on how to move forward on the issue of rehabilitation and reintegration of child returnees. This exchange concluded

that progress needs to be made in terms of child-friendly justice, participation of children, and preventing violence against children. The protection of the rights of children in crisis and emergency situations will be one of the priority areas to be addressed under the upcoming Council of Europe Strategy for the Rights of the Child (2022-2027), foreseen for adoption by the Committee of Ministers in early 2022.

When discussing the involvement of children in terrorism, the speakers underscored that we should always be mindful of the necessity to view children first and foremost as victims of acts committed against them in violation of international law. Every child, including those exposed to the influence of a terrorist organisation, is entitled to support and protection of their human rights, both under the UN Convention for the Rights of the Child and under the European Convention on Human Rights. Recent experience has shown a clear need for more data to be gathered on the underlying factors driving or forcing women to terrorist milieus, such as influences from the social environment and family members, as well as attraction to values put forward by organisations. Such efforts would help better inform future approaches towards prevention and facilitate gender mainstreaming of prevention, reintegration and rehabilitation policies. Gender mainstreaming means that all such policies should be evaluated on whether they impact women and girls differently as compared with men and boys and should be reformulated to address any injustice or unfairness that may result from that different impact.

The common goal of achieving peace and security around the world through international co-operation and co-ordination between partner organisations was underlined. Women and children who are left in camps in north-eastern Syria, deprived of their liberty without due process were highlighted as clear violations to human rights. Furthermore, the whole world will continue to face long-term security risks should third country nationals and others who may have alleged or actual links or family ties to designated terrorist groups not be repatriated, held accountable, rehabilitated and reintegrated. On this basis, the guidance on the United Nations support to member States, titled the '2019 United Nations Key Principles for the Protection, Rehabilitation and Reintegration of Women and Children with Links to United Nations Listed Terrorist Groups' were discussed. These principles focus on the importance of individual assessment and screening, reviewing each case individually and determining possible affiliation and/or victimhood in consideration of age and gender. The importance of taking the complex and overlapping roles of women in terrorism into consideration when developing responses to terrorism was emphasised as well as considering all children alleged to have, accused of having, or recognised as having infringed the law, primarily as victims, as highlighted in Security Council Resolution 2427. Whilst this does not exclude criminal liability or accountability, the priority should be placed upon effective reintegration, promoting physical and psychological recovery whilst safeguarding state security.

A gender and age responsive approach that is tailored to the individual was noted as essential to address the root causes of violent extremism and terrorism and to ensure that the rehabilitation and reintegration process is effective. The specific roles of women in this domain were highlighted in that they can be both victims and perpetrators, in which the roles are often interlinked, emphasising the need to steer away from traditional positions that women are solely victims. On this basis, the need for more empirical data, research and experience on this subject was reiterated.

The important yet often under-utilised role of mothers in community prevention approaches was raised and the importance of tailored gender-sensitive, age-appropriate ways for prevention was reiterated. In this regard, the financial support provided by the U.S. for the Mother Schools: Parenting for Peace program was discussed in which women have been supported on an international scale in guiding their children and other family members away from violent extremism. Programs should empower young people as positive prevention agents rather than just as beneficiaries. Women and young people can be effective local peacebuilders and changemakers, emphasising such individuals as partners and leaders in CVE efforts and underlining the requirement for this engagement.

## **Session I: The Impact on and the Roles played by Women in different Terrorist Organisations**

The first session aimed to discuss the roles of women within existing or already extinct terrorist organisations around the world in order to better understand what were and are their functions and positions. This session enabled parallels to be drawn between the different roles and to dispel certain myths to differentiate between those women who were primarily victims and those who were offenders or alternatively, both.

This session highlighted that, currently, a gender approach in the context of terrorism is under documented despite being an extremely important part of understanding what specifically leads young women to join terrorist groups. It was emphasised that the common singular narrative of women in terrorist organisations can act as a barrier to efforts to prevent terrorism itself and to respond adequately to the reintegration and rehabilitation of women alleged as or having been involved in terrorist activity in Syria or Iraq. Women have often been viewed as either victims or perpetrators, in which it was highlighted that it is often far more complex with such roles being interlinked. It was, therefore, noted that there is a need to explore new areas of research and review the stereotype of women as victims of violence to consider their role as perpetrators and, more importantly, the link between the two.

Speakers noted that the participation of women in terrorism, particularly when undertaking the role of a suicide bomber, may be perceived as a way to create a fresh slate from community imposed “shames”. If a woman is violated, she often receives blame for this, and speakers underlined that it is often seen most suitable to die for a good cause as a result. Alternatively, for acts of revenge for loved ones, seeking to ‘gain respect’ from the community and to show that they are as dedicated as the men were mentioned as vetting mechanisms. A further issue that was raised was related to the experience of domestic violence by women within the family whereby they are not entitled to leave for such a reason. It is, however, considered ‘acceptable’ to leave to join ISIL (“Daesh”) and will often see this as a safer option for themselves and their children than staying within the family.

Key statistics were discussed by speakers in this domain, highlighting that in 2015, there was a large wave of departures of women between 18-29 years. These women often followed a family member, or some went for religious reasons to live an ‘ideal’ life because Western society was seen as morally corrupt or decadent. A status was also linked to marrying a jihadi soldier, with which came material benefits and financial security and alternatively or often simultaneously there were also situations of manipulation, blackmailing and deceit. It was, therefore, underlined as paramount, that a gender approach is utilised when trying to understand the stories of these often-young women that leads them to radicalisation and even participation in terrorist organisations and that there is never one singular narrative behind this.

This session also emphasised the role of the internet and family networks with regard to the recruitment of women whereby a ‘seed’ is planted within the family and is then exacerbated through access to misleading information on the internet. The role of women in propaganda was, therefore, discussed as extremely important in which active roles have been observed throughout Europe. The impact of women is more consequential than most realise, appealing to young men and women in the recruitment process.

Speakers also discussed the importance of prevention mechanisms, for example, an education-based PVE model by Women without Borders, which shines light on the positive agency of women. Tools are provided to concerned and affected mothers of adolescents in vulnerable communities to protect their families from the threat of extremism. Such a model stressed the importance of education as key for family and community members at the frontlines.

Family violence and counterproductive parenting techniques were mentioned as silent drivers to terrorism. The need, therefore, to identify women allies and support roles in this space especially women in marginalised communities was underlined, providing family members and communities with awareness, tools, confidence, and responsibilities to allow them to disrupt the process.

This session further emphasised the importance of an international approach, noting that broader support and coordination is needed, including learning from challenges and exchanging best practices and most importantly, avoiding a singular narrative of women in international efforts to counter terrorism.

## **Session II: The Impact on and the Roles played by Children in different Terrorist Organisations**

Session II focused on understanding the roles that have been assigned to children within terrorist organisations over time and the impact on children thereto. In many cases, terrorist organisations have rarely distinguished between adults and children, recruiting boys and girls at a very young age. In addition, the tasks of girls have varied greatly from those given to boys. The aim of the discussion was, therefore, to enable parallels to be drawn between the different roles that children (both boys and girls) had or have in different terrorist organisations to better understand their lives and roles in ISIL (“Daesh”), taking into consideration both gender and age dimensions.

This session consistently emphasised that children are victims in this context, the recruitment of children is a serious issue of violence against children. It was underlined that terrorist organisations neither set nor respect a minimum age for child targeting. Speakers drew from international reports and academic research, noting that the recruitment of children under the age of 18 stands out as the organisation's means of both expanding its military base and propaganda material since they are not only fighters on the frontline but also used in visual content shared by the group.

The strategy, therefore, to radicalise and recruit children from an early age is implemented as children's entertainment, specifically targeted through cartoons, games, musicals and plays with incorporated terrorist ideas and promotion materials. In video materials, children are often transformed into killers of enemy soldiers and fighters for terrorism goals. In this sense, the psychological risks were highlighted whereby children absorb what they hear and see, becoming part of their characters, creating the culture of martyrdom children.

Furthermore, strict gender segregations are imposed, whereby girls are prohibited from military training and remain subject to sexual and gender-based violence, including torture or mass forced slavery. Boys have been executed, beheaded or shot for suspected affiliated with other armed groups. Speakers noted, therefore, that the Islamic State altered the role of children in armed conflict and terrorism and has resulted in extreme levels of violence, displacement and trauma whereby children are unable to fully consent and understand the consequences of their actions. Children can, therefore, become extremely dangerous instruments to such groups, becoming subject to statelessness and completely alienated from communities from a very young age.

On this basis, ISIL was said to distinguish itself from other terrorist organisations through localised transparency in terms of its recruitment, training, use and indoctrination of children. The exploitation of children was described as a structured and organised process aiming to attain clear short-, medium- and long-term goals, recruiting children as one of five roles: executioner, soldier, spy, preacher and martyr. ISIL's use of children, therefore, was said to reflect an important strategy in achieving the goals of the group:

- 1) Gaining worldwide attention (created through an intentional shock factor guaranteeing appearance in Western media);
- 2) Displaying power and state-building projects;
- 3) Fulfilling the aim of longevity.

It was, therefore, noted that the need to reduce the ‘efficacy’ of propaganda is required through critical thinking and media literacy skills in school curriculum to reduce the vulnerability of youth to terrorist propaganda. Similarly, the importance of exit programmes was mentioned. Such exit programmes need to agree on what they aim to achieve. For example, interventions should be long term to provide adequate support and investing time in evaluation mechanisms of these programmes. We need to ensure that harmful content is not accessible, particularly to young children, and ensure that they are equipped with the understanding and knowledge of how these groups operate and recruit. Children need to understand that the way they feel and what they experience during or following involvement with a terrorist organisation is

normal and ensure that they are offered psychological instruments to deal, manage and recover from psychological suffering. Children were underlined as the most important stakeholders in this domain and should be empowered, given agency and involved in designing monitoring solutions.

The speakers from this session emphasised that prevention measures in this domain should be context specific and multi-dimensional, promoting alternative narratives and support for families. Children that have been allegedly associated with terrorist groups should be treated as victims of violence and reintegrated into their communities.

The importance of exit programmes and counter-terrorism legislation being consistent with international juvenile standards was emphasised, whereby detention should be seen as a last resort and diverse mechanisms, and community-based rehabilitation should be consistently developed.

### **Session III: The Situation of Women and Children Returnees with links to Daesh**

The third Session aimed to further a constructive debate on realistic strategies to determine the different situations of women and children, including the assessment of the risks that they may pose if they return to Europe and with respect to the response by the judicial systems for those who should be brought to justice for terrorism-related or other serious crimes committed abroad.

Such discussions looked at the security risk that such individuals may represent, both in the camps and the threat that could arise should they return to their countries of origin. From a journalistic perspective, the importance of recognising that children are growing up with little to no concept of the outside world in combination with dangerous ideology was underlined. At the same time, it was reiterated in this session again, that not all women and children in camps in Syria and Iraq pose a risk of dangerousness, and that stories are often far more nuanced and complicated than exacerbated by the media or single narratives.

It was mentioned by the participants that, against this background, a coordinated repatriation and reintegration process equates to and enables improved risk management, noting that it would be considered a strategic mistake to enable the ideological project to continue, develop and expand. While the ideology of ISIL might be considered contained for now, addressing such threats with temporary or short-term measures may simply lead to greater issues down the line.

Ideological aspects (ideas) were underlined as extremely important to understand why individuals or groups move towards ISIL ("Daesh") and also how they can move away. As discussed earlier, ISIL ("Daesh") was built upon existing ideas and utilises technology, marketing and propaganda to sell their message(s) in an attractive manner all over the world and are considered the first group to utilise such methods. Speakers mentioned that Muslim women are often victims of discrimination, based on their appearance. Experts, therefore, noted that ISIL ("Daesh") presents an ideology that they can provide what no one else was able to provide for them, creating an image of sisterhood and acceptance.

When looking into the issue of returnees, many speakers emphasised that the issue is far more multidimensional than it may appear. Financial issues were raised whereby, often women who are in camps, with no links to ISIL ("Daesh"), will accept money that is offered by the recruiters, due to a question of life or death for both themselves and/or their children. Often simultaneously, women and children have been found to be potential victims of human trafficking, slavery and exploitation leading to forced childbirth, child-rearing and domestic servitude, a key component to the strategy of ISIL ("Daesh") state-building. Such concepts can be difficult to understand however, the situation is such that women whilst seen as perpetrators had no other solution from the position of a victim, once again reiterating the importance of avoiding a singular narrative in this domain.

As was reiterated throughout the Conference, the process of coordinating returns must, therefore, utilise an individualistic approach whereby all of the above-mentioned issues are taken into consideration, understanding that there are no rules and methods that can be generalised for everyone.

The session also discussed the variations in situations and responses in different areas of the world, including some regions engaging in either:

- Large-scale government organised repatriation campaigns with returnees channelled via reception centres to receiving Mahallas for rehabilitation and reintegration;
- Self-organised repatriation combined with assistance from military actors with rehabilitation and reintegration coordinated among social workers, police and receiving families;
- Reluctance to cautious and small-scale repatriations with rehabilitation efforts linked with criminal justice responses.

Similarly, the variations with regards to the use of prosecution were raised whereby some regions engage in very few prosecutions of women affiliated with FTFs and others consider prosecution as standard.

Three steps were mentioned as possible tools that could be useful in the process of returnees.

- 1) **Re-connecting** with the individual.
- 2) **Re-constructing:** Inspiring and motivating the individual by using neutral/safe reading material and art. In addition, the use of a transparent approach was emphasised, ensuring that anything that is said is factual and proven (a Socratic method), stimulating their own thinking process. One should not demand change or replace thoughts, we are not teaching or showing, we are orienting towards alternatives, and the individual has to make that choice.
- 3) **Integration:** if such individuals have not been integrated into society before, we cannot 're'-integrate them. Rather the focus should be on providing a new role in society, providing alternatives e.g., the option of changing their place of residence.

#### **Session IV Part 1: Reintegration and Rehabilitation Polices (Women-Focused)**

Session IV Part 1 aimed to discuss the feasibility of re-integrating and rehabilitating, in Europe, women and older children allegedly involved in terrorism-related offences in Syria and Iraq in which the importance of gender-sensitive dimensions was emphasised. This session, therefore, explored the effectiveness of reintegration programmes, methods and strategies to deal with Female FTFs and spouses of FTFs.

Speakers underlined the importance of ensuring that relevant laws and policies in this domain must be in full compliance with international law, including international human rights law, international humanitarian law, and international refugee law as well as international standards and resolutions whilst reflecting national and regional circumstances. Such strategies should engage with civil society and be comprehensive and tailored to the individual in question, acknowledging that women require a specific focus, including risk assessment tools that incorporate gender perspectives. Where women are suspected of being involved in or affiliated with terrorist organisations, due process and fair trial standards, including the presumption of innocence and the right to an appeal must be adhered to.

The lack of reintegration opportunities for women was mentioned by speakers whereby they are seen to be more commonly offered to men. Women are known to experience greater isolation and stigma in communities, inhibiting reintegration support. Therefore, the need for increased monitoring of reintegration and rehabilitation programmes and policies was noted as crucial to assess the effectiveness, impact and to identify the required improvements thereto.

Speakers discussed the classification of women who have been involved in reintegration programmes in which the social status was often broad, ranging from underprivileged economic backgrounds to university graduates and employees. It was noted that the length of time in areas under the control of ISIL ("Daesh") could not yet be an indicator for risk or level of radicalisation.

Experts presented the following items as important good practices in the reintegration and rehabilitation process for women based on practical experience:

- Good lines of communication both during and prior to reintegration and rehabilitation;
- Ensuring all partners are continuously updated (case conferences);
- A comprehensive understanding of the role/s played by different actors involved in prevention and de-radicalisation work and the use of interdisciplinary teams;
- In some cases, separating the consultation of the concerned woman (de-radicalisation and exit work) and the consultation of the family;
- Adapting and developing existing strategies;
- Offer mental health strategies (case by case dependent).

Similarly, possible challenges were mentioned in this domain:

- Prolonged stay in the camps al-Roj and al-Hawl;
- Regarding women as separate entities to their children (counsellors, institutions etc.)
- Criminal prosecution;
- Media attention after arrival;
- Processing the role played in Syria and/or Iraq: Holding on to the narrative of victimised and passive women (Disengagement, exit work);
- Returning to the same living situations (socialising and entering the job market).

The importance, therefore, of engaging in consistent monitoring and evaluation of these processes, inclusive of a gender perspective was underlined.

#### **Session IV Part 2: Reintegration and Rehabilitation Policies (Child-Focused)**

Part 2 of this Session, focusing on child reintegration and rehabilitation policies followed on from Part 1 by aiming to make a clear distinction between the reintegration programmes, methods and strategies destined to better integrate into society the children who were victims of ISIL ("Daesh"), as well as those older children alleged as, accused of, involved in or recognised as having committed terrorism-related offences.

The importance of the CDCT Recommendation CM/Rec(2021)7 to the Committee of Ministers to member States on measures aimed at protecting children against radicalisation for the purpose of terrorism which was adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 20 October 2021, was discussed. This Recommendation focuses on the protection of the child and advocates for greater engagement of first line practitioners, in full accordance with the requirements of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ETS No. 5, "the Convention") and the relevant case law of the European Court of Human Rights, as well as other relevant international human rights standards, in particular, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The speakers in this session discussed the distinctions between groups of children and the appropriate response that is, therefore, required. For example, those older children who decided independently to travel to conflict zones, those that were taken by their parent(s) or alternatively those that were born in conflict zones. Speakers further emphasised the importance of the collaboration of agencies and partners involved in reintegration and rehabilitation policies to ensure that the needs of the individual are supported in both the short and long term, including the identification of which specific actors are required to be involved.

The need for effectively managed reintegration processes was emphasised whereby providing children with the appropriate environment, they have the ability to be supported to recover from trauma and develop resilient coping strategies. The concern regarding the continuation of violence into adulthood was emphasised, meaning national policy should guide the means of this and disclose indications of future violence.

Speakers discussed specific perspectives on Reintegration and Rehabilitation policies for children in which the focus was on the use of critical thinking skills, the inclusion of family members, capacity building of various actors involved whilst ensuring that such actors are regularly engaged with communities, policy makers and



practitioners both nationally and internationally. The importance, therefore, of Rehabilitation and Reintegration being an inter-institutional activity was underlined.

### **Session V Parliamentary Round-Table on measures taken by Council of Europe member States to repatriate and re-integrate the children from post-war and post-conflict areas**

The final session of the Conference was dedicated to a Parliamentary round-table on measures taken by Council of Europe member States to repatriate and re-integrate the children from post-war and post-conflict areas, organised by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. The round-table consisted of Parliamentarians from the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, the Committee on Social Affairs, Health and Sustainable Development and the Committee on Political Affairs and Democracy (France SOC) of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, and the Foreign Affairs and Interparliamentary Relations Committee of the Mili Majilis, Parliament of Azerbaijan, EC/DA.

This session provided a platform for Parliamentarians from a range of Political Groups and States to address the feasibility, best practices and major challenges concerning the repatriation of children, while taking into consideration relevant international legal instruments, including the Geneva Conventions, their Additional Protocol I, the UNHCR Guidelines no. 4 on statelessness and the 2000 Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict, which all Council of Europe member States have ratified, also bearing in mind a gender and age-sensitive approach.

This session underlined similarities between the position of States with regards to the repatriation and reintegration of children from conflict zones. All Parliamentarians expressed the repatriation of children as an obligation of member States under international law and the United Nations Convention on the rights of a child. The humanitarian issues of children being kept in squalid conflict zones are clear, resulting in long-term psychological and physical impacts and even death, it is a threat to their lives and human rights and further increases the security risk in the future. Parliamentarians expressed that by leaving children in such territories, we recognise our inability to break the cycle of terrorism, serving as a basis for further acts of terrorism and radicalisation of minors in the future. Children are brought up understanding that violence is an acceptable tool for resolving conflict and they require support to the greatest extent possible.

All Parliamentarians underlined the need for adequate support for victims of terrorism and child returnees in particular, by utilising a targeted and holistic approach to each child and their family where possible. Parliamentarians expressed the importance of the discussions held in the Conference, noting that we need to engage in success stories as well as learn from obstacles that have arisen in the repatriation process.

This session highlighted that the best interest of the child must remain paramount in all actions and policies to repatriate and reintegrate from conflict zones and their dignity and human rights must be fully upheld.



**PowerPoint Presentation links:**

Dr BLOOM\_Presentation\_Conf2021.pdf  
<https://rm.coe.int/dr-bloom-presentation-conf2021/1680a5ade9>

Mr EISING\_Presentation\_Conf2021 2773-9592-7301 v.1.pdf  
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