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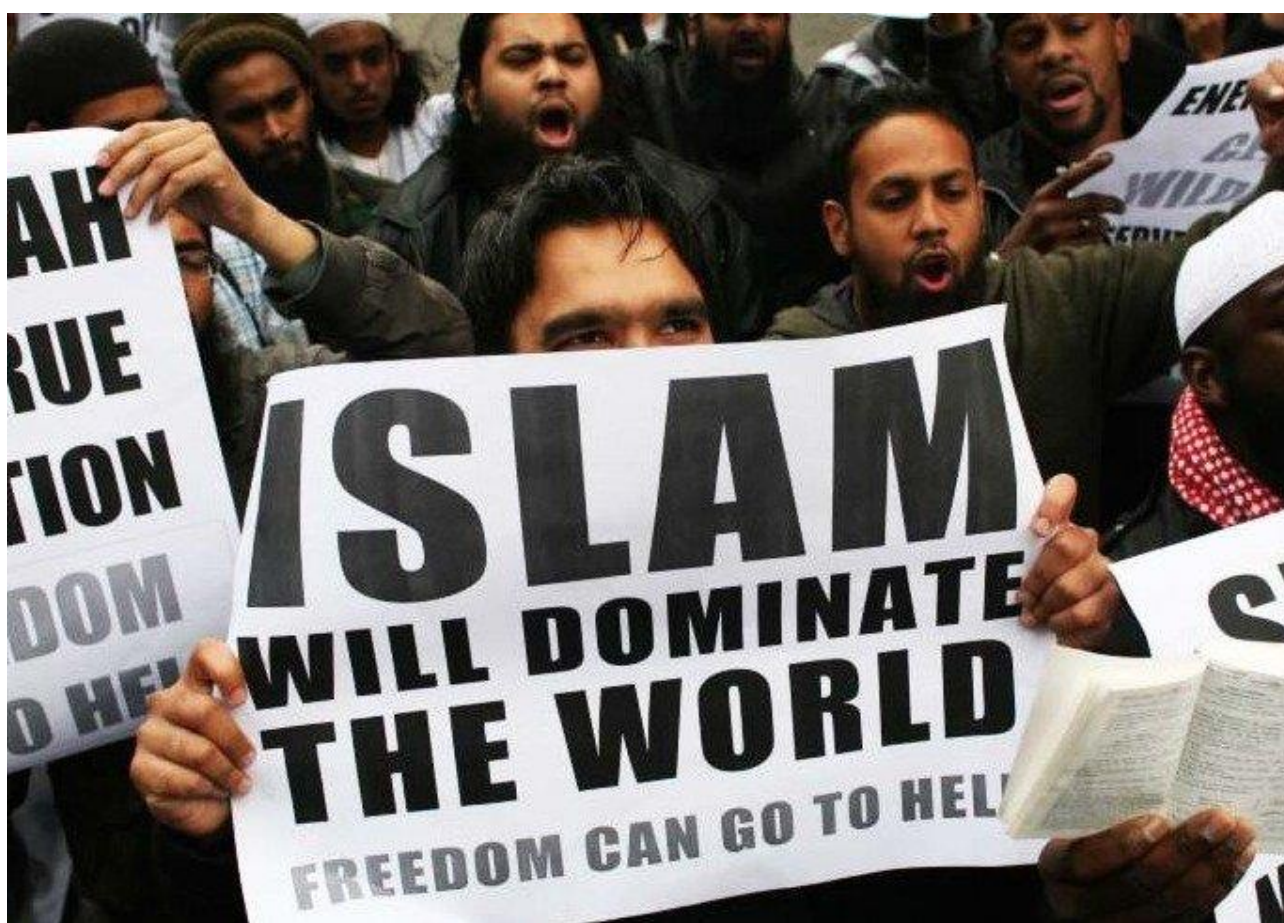
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MASTER THESIS

THE CAUSES FOR THE RISE OF RADICAL ISLAMIC EXTREMISM



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**THESIS SUBMITTED TO AALBORG UNIVERSITY IN FULFILMENT OF THE
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ABSTRACT

Subject of radical Islamic extremism is rather complex and to understand it properly is not only necessary to turn back from the sensationalistic media attention it gained recently but also many prejudice that surrounds it. Recent terrorist activities in Europe introduced it in a sort of apocalyptic way. People's fear and interests is emerging every day but it seems like nobody quite understands what is behind it and what causes motivates it to expand further and further.

This thesis examines historical evolution of radical Islamic extremism to picture main causes for its development. Its aim is to deliver better understanding of this phenomenon so essential for determining future approaches and policies and for the demystification of the problem that surrounds it.

Timespan covered can be traced from early medieval times through Wahhabi movement and modern ideologies of Maulana Mawdudi and Sayyid Qutb toward Afghanistan war.

Afghanistan is extremely important as it is how it emerged on the global scene for the first time, transformed its self into trans-national movement with aim for global recognition under clearly set ideological guidelines, ideals and claims that will eventually transform it into Al-Qaeda and all other extreme radical terrorist groups that emerged later.

I'm analyzing radical Islamic extremism with New Social Movement Theory to understand its roots and what unifies them and Relative Deprivation Theory to understand what impact different feelings of grievance or frustrations could have influenced its rise. I'm exploring political, economic, social and psychological background of their members to define different typologies of identities that constitute those organizations and reasons for their radicalization. As you will be presented with chronological progression of the movement and its causes it will become clearer why I also decided to analyze western military involvements and where I find the causal link with today's situation.

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1.INTRODUCTION

The introduction to this thesis is based on events around the rise of Islamic extremist ideology and especially terrorist activities and the refugee crisis that in recent years occupied the world's attention. In order to understand today's world I have taken the end of the Cold War as a departure point. Thomas Friedman (2000) wrote how today's global order began with the triumphal victory of the West over the socialist world. The fall of the Berlin wall was a symbol of that new world. The end of ideological confrontations and the clash of ideas that ruled aspects of life for most of the planet after World War II inspired Fukuyama's essay: *The End of History*¹ describing it in the grand philosophical sense. The concept of liberal democracy was presented as ideologically without menace and with the ability of defining itself as an ideal to be followed by the rest of the World throughout the process of *transition* to a new political order. In the years from 1989 to 2012, according to Freedom House,² a number of democratic countries rose from 41 to 61 in an unprecedented success story, with high hopes for the future economic, social and political development of those countries. The usual premise was that development is not a mere result of the system change but a change of consciousness that will bring about that change. Deliberated from the feeling of self-criticism due to the fact that it was ideologically uncontested, it rose in most of the nations of Eastern Europe quickly, with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, in a sort of Huntingtonian way, ended apartheid in South Africa and brought spectacular improvement to many African countries. It continued further in 1997 with transition in Indonesia, where ousted president Suharto, long time dictator, lost power, but many other Islamic countries were left out of democratic reach until 2011, and the popular Arab Spring uprising. In Mira Markovic's ³view,

¹ Cynthia Weber in her *International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction*, page 120-121, Rutledge 2001, claim how globalization has its base in classical Marxism which use "economic processes to drive political and cultural processes" thus leading to historical change. She stresses important fact how "Fukuyama's myth cleared the ideological ground for neoliberal expressions of globalization to go virtually uncontested around the world". By winning the battle over leftist ideologies, all further debate and criticism over its neoliberal nature - "desire within individuals for the good life and its failure to fully satisfy or control those desires" was diminished. Neoliberal capitalism with its own contradictions, such as struggle to develop a meaningful life or the "empty core of liberalism" as Fukuyama is pointing in text were sadly left unanswered.

² Freedom House (2013) "Freedom in the World 2013: Democratic Breakthroughs in the Balance" Freedom House Press, Washington D.C

³ Mirjana Markovic was eminent Yugoslavian sociology professor at Belgrade University and wife of the late Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic. Exiled in Russia after few years after popular uprising in Serbia in 2000

“The western world, deprived from any ideological, political and civilizational prudence, that once was case during the Cold war, raised its flag high, even in those places where it didn’t win; it defeated not only the socialist world of the Eastern Europe but the idea of socialism in general. “Many Arab countries, that were on the path of social and national emancipation as never before in the history of their development, deep rooted in the idea of Arab version of socialism, were stopped with accusations they could not defend themselves easily: their demands for nuclear or chemical weapons; living under dictatorships where people are deemed in need of protection, and the imminence of civil war is threatening democratic parties.”⁴.

She gives an interesting insight into the Middle Eastern problematic, although critical of West, It made me consider the idea of imperialism and how it connects with radicalism.

In 1989 Francis Fukuyama in his essay “The End of History” wrote: “In watching the flow of events over the last few years, it is hard to avoid the feeling that something fundamental is happening in the world⁵”. Today, more than seventeen years after this famous sentence, the response in many publications around the world, academic texts or simply media coverage, suggests that something fundamental is happening in the world today. Washington Post in a recent article writes: “Europe’s fear of Muslims echoes the rhetoric of 1930s anti-Semitism”⁶, and examines European current affairs regarding terrorism, war and refugees through the lens of fear that encourages hate.

“A humanitarian crisis of historic proportions that has been growing in Europe, as hundreds of thousands of refugees and economic migrants from the Middle East, Africa and Asia have crossed the continent's borders this year alone, all displaced by horrible civil wars and terror”.

Another influential magazine, Foreign Affairs, in a text from Feb. 2016 talks of “the elephant in the room⁷”, explaining Islam in the context within crises of liberalism in Europe, and how “the Left plays the rhetorical card of unconditional inclusion, and the Right plays the rhetorical card of security”,

⁴Markovic, Mira (2015) “Bilo je to Ovako”, Novosti, Beograd p.157

⁵ Fukuyama, Francis (1989) “The End of History” The National Interest magazine
<<http://www.wesjones.com/eoh.htm>>

⁶ Tharoor, Ishaan (2015) “Europe’s fear of Muslims echoes rhetoric of 1930s Anti-Semitism” Washington post
<<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/09/02/europes-current-anti-migrant-rhetoric-carries-echoes-of-1930s-anti-semitism/>>

⁷ Betts, Alexander (2016) “ The elephant in the room: Islam and the Crisis of Liberal Values in the Europe”
<<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/2016-02-02/elephant-room>>

interpreting Islam as being politically toxic. Despite all the information, it is unclear how much we understand what is going on in the Middle East and in Europe and where to start searching for answers and clues. Fear of radicalism is surely not enough to understand this phenomenon but it has a serious impact on motivation. A world threatened by Islamic extremism seems far away from Fukuyama's idea of ideological boredom where we all shop and only think of trivial matters in a future globalized world.

Considering socio-psychological factors (Ted Gurr, 1970), studies on radicalization are usually structured around ideas of relative deprivation or inequality. Other studies, political, ideological, cultural and religious, examine relations with western colonialism, occupations and military interventions⁸, but this is just something that bumps up on the surface for the uninformed reader. Extremism has a long history and its causes are numerous.

Already in the 1980s, ideological divisions and terrorism were heating up across the Middle East. Rivalry for supremacy in the Islamic world, between Iran and Saudi Arabia, as a consequence of differing interpretations of Islamic doctrine, intensified already turbulent political divisions. Over many decades, USA and the former Soviet Union have engaged in proxy wars in Afghanistan, providing arms and intelligence support to opposing sides. Early Salafi-Jihadists were once regarded as freedom fighters by the USA and Saudi Arabia (Keppel 2002). After wars in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Algeria and Sudan this trans-national movement grew rapidly in these countries, emerging into Al-Qaeda and later Isis. A US senate committee report, published recently, explores the possible Saudi Arabian and other countries involvement in 9/11 attacks, and this became a crucial factor in understanding this form of radicalism.⁹ Unfortunately this report is still regarded as secret and remains out of public reach.

Islamic extremist ideology has its roots in medieval thinking, which later morphed into the Wahhabi movement alongside other Islamic ideologies of the 20th century, developments that I intend to elaborate on in a historical overview.

In 1989, a famous fatwa against Salman Rushdie accelerated divisions along Sunni-Shia lines, most precisely between Iran and Saudi Arabia in their struggle to defend Islam from "unbelievers". Fatwa was the first example of the potent manner in which mobilization in defense of religion can turn violent. It would be shown fifteen years later with similar potency when the Danish Jylland Posten published cartoons considered blasphemous.

⁸ Ranstorp, Magnus (2016) "The Root causes of Violent Extremism" Eu Ran Center for Excellence
<http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/ran-papers/docs/issue_paper_root-causes_jan2016_en.pdf>

⁹ "Foreign Government Involvement in 9/11 Shouldn't stay Secret" 28pages.com web page <<https://28pages.org/>>

After the tragic events of 9/11, when the US invaded Iraq and later when intervention in Libya and the Middle East turned the region into an even more chaotic and dangerous place due to the power vacuum created after ousting dictators. Soon after, that vacuum would be filled with radicalized people and dangerous ideas.

In his recent interview to Fox news in April 2016, Barack Obama actually admitted that his worst mistake as President was to have no plan in readiness for Libya after the intervention.

Indeed, most of the refugees arriving in Europe in recent waves are from Syria, Libya, Iraq or Afghanistan, countries that were once secular-nationalist or so-called Arab-socialist. Those countries have now turned into main recruiters of extremism.

Although Fukuyama in a recent interview¹⁰ neglects the threat of how any Islamic ideology that now flourishes in those countries can be a realistic alternative to liberal democracy, their radical version, mainly in the form of a variety of radical Islamic political ideologies, including the recent Islamic State phenomenon, is viewed with admiration and has become an inspiration to Islamic world, especially to terrorists, calling themselves martyrs for the Islamic cause, as a kind of idealistic concept and alternative to the “corrupt” and “blasphemous” neo-liberal corporatism of the West.

Olivier Roy, French political scientist and Islamic studies expert, along Fukuyama lines, dismisses the threat of Islamic radicalism. He explains: “European jihadists remain dedicated to the Western model... and have developed a fascination of violence through movies and videos, similar to the mass shootings that do occur from time to time in American schools.”¹¹

Radicalism today is taking many forms and religious extremism is one of many. But why is this relevant specifically to my research? I came to realize that being a secularist this disturbed me on a personal level. Fukuyama’s text persuaded me that we had reached the imminent end of history, beyond ideology. Radicalism once had connotations of fighting for a better world and now it seems the word is only connected with terrorism and extremism. The aim of this thesis is to understand what lies behind present day radicalization and how it connects to current events.

The topic of radical Islamism is surely complex and researchers analyzing current events find different connections to explain it. I’ve come to understand how it can be examined from different perspectives, social, economic, political as well as an analysis of Islamic ideologists’ texts.

¹⁰RFE/RL (2016) “Fukuyama: Putinism, Radical Islam No Alternative to Liberal Democracy”
<<http://www.rferl.org/content/fukuyama-putinism-islamic-state-liberal-democracy/27518924.html>>

¹¹Wiegel, Michaela (2016) “Radicalism is not the result of failed integration” Interview with O.Roy
<<https://en.qantara.de/content/interview-with-french-extremism-researcher-olivier-roy-radicalisation-is-not-the-result-of>> Qantara web page

So, for example, if I might connect the rise of Western democracy and globalization with the fall of Communism and the birth of Islamic radicalism, it might lead me to a specific assumption. The Atlantic Monthly states: “History isn’t over and neither is liberalism or democracy ascending”¹². The article analyzes the beginning of new Cold War, pointing towards the rise of Islamist ideology. Fukuyama’s symbiosis of democracy, liberalism and capitalism, has indeed been hardly shaken by the global financial crisis, the worst since the Great Depression, and which is deepening already existing inequalities.

To understand my need to discuss ideas and ideologies, it is first of all essential to understand Huntington’s Clash of Civilization theory and his culturist approach: a direct response to Fukuyama.

“What is left in the world without any recognizable ideologies, which at one time did not recognize national borders, is a world of civilization identities, that will clash with each other culturally¹³”

In that sense the rise of radical Islam can be seen as a revolutionary resistance that strikes against Western cultural values: liberal ideals that Fukuyama had proclaimed to be eternal.

I will elaborate these developments in order to understand Fukuyama’s alternative modern world of boredom, where we all shop and think of trivial matters.

Hegel, who influenced Fukuyama, together with Kojeve, explained history as a cyclical process “towards a specific condition: the realization of human freedom”¹⁴ that rejuvenates itself though the re-birth of new events. I do not wish to argue that global ideological emptiness as Fukuyama presented it in his work led to the rise of Islamic radicalism, but I will leave this theory as a possibility.

My main concern in regard to this subject is that it be understood in relation to one specific question:

“What are the causes for the rise of radical Islamic extremism?”

The word “rise“ I intend to examine through the category of time’s progress and the intensity of events.

¹²Staney T, Lee A. (2014) “It’s Still Not the End of History” The Atlantic Magazine
<<http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2014/09/its-still-not-the-end-of-history-francis-fukuyama/379394/>>

¹³ Huntington, S (1992) “The Clash of Civilizations” Foreign Affairs Magazine <https://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/pnorris/Acrobat/Huntington_Clash.pdf>

¹⁴ Stanford Encyclopedia of History (2007) “Philosophy of History” Stanford web page
<<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/history/>>

2. METHODOLOGY

To understand my thesis it is necessary to establish a blueprint or research design for the coordination of the relevant issues and questions raised. As the Aalborg University Methodology Project Guidebook¹⁵ puts it, research can be conducted theoretically or by examining paradigms in the background, or by strategies or methods that can lead to present the material as clearly as possible. I intend to resolve this problem with a mixture of exclusive and complementary approaches through external and socially constructed perspectives. As understood from the same text, research into socially constructed realities can be methodologically categorized into possibly three groups: puritan, situational and pragmatic; making distinctions between the realities and views around the phenomena under observation, and between subjective and objective (external) perceptions, to reach a successful understanding of the question asked. (Kuada, p.60). In my introduction I already wrote how, there are different approaches to understand the phenomenon of radicalization. In order to answer my question “What are the causes for the rise of Islamic radical extremism”, I intend to follow a situational approach that implicitly allows a combination of subjective and objective views to gain deeper essential understanding of both sides of the current problem, and make it understandable to the reader. This situational approach to extremism includes “both permissive and motivational pre-conditional factors which enable the possibility of radicalization e.g. ideological motives, feelings against state, poverty, inequality, racism..¹⁶”.

On the ontological level that focuses on reality of individual social entities, I will be guided by nominalism. Nominalism is presented in literature as the “common conceit of the radical Islamist fringe, with the modern Jihadists taking their cue from Sayyid Qutb¹⁷”. Nominalism in general explains how any reality, in this case radicalism is “constructed by individuals in the form of concepts” (Kuada p,73). On an epistemological level, concerned with nature of knowledge, I will be guided by

¹⁵ Kuada John (2012) “Research Methodology: A Project Guide for University Students”, chapter.5

¹⁶ Crenshaw Marta (2011), “The Causes of Terrorism” Radicalization research web page
<<http://www.radicalisationresearch.org/guides/francis-2012-causes-2/>>

¹⁷ Dyck J., Rowe P., Zimmermann J. (2015) “Whose Will Be Done?: Essays on Sovereignty and Religion”. Lexington books London p.174

positivism. Positivism aims to “seek explanations in order to predict what happens in social world” paying attention on its elements. (Ibid)

While researching the subject as an external observer, necessary steps will be taken to gain an inter-subjective perspective too, necessary for understanding the possible truth behind (Epistemological Positivism) that might lead me to explain how different elements can construct new realities, in my case, realities of new political, social, and cultural difficulties it might be creating.

For this research I will use the qualitative research method with some quantitative data.

Throughout my qualitative research I will focus mainly on academic texts, but internet articles and publications will be taken into consideration, due to the fact that a lot of publications are available only online as there is still a deficit of thorough research into this subject. Those texts will hopefully offer enough empirical evidence to understand the research subject.

Qualitative research signifies understanding of reality that is constructed socially, through correlation of researcher and the situation under scrutiny. Answers delivered by this type of research direct the researcher toward an understanding of social reality, stressing specific social experience¹⁸. Quantitative research aims to “understand the social reality of individuals, groups and cultures. Researchers use qualitative approaches to explore the behavior, perspectives and experiences of the people they study. The basis of qualitative research lies in the interpretive approach to social reality¹⁹.”

The deductive approach based on existing theories will be explained in the design part of my research.

2.1 Research process design and choice of theories

In my work I intend to give a general overview of terminology. I will first use a targeted approach through existing academic works on understanding the historical roots of Islamic radicalism and will examine how ideology of radicalism progressed. Furthermore I will analyze historical events through the lens of new social movement theory, and social deprivation theory.

I will use this theory in my analysis to connect the radical ideological background of political Islam and the recruitment of individuals who share the same ideology and psychological make up, mainly in Afghanistan and Al-Qaeda. Theories like Social Movement will hopefully deepen the understanding of

¹⁸ Denzin N., Lincoln Y. (2000) “ Handbook of Qualitative Research. 2nd edition”. Thousand Oaks Press, CA

¹⁹ Holloway, Immy (1997) “ Basic concepts of Qualitative Research” Wiley Press p.2

the grouping of radical individuals with similar ideological backgrounds, through a social and psychological understanding of their inability to adapt to modernity as a result of their identity crisis or “soul searching”.

Relative deprivation theory will be applied in my analysis to link different grievances felt around particular situations, deprivation or lack of integration and recent events of terror mobilization by young people in the West and in the Middle East and reasons why some people could have decided to go fight for Islamic state in Syria or commit terrorist activities in Europe. I will give brief overview of few western government doctrines e.g. democratic peace theory, liberal interventionism that some researchers find as a causal link for feeling for frustration and deprivation in political sense. In order to connect that with recent development, I will give insight into the progression of radical Islamic ideology in my historical overview through presenting different Islamic ideologists in order to give insight and appendix for better understanding of the current problematic.

2.2 Definition of Islamic radical extremism

Radicalism is often regarded as a predecessor of terrorism that through individual indoctrination of extreme ideas lead toward explicit awareness of certain processes, usually directed by unjust feelings or specific understandings of different societal issues in the fields of religion, politics, economics or any kind of discrimination²⁰. Some researchers refuse to use term Islamic radicalism, due to the explicit link it has with religion, despite the fact that real term in Arabian is Islam mutatarrif²¹ or literally Islamic radicalism. Another tem, Jihadism or Salafi-Jaihadism, popularized by Gilles Kepell, French Middle Eastern expert, became more accepted in the specific intellectual circles, especially after September 11th.

Process of radicalization tend to express unique elements and is connected with different trails, understood through mental, behavioral, political or simply general resentment. Researchers point to concept of ‘de-pluralisation’ as a key factor, process of “becoming narrow minded in relations to key

²⁰ Mustafa Aydin (2015) “The connection between radicalism, extremism and terrorism” Hurriyet daily
<<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/the-connection-between-radicalism-extremism-and-terrorism.aspx?PageID=238&NID=93231&NewsCatID=468>>

²¹ Kim Gattas, The Democats problem with radical Islam, Foreign Policy magazine

political concepts and values²²”. Radicalism tend to object already set patterns or codes, extreme is a form of radicalism that accepts violence. Extreme violence is what connects them with terrorism (Ibid). Islamic radicalism can also be defined as violent movement seeking to change already established order through actions justified by God’s will²³.

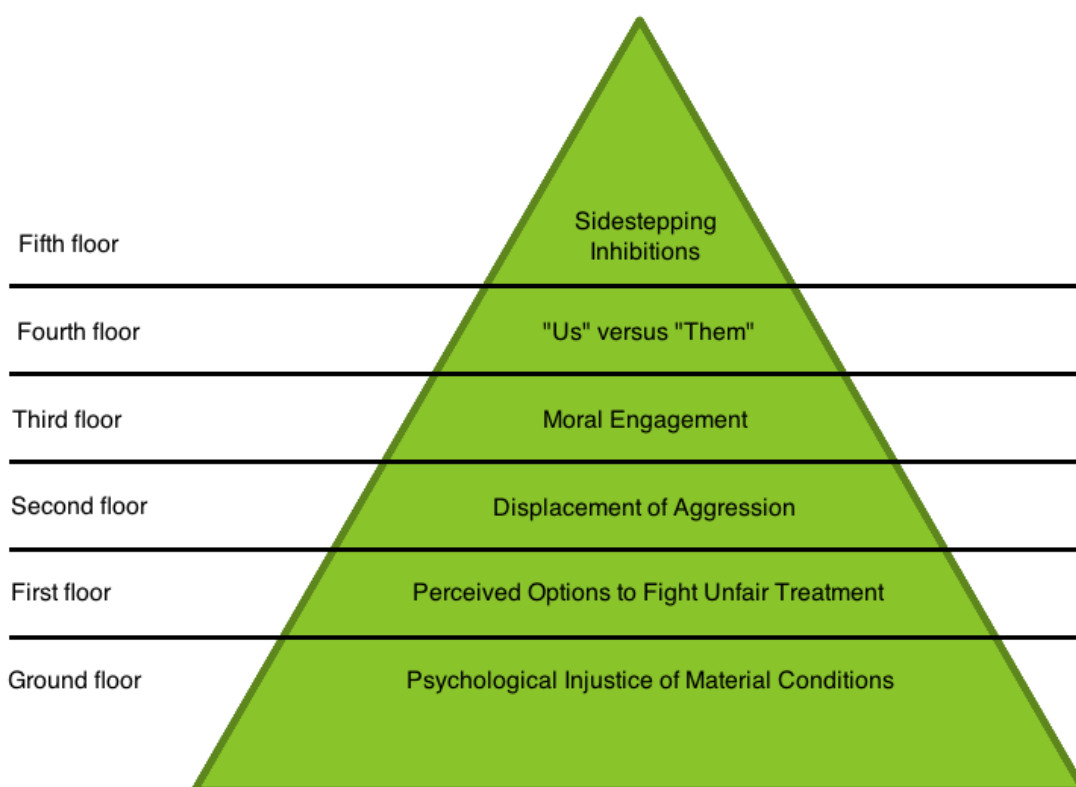
Moghadam (2005) delivered concept of “staircase to terrorism” that explain different stages of radical affirmation through idea of climbing the imaginary floors.

Ground floor represents general members of society. First floor is where resentment is symbolically born. Second floor is where frustration forms necessary target to blame.

Third floor represents mobilization that lead to organizational structure. Forth is where recruitment is achieved and separation between “us and them” enforced. Fifth is where violent events occurs²⁴.

Moghadam diagram can be seen below.

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²² Delphine Michel, Calille Schyns (2008) "What is Radicalism" European Institute for peace publication
<<http://www.eip.org/en/news-events/eip-explainer-understanding-radicalisation>>

²³ Springer, David (2009) "Islamic Radicalism and Global Jihad" George Town University Press, Washington p.18

²⁴ Moghadam M.F (2005) "Staircase Model" Wikipedia web page <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Staircase_model>

3. THEORETICAL PART

3.1 New social movement theory of self-limiting radicalism

Social Movement Theory (SMT) has a long history of understanding the reasons for activism and participation in certain movements. SMT emerged from the French Psychologist Le Bon, who in the beginning of the 20th century researched the French Revolution and other violent protests, connecting them theoretically with historical processes of modernization that aimed for the destruction of old social structures. Despite the fact how all those researched movements were motivated by deep feelings of deprivation and resentment through which participants were mobilized, early scholars in democratic countries did not find them credible enough for further elaboration due to the fact that they were connected with negative feelings of social impatience and irrationality that usually lead toward unrealistic life expectations. Participants in those movements were usually associated with “lynch mobs, communism or fascism”.²⁵ In the late 60s this theory emerged to include word “new” in the name. New Social Movement (NSMT) saw proliferation and growth in the West, most precisely in the area of civil rights e.g. woman, gay and peace activism, now understood as more positive and “driven by deep psychological needs” (Ibid) through which previous impatience was now understood as a positive aspect toward social change and progress. Also due to growth in size, overall understanding of the phenomenon changed from irrational toward respected as movements progressed toward articulating their own goals, interests and strategies thus becoming more structured under the label of a respectful constructivist approach²⁶. Kuercher and Dalton define NSMT as a collective action of subjects unified by their shared ideological understandings under a new social paradigm. It connects members under “participatory or direct democracy” in order to “fight for the better world²⁷”. Recently many scholars connected with theoretic approach with radical Islam due to the necessity to understand how radicalization occurs. Stephen Vertigans who extensively researched the field of political violence

²⁵Smelser, N.J (2011) “Theory of Collective Behavior” Quid Pro Books, New York p.29

²⁶Steklenburg J, Klandermans B. (2002) “Social movement theory: Past, present and prospect”p.2
<https://www.academia.edu/988496/Social_movement_theory_Past_present_and_prospect>

²⁷Kuechler and Dalton (1992) Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies (Europe and the International Order) p. 278

and Islamic movement argues. “Islamic radicalism is today emerging as one of three new transnational social movements in the world”²⁸, explaining further how Islamic movements are specific due to the fact how they contain religious component, something previously disconnected with social movements as collective action was disregarded with organized politics²⁹. So he defined how new social movement in today's world are specific due to the growing influence of the religion in some societies, something that can be well connected with Islam. Further he is offering a new perspective examining in greater depth the theoretical structure of Islamic movements, introducing a contemporary postindustrial or post-material significance. Today this newborn movement contains aspects of “self-limiting radicalism” that has as its purpose serious political ambitions, but contrasting it with previous grand schematic ideological movements e.g. fascism or communism, who “sought state power only to shape societies according to their own view of the world”, self-limiting radicalism is based on completely opposing social codes; defense of civil society against state encroachment, through attracting people with “shared ideological bond centered on a critique of the prevailing system and dominant culture.” (Stephen Vertigans, 2006)

Habermas (1981) defined NSMs as: “defenders of the way of life that is usually taken for granted”.

Vertigans tool for researching militant Islam is through the Social Movement Organizations (SMO), built spontaneously in contacts with individuals engaged in similar struggle that result in the building and constructing of new identities. He is mainly focused on Al-Qaeda that began as a small group but due to the increase number of members and terror activities transformed into a serious movement that claimed to be the sole representative of the Islamic faith. That is to say how social identity focuses mainly on psychological “processes involved mainly in the perception of self and others in them of group memberships³⁰”

In the case of radical Islam, intensity of their religiosity is what determines members to mobilize. The most radical Islamists I’m concerned with are those that seek to intensify struggle into violence and convert society into Islamic State. Early Jihadists of Afghanistan or Al-Qaeda and governmental structures of Islamic state are in this case understood as the most advanced organizations. I already mentioned how NSM are well connected with “post-industrial or post-material” concepts of the modern world. CIA Marc Sageman’s study (2004) pointed in this regard to conclude how the majority

²⁸ Vertigans S, Sutton F (2004) “Radical Islam and Social Movement theory” p.102
<http://courses.arch.vt.edu/courses/wdunaway/gia5274/sutton.pdf>

²⁹ Martin, Greg “Understanding Social Movements” Routledge press p.126

³⁰ Walker I, Smith, H (2002) “Relative Deprivation: Specifications, Integration and Development” Cambridge University Press p.240

of Al-Qaeda radicals came from well-established, rich and educated families³¹. Another point of connection is in the form of their trans nationality; actually the majority of today's NSM are transnational. Al-Qaeda includes various nationals from different locations, without any clear central authority, but ideology is what first and mostly connects them all. Social movements are usually connected through symbolism of protests through which they communicate. In regard to this extreme radicalism, they use violent terror activities and the media (internet) to symbolically express views and idea and recruit supporters.

3.2. Relative Deprivation Theory

Relative deprivation (RDT) is part of social movement theory. I decided to use this chronological order after NSMT as I will throughout this theory analyzing different historical periods. I intend to use NSMT to explain the early stages of radicalism and RDT to developments after U.S intervention in Iraq and in the West. RDT assumes how movements develop due to the particular sense of deprivation, frustration and inequality; political or economic, social exclusion or poverty in relation to people's expectations (Robert K.Merton, 1973).

Robert Gurr in his book "Why Men Rebel", connects this theory with political violence and proposes the definition: "perceived discrepancy between men's value expectations and his capabilities can create conflict", pointing further how "societal conditions that increase the average level of intensity of expectations without increasing capabilities can increase the intensity of discontent, that might produce violence³²." According to him RD occurs along different lines: decremental, aspirational and progressive deprivation. Decremental deprivation is the "value position or potential that was once there but is lost or they could not have it any more". (Gurr, 1970) Value position is usually relative to a decline in material satisfaction e.g. loss of jobs or overall dissatisfaction with life.

A few researchers have already linked this theory with terrorism.

Quan Li and Drew Schaub (2004) in "Economic Globalization and Transnational Terrorism" were developing this idea to conclude to what extent neoliberal economic policies do connect with radicalism. Ekkart Zimmermann in "Globalization and Terrorism (2005) examines what effect globalization possesses on international terrorist strategies by changing the opportunity cost for those

³¹ Marc Saegam (2004) "Understanding Terror Networks" University of Pennsylvania Press p.76

³² Gurr T.R (1970) "Why Man Rebel" Routledge Press p.154

participating in widening markets. Zimmermann examines globalization as “ the way in which foreign and corrupt culture can enter the country” and financially support terrorism³³.

Another aspect of the theory is the aspirational RD model that assumes how anger does not occur because of loss but due to demand for more material goods or more justice. The progressive model is regarded as a special case of aspirational RD where deprivation is studied as a consequence of a “sharp decline after a long period of steady improvement”. Gurr argues how this model can be used to analyze events after great economic depressions or revolutions and wars. (Gurr, 1970)

Unfortunately I did not find any scholar who connected this model with wars in Middle East or recent revolutions and radicalism.

Behavioral theories in the 70s connect with Gurr’s RD and my understanding how this theory relates to radicalism. James Davis’s (1971) linked behavioral pattern with RD argues how ”frustration at both individual and societal levels intensify to become widespread and can turn to violent change”. Tahir Abbas (Islamic Political Radicalism, 2007) adds how young Muslim man who are suffering social or economic deprivation, lack of integration in the societies, poverty, lack of political integration, upward mobility or racism can use their experiences as ideological factors for radicalization. In his words, relative deprivation can increase their religiosity and thus radicalize them. It is to say that relative deprivation is not only connected with economics, but rather with an overall feeling of relative grievance and this can take many forms.

He writes: “in materialistic wealthy secular societies, where they experience all sorts of moral and personal crises young people might seek religious spiritual frameworks for their everyday lives, leading to extreme religiosity³⁴”. His quote in a way connects social movement theory and relative deprivation theory through a symbiosis of ideology or spirituality and material or other dissatisfaction. As wars in Middle East and the recent economic crisis in Europe did result in poverty and social exclusion, political turbulence, the end of dictatorial regimes and the rise of right wing populism in Europe, I intend to use this theory to find a possible link to examine the rise of terrorism in “wealthy secular societies” in Europe and countries in Middle East after the recent Wars (i.e. Iraq and Syria). Also Fukuyama’s “ideological emptiness” can be hopefully understood as a link if we try to understand it through the already mentioned Abbas perception of radicalization. I intend to use this theory in my analysis.

So let me state this again, despite the overall idea that social deprivation theory in the beginning was mostly linked with economic grievances, it is argued today how “frustration can also emerge by being

³³ Zimmerman,E. (2011) “Globalisation and Terrorism” EU Journal of Political Economy p.155

³⁴ Abbas ,Tahir (2007) “Islamic Political Radicalism: A European Perspective”, Edinburgh University Press p.204

denied inclusion in a political system³⁵”. To further clarify my claim and widen understanding of this theory I will present recent Gurr’s text written just after the popular Arab uprising or so called *Arab Spring*.

In his essay, “How Valid are its Arguments 40 years ago” Ted Robert Gurr is giving another inside to his old theory that he finds somewhat incomplete. He argues how in order to explain events using his theory, one should focus on analyzing the “minds of man - woman that oppose bad governments and unpopular policies”. He introduces the term ‘popular discontent’ in his 2011 text in order to define and capture relative deprivation today. He also finds it useful to analyze people’s “justifications, beliefs and resort to political action.” He advises that research focus on an individual rather than a collective approach. In his words, economic and social structures do play necessary role, but also “we need to understand how and why people react to the situation in which they find themselves”(Gurr, 2011). He cites as examples globalization movements that are witnessing more popular support in rich western societies than in places where people are poor, and secondly, how young men in the west sometimes seek refuge in Jihad while enjoying the privileges of western societies. He is rephrasing his *grievance* not only as ‘lacking something’ but also to “capture the essence of the state of the mind that motivates people to political action” (Ibid)

To understand the essence of his recent arguments, it is important that relative deprivation should also be understood through “government’s response to political action” which he manage to categorize as a “major determinant of whether people’s anger will lead to violence against authorities³⁶”. Therefore I quote Naomi Ellemers who is offering a similar understanding as to how relative deprivation focuses today mostly on social behavior and “conditions under which feelings of deprivation are likely to result³⁷”

I will use this argument to analyze the possible link with radicalism in the West but also in in regard to Arabic countries to analyze ‘popular discontent’ as a result to the military intervention and after the Arab Spring in countries where authoritarian regimes once flourished. Gurr’s recent reintroduction to his old theoretical understanding under “governmental responses and political actions that determines anger” will be used to introduce an examination of Western governmental policies and doctrines that might have impact on extremism and radicalization. Therefore I will present some of the theories and doctrines of democratic countries so my arguments can be more clearly understood.

³⁵Worrall J, Mabon S, Clubb G. (2015) “From Islamic Resistance to Government”, ABC-CLIO press p.24

³⁶ Gurr, Ted Robert (2011) “How Valid are its Arguments 40 years On” E-IR web site
<<http://www.e-ir.info/2011/11/17/why-men-rebel-redux-how-valid-are-its-arguments-40-years-on/>>

³⁷ Walker I, Smith, H (2002) “Relative Deprivation: Specifications, Integration and Development” Cambridge University Press p.242

3.3 Theoretical Appendix

It is becoming somewhat a trend to search for causes of radicalism and chaos in the Middle East by analyzing western foreign involvement. This is not only the case in so called extreme left-wing circles or in the countries where traditional animosity remains e.g. Russia. In a recent foreign policy speech, presumptive Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump³⁸ acknowledged how “after the Cold War the U.S failed to develop a new vision for the present time and this lead to one foreign policy disaster after another.” His main argument is based on the idea of democracy promotion. He argues how we cannot make western democracies out of countries that have no interest whatsoever in becoming them.

In this theoretical chapter I will present different theories and doctrines that are used for the justification of western governmental actions, such as hegemonic stability theory, offensive realism and democratic peace theory. I will also examine the idea of imperialism that I find critical in order to understand why West might show an interest in maintaining its presence in the Middle East after the Cold War. This short appendix will be presented as a possible future research structure and is here to deepen the overall understanding of the subject and direct necessary steps for possible conclusion.

3.3.1 Imperialism

Imperialism in political dictionaries is understood to be the presumption of a country that steadily seeks different possibilities of influencing or enforcing control over other states. Walter Reymond defines modern imperialism in three different categories i.e. political, cultural and economic³⁹. Robert Cox defines the imperial system as a “formal organization through which pressure on states can be exerted.”⁴⁰ Theoretical understanding of different forms of Imperialism and Hegemony are well represented in the critical theoretical works of Marx, Schumpeter and Gramsci.

³⁸ Donald Trump (2016) “Foreign Policy Speech” The center of National Interest. Washington D.C.
<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XW8RqLN3Qao>>

³⁹ Raymond W.J (1992) “Dictionary of Politics” Brunswick press p.228

⁴⁰ Cox, Robert (1981) “Social Forces State and World Order: beyond International Relations Theory”
<<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Cox.pdf>> p.248

3.3.2 Hegemonic Stability Theory

Hegemonic stability theory (HST) is IR theory, delivered by the realist school of thought that argues how with a single hegemon in the world's international system, that system would likely to remain stable⁴¹. Developed by Charles Kindleberger who studied the Great Depression and the “international chaos that followed the financial crisis in the 30's” he examined how this was due to the absence of a central world power capable of assuming the role of global hegemon and so the crisis became global⁴². Examining the causes for the rise of radical Islam and the threat to the World it produces I discover that the role of the western governments in the Middle East can be understood through their need to control the rise of chaos in those countries.

HST describes the mechanism for understanding collaboration between countries in international system in regard to their security and prosperity. The hegemon is a country that has sufficient military and economic power to sustain the lead, and gain respect through control over “raw materials, sources of capital, markets⁴³”. Raw materials in the Middle East are connected to oil reserves in the region. This theory is usually understood through the prism of political economy, and historically it was used to describe how empires such as the British Empire used its hegemonic status to develop world trade system and capitalist economy. I already wrote that HST is derived from the IR school of realism. So I will further examine offensive realism.

3.3.3 Offensive Structural Realism

Mearsheimer, who developed the Offensive Structural Realism school of thought (OSR) argues how world peace is not likely and describes the international system as a “brutal arena where states look for opportunities to take advantage of each other and have little reasons to trust each other's motives”⁴⁴. OR is defined as structural theory that “sees great powers, concerned only with figuring out how to survive” through the overall idea that the “status quo is rarely found in world politics⁴⁵”. Further he

⁴¹ Joshua S. Goldstein. International Relations. New York: Pearson-Longman, 2005. p.107

⁴² C. Kindleberger (1973) The World in Depression: 1929-1939 , London, The Penguin Press

⁴³ Lee R. Lavina (2010) “US Hegemony and International Legitimacy” Routledge New York p.145

⁴⁴ Mearsheimer J. John (2005) “The False Promise of International Institutions” pg.9

⁴⁵ Mearsheimer J. John (2002) “The Tragedy of Great Power Politic” google books no page preview.

acknowledges how this theory is unable to resolve all the political problems in the world but it is able to “predict part of a broader patterns of aggressive behavior” that can occur internationally (Ibid, p.169).

My interest in presenting offensive realism is mainly due to the overall understanding of the academic interest in the shift of U.S foreign policy towards offensive strategies after September 11th, mainly preemptive strikes doctrine during Bush presidency, popularly named as the Bush Doctrine. In Carlos L. Yordan words: “John Mearsheimer’s theory of offensive realism describing how a great power pursues global hegemony as a way to increase their security and freedom of action⁴⁶.”

3.3.4 Democratic Peace Theory

My interest in DPT and possible links with Islamic extremist radicalization is based on a recent interview with President Barack Obama on Fox news where he explained Libya as one of the worst mistakes of his presidency that “left the country spiraling into chaos under threat from violent radical Islamists⁴⁷. Also this is argued in some circles as a pretext for ex-ante justification for the Iraqi war⁴⁸. The democratic peace theory (LPT) is based on Immanuel Kant’s book “To perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch”. Michael Doyle, IR scholar developed this IR theory further, to understand liberal states as countries with “some form of representative democracy, market economy, private property and political rights, that are “internationally governed by a balance of power, liberal principles and institutions⁴⁹”. DPT presupposes that in practice due to the already mentioned characteristics and the shared interests of democratic states, they don’t intend to wage war with each other. Democratic peace is well connected with liberal internationalism. It is a doctrine that enforces the idea of democracy and the pursuit of their liberal objectives.

⁴⁶ Jordan L. Carlos (2006) “America's Quest for Global Hegemony: Offensive Realism, the Bush Doctrine, and the 2003 Iraq War” p.129

⁴⁷ The Guardian (2016) “Barack Obama says Libya was 'worst mistake' of his presidency”, The Guardian news papaer April 12th, 2016
<<http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/apr/12/barack-obama-says-libya-was-worst-mistake-of-his-presidency>>

⁴⁸ Bruce Russett (2005) “Bushwhacking the Democratic Peace”

<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/227775961_Bushwhacking_the_Democratic_Peace>

⁴⁹ Michael Doyle (1983) “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs”, Philosophy and Public Affairs 205, 207–208

The basic postulate of liberal internationalism declares that states have the right to be free from foreign intervention due to mutual respect based on international liberal theory (Bielitz 1979). Liberalism as an International Relations theory has its roots in philosophical writings of John Locke, Rousseau and Hume who emphasize the importance of libertarian ideals. Liberalism is also reflected in the sphere of economics through the neo-liberal doctrine. To support liberal theoretical claims Dean Babst analyzed Wright's "Study of War" to conclude how the "existence of democratic states greatly enhances the chances for the maintenance of peace in the world."⁵⁰ However in contradiction of this claim Walter Clemens in his book "From Voting to Violence" researches the promotion of democracy and ethnic conflicts in Yugoslavia and ex-Soviet republics. He concludes how the promotion of democracy might lead towards failed democratization and conflicts arising out of previous cultural, political or economic experiences.⁵¹ I intend to examine how military interventions in Arabic countries produced grievances, frustration and resentment due to the occupation that as a result fueled extremism. In the aftermath of the Cold War U.S promotion by the US of democracy along with capitalism became legitimate tool of U.S foreign policy central to its international political agenda⁵². Chandler (2007) in his book "Responsibility to Protect" raises questions. How do we ethically justify military interventions and what may the consequences be?"⁵³ Critics of humanitarian intervention often accuse western governments of "self-interested attempts at violent externalization, for the project of liberal democracy under the label of humanitarian intervention."⁵⁴ 'Consequences' in my analysis will be examined under the theoretic framework of relative deprivation.

⁵⁰ D. Babst (1964) "Elective governments – A force for peace", *The Wisconsin Sociologist* p. 9-14.

⁵¹ Clemens C. W (2001) "Complexity Theory as a Tool for Understanding and Coping With Ethnic Conflict and Development Issues in Post-Soviet Countries" International Journal of Peace Studies Publication
<http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol7_2/Clemens.htm>

⁵² Markakis D. (2012) "US Democracy Promotion in the Middle East: The pursuit of Hegemony?" London School of Economics and Political Science p.27
<http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/576/1/Markakis_US_Democracy_Promotion_2012.pdf>

⁵³ David Chandler (2007) "Responsibility to Protect? Imposing the 'Liberal Peace'" Routledge p.61
<<http://www.davidchandler.org/articles/>>

⁵⁴ Spalding L.J (2013) "A Critical Investigation of the IR Theories that Underpin The Debate On Humanitarian Interventions" International Public Policy Review, University College London p.2
<<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/ippr/journal/downloads/vol7no2/irtheory>>

4.HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE JIHADI IDEOLOGY

In this chapter I will present a historical overview of 18th century Wahhabi and 20th century Salafi movements that many experts find essential for the understanding of the rise of Islamic radicalism extremism⁵⁵. This will help clarify my analysis,

4.1 Wahhabism - the early developments

The Wahhabi movement⁵⁶, recently held accountable by European Parliament for the ideological and arms support of Islamic radicals in Middle East, emerged in the 18th century Saudi Najd province, an isolated territory populated with Sunni Muslims, in that time torn by endless wars between local tribes. The province always stayed independent, even when the Ottomans ruled, disqualifying it from claims that European colonialism was responsible for the incitement. As Natana DeLong-Bas, professor at Oxford University writes in her book, “The Wahhabi movement arose largely in response to internal conditions due to the perceived deterioration of Muslim beliefs and practices, mostly in regard to the adopted practices of praying to saints, and how those saints can perform miracles⁵⁷”. As Islam is a holistic religion that preaches unconditional monotheism (Tawhid), where God is only credible to pray to, and is positioned centrally, denial of this is regarded as a major sin (Shirk).

Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhabi (1703-1972), declared the premise of placing God above everything: the absolute ‘oneness of Allah’ and pushed this doctrine to be implemented into every sphere of life, not just places of worship, but most notably in the public arena, and re-introduced the ancient Islamic Sharia law, as a defining tool for the future social structure among Muslims. Natana writes further how there was nothing militant or violent in the beginning about this alleged return to the old practice of faith, and compares it with 19th century Christian fundamentalism. However it opened the door for a

⁵⁵ Mortimer E. (1982) “Faith and Power: The Politics of Islam” Vintage Books new York, pp.64-66

⁵⁶ Moniquet C. (2013) “The Involvement of Salafism/Wahhabism in the support and supply of arms to rebel groups around the world” Eu Intelligence and Security Center publication as requested by EU Paliament
<[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2013/457137/EXPO-AFET_ET\(2013\)457137_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2013/457137/EXPO-AFET_ET(2013)457137_EN.pdf)>

⁵⁷ DeLong-Bas N (2004) “Wahhabi Islam:From Revival and Reform to Global Jihad” I.B.Taurus, London p.68

more fundamentalist approach to the faith, resisting the structural attempts of modernity to correct it. There is historical evidence that not everyone liked this new idea of puritanism.

After a failed assassination Abd al-Wahhabi began to preach his new faith with ever great intensity and soon after, his self-sacrificial piety and purity, caught the attention of the then powerful Najd province ruler Uthman hamid ibn Muammar, who decided to give him protection and the hand of his daughter. This is how the first accord between faith and politics was established, creating a specifically religious political movement in Islamic history, known as Wahhabism.

The sacred rule was based on the principles of Tawhid or the ultimate belief in one God and a rejection of polytheism and idolatry. Therefore objects, such as sacred trees or tombs of saints, that throughout the centuries flourished in the area due to the mixture of cultures that influenced Islam, had to be destroyed, symbolically in the manner of the Prophet Muhammad over a thousand years earlier when he acknowledged the new revelation that came to him.

The most significant example of the new puritan practice happened at the destruction of the famous Zayd ibn al-Khattab, the tomb of the companions of the Prophet north of Ryad, that according to historical fact, Wahhabi wrecked himself, accompanied with 600 of his horsemen with swords, exhibiting the new faith's militant and extremist nature for the first time. His rampage against the old was uncontested, due to the evident strength of his army and the protection he enjoyed⁵⁸.

It was not until a very specific moment, when women confessed to adultery (Zina) that illustrated the rigour of his interpretation of Islam and changed the established relations with the ruling elite for good. A woman voluntarily admitted adultery to him and he advised her not to do it, but she deliberately refused, knowing that it was punishable by death according to orthodox beliefs. At that time Sharia was still not the only system of law. By giving her the free choice to end her humiliating practice, and the free will to examine her conscience and confront her sin, she showed no fear of God (Taqwa). This refusal showed no fear of God and submission to his will, according to the Quran, demanded punishment by stoning.

This event will soon, bring Wahhabi in the conflict with religious and local authorities, accusing him for placing common laws into his own hands and therefore superseding their authority. He was expelled and forced to flee.

Questioning their earthly authority and jurisdiction over religious matter, he started preaching how everyone should read and interpret Quran and Hadith alone and accept it as a word from God, placing it above all man laws (Ibid).

⁵⁸ DeLong-Bas N (2004) "Wahhabi Islam: From Revival and Reform to Global Jihad" I.B.Taurus, London p.25

While he liberated faith on the one hand, on the other he opened the possibility for more radical interpretation of the law, confronting the already established practice of religious and tribal authorities. Not long after, in 1744 he was exiled to al-Diriyyah, close to today's Ryad, where he befriended Muhammad ibn Saud, who then pledged support to his religious struggle. Wahhabi promised ibn Saud that God will give him rule over the Najd province, as long as he granted protection for him to establish religious rule based on his orthodox understanding of the Quran. It is important to say that it seems Wahhabi was interested in power solely for purely religious reasons.

This new alliance between religion and politics opened the way for the Saud family's territorial expansion, through a concept of deeply interlocking religion and politics. This concept would create a powerful tool for self-enforcement through Jihad⁵⁹ or Holy War, over which al-Wahhabi now claimed complete authority. This helped to legitimize the use of physical force against kafirs, or infidels, anyone who dared to challenge this newly established religious order⁶⁰.

The 18th century became a critical period for the establishment of the first Saudi state, following the doctrine of the three pillars of Wahhabism;⁶¹ one king, one religious authority, one mosque. In the next 50 years of their rule, the only challenge to authority came from its own region of Najd, successfully defeated due to the strong moral and idea of purpose and correctness of faith that existed in the army.⁶²

The first serious threat came from the opposing Shiite and Sufi religious minorities, whose practice of faith was directly opposed to Wahhabi doctrine. When Wahhab died in 1772, aged 92, his religious influence and state control found root throughout large areas of central Najd and eastern al-Ahsaa provinces on the peninsula. Their strength and growing influence on the local population alarmed the High Porta in Istanbul and a newly re-established Egyptian regime under Ibrahim Pasha who regarding it as a threat to their interests. (Ibid)

In 1802, when Sunni Wahhabi soldiers destroyed the most sacred Shia sanctuary - Imam Husayn tomb in the city of Kerbala in today's Iraq, massacring more than 5000 Shia Muslims, the Ottomans intervened. As Wahhabi chronicler Uthman Bishr writes: "The Muslims, as Wahhabis referred to themselves, without any need to distinguish themselves from other Muslims, since they didn't believe others to be true Muslims, scaled the walls, entered the city and killed the majority of the population

⁵⁹Although around the World, Jihad is connected with "Holy War" but it reflects also in the inner spiritual sphere as striving or struggling for the true faith.

⁶⁰Campo, J.E (2009), "Encyclopedia of Islam", Infobase publishing p.420-421

⁶¹Atwa, B. Abdel (2015) "Islamic State: The Digital Caliphate" Saqi books press

⁶²Zarabozo, J (2001) "The life, teachings and influences of Wahhabi" Vista press p42-52
<https://islamfuture.files.wordpress.com/2009/11/muhammad-ibn-abdul-wahhaab.pdf>

and destroyed the sacred tomb of al-Husayn”⁶³. This is the first major event that showed their extremist nature. They further invaded Hejaz region in 1805, capturing the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and “denounced Ottoman Sultan and challenged his validity as the guardian of the Holy Cities”⁶⁴. These events led eventually to war and the execution by the Ottomans of Amir Abdullah bin Saud, as leader of the first Saudi state.

After the destruction of the first Saudi Wahhabi state in 1818, the idea of Mushrikun, or those who practice ‘shirk’ or adultery was not all defeated but was slowly spreading across the region. Their violence was now not only directed toward Shia or Sufi branches of Islam, but Wahhabism was accused of spreading animosity toward Christians and Jews, particularly in 19th century Syria.

It was argued how Christians with their practice of the veneration of saints influenced Muslims, perverting their practice of the true faith. The reason for that can be seen in the multi-faith and multi-cultural tolerance of the Ottoman Empire in which different religions lived peacefully together. (Ibid)

The decline of the Ottoman Empire and the First World War were crucial for the establishment of new modern Saudi Arabia (1932) under the rule of Abdulaziz al Saud, through a consolidation of internal powers in the Kingdom, climaxing with the symbolic conquest of the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina. The newly established Wahhabi religious militia, the Ikhwan, established just before 1914 known for covering their face when meeting anyone outside of Arabia⁶⁵ and for the ritual killings of all male captives was seen as major force toward establishing of modern religious rule. Ikhwan was first used as a tool for conquering wandering desert tribes, but later as their influence grew stronger, they started attacking other religious minorities, usually massacring them.

“Ikhwan pressed for strict adherence of Wahhabi norms, but Ibn Saud was willing to take a more relaxed approach. The definitive and explicit shift to the realist foreign policy inscribed in a series of treaties with the British that guaranteed S. Arabia political independence in the time when many Arab countries bore the burden of colonialism” (Gore Dore 20013, page 92).

Ikhwan insurgencies were now not only directed toward internal enemies but when they started attacking Jordan, Kuwait and Iraq, matters went out of control and the first coalition between British and Saudis led to their defeat, later interpreted as Saudis falling under British political pressure (Ibid).

⁶³ Algar H. (2002) “Wahhabism: A critical Essay” Foreign Affairs Magazine p.34

<<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/capsule-review/2002-09-01/wahhabism-critical-essay>>

⁶⁴ Sirriyeh Elisabeth (1989) “Wahhabis, Unbelievers and the Problems of Exclusivism” British Society for Middle Eastern Studies)Vol. 16, No. 2, p.123-132 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/195146?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents>

⁶⁵ Dore G. (2012) “Hatred’s Kingdom”, Eagle Publishing Company p.45

This example explains how religious extremism was not always the official doctrine of the ruling elites but rather sort of popular movement that arose from understanding and their own interpretations of the religious doctrine.

Ikhwan would be forgotten for many years, only to be re-emerge with the sacking of the Grand Mosque in 1979 when militant extremists seized the Grand Mosque in Mecca, and symbolically called themselves al-Ikhwan to connect them with the once powerful and fearful militia.

4.2 20th century developments

The time when the Ikhwan stood against British and Saudi machine guns in northern Arabia with their swords and on camels in symbolic victory over modernity, different Islamic revivalist movements such as the Pakistani Jammat-e-Islami and the Egyptian Society Muslim Brotherhood took root in different countries around the Islamic world.

“The Muslim Brotherhood reflected the mood of cultural defensiveness and developed the model of a grassroots movement to push back against the West⁶⁶”.

Along with Mawdudi’s Jammat-e-Islami, al- Banna’s and Qutb’s Muslim Brotherhood continued sharp divisions of the Najdi movement⁶⁷, but with new directions; being less concerned with theological principles and presenting more of an ideology, directly opposed to the modernism of the West. Those ideologies would emerge as more serious transnational or pan-Islamic political movements, with the Islamic state as a central focus, based on sharia law; a practical tool to govern with. Qutb and Mawdudi were not only concerned with fighting threats of western influences but came closer toward finding ways of decisively confronting those influences, viewing them as providing culturally and politically corrupt foundations for the newly formed Muslim countries of the 20th century (Ibid).

⁶⁶Commins, D (2006) “The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia” Palgrave Macmillan p.146

⁶⁷ Najdi movement refers to Wahhabism (op.cit)

4.3 Mawududi's political legacy

Abul ala Mawdudi's (1903-1979) political legacy remains presented in his numerous works, covering all aspects of life. In his first book "Jihad in Islam" he explains how Islam is not a religion but an evolutionary concept and ideology that sees to change and revolutionize the world's social order. In his own words, Jihad represents a noble struggle, not limited by any earthly interests: it is a sincere call for pleasing Allah in order to receive gratitude from the supreme ruler of the whole cosmos. Further, while contrasting it with the communism, a growing ideology at the time, in what he calls a material revolution, he writes how Islam is not directed with injustice at any specific social group of people but at the whole of the mankind. Since Allah is positioned "above human passion" only Islam as revolutionary force can clear "feelings of vendetta or ill-will that comes out of the unbalanced social order in the society" thus creating equality per se⁶⁸.

Therefore Islam is not directed against any specific person but rather against brutality and immorality that guides humanity against natural law. The universality of Islam lies in its refusal to limit itself to a certain territory or group of people, contrasting it with divine truth, that in his opinion does not know borders or limitations. To achieve Islamic revolution, Islamic revolutionaries should propagate Islamic ideology all over the world to people that truly desire redemption. All other forces usurping this struggle should submit or be destroyed, comparing it with the Prophet and how he came to rule Arabia after the Battle of Tabouk⁶⁹.

Maulana Mawdudi's second books, written while in prison, "The Islamic law and constitution", reaffirmed the idea of the Islamic state. In order to illustrate the lawfulness of the facts he claims, he quotes a famous Canadian professor of that time, Wilfred Smith. "No Muslim has ever evolved a national feeling such as patriotism or loyalty to or concern for a community that transcends the bounds of Islam: only Islam provides those people with discipline, inspiration and energy."⁷⁰ In his own words, separation of politics and religion in the Western style becomes political "slavery" in today's Islamic world and has resulted in an inferiority complex among Muslims – clearly pointing how

⁶⁸ Mawdudi A. (1939) "Jihad in Islam" p.16-17

⁶⁹ Battle of Tabouk is considered first example of Jihad in that time against Byzantines.

⁷⁰ Maulana Mawdudi "The Islamic Law and Consitution" (1941) page 7,9 41

current systems represent everything not of Islamic heritage, and delivered more problems than solutions. For him, nationalism and atheism⁷¹ are forces of hate, impoverishing the human soul and are not able to cure the ills of despairing humanity, and he urges Muslims to reconstruct social life in the light of the ultimate principles of natural law or Allah. (Ibid).

Albeit his revolutionary spirit for which he ended up in jail for altogether seven years, during numerous regime changes in Pakistan, where he lived, he stayed alive and left a deep mark on today's Pakistani society. After his death in 1979, the then military ruler of Pakistan, that seized power due to increased political instability led by Islamic revolts, incorporated many of his ideas into national sharia-based criminal law. Mawdudi is an example of how slowly but steadily focused radicalism eventually emerged to incorporate itself into the body of modern Islamic society. Another case of Sayyid Qutb was not that successful and eventually led to a different path.

4.4 Sayyid Qutb and emergence of Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood

Qutb emerged demanding different and more radical approach and changes to the society. He is today regarded by many experts on Middle East as the most influential ideologue of political Islam and with direct influence on many radicals, such as Osama bin Laden and the ruling structures of Islamic State. His main concern was to implement and “promote revolution as a way to seize power - a concept that was absent from Mawdudi's thoughts⁷²”.

In his most acclaimed work “Milestones”, he writes how his generation is without doubt strongest in understanding of the faith since the great time of the Prophet Muhammad. His books are written in a simple language easy to understand by the masses.

He introduces the concept of Jahiliyyah - a force of ignorance that brings people into conflict, taking many forms: political, racial or material. Fighting Jahiliyya around the world is a first step toward the beginning of a new era, he claims. Delimited from Jahili society misconceptions, or everything outside the influence of Islam, Qutb refuses to accept the Quran for the sole purpose of intellectual discussion

⁷¹ Here Mawdudi through a long critic of contemporary political system clearly is pointing toward two ruling political system in those years. Capitalist democracy and rising Communism.

⁷² Keppel G (2006) “Jihad: The trail of Political Islam” I.B Tauris p.36

or spiritual enjoyment but as a direct manual of instructions and regulations, through which the action of obedience can lead to change from personal and social corruption.

“It is essential that the heart is exclusively devoted to God alone, accepting his law with full submission and rejecting all other laws. There is no other meaning of Islam but pure submission to the already written words” of the Quran. (Ibid, page 17) He claims how, there is no use in the idea of man cutting his connections with God, because he is defenseless when all the universal laws of nature point him toward death or sickness. He goes deep into explaining the basic tenet of Islam that leads people not to forget their true purpose in this world which is to submit to one God only that created them. Jahiliyya is kind of devilish power that controls them in order to prevent them from seeing the truth. He claims further how Islam is a declaration of freedom between people, because it aims to liberate humans from the chains of different forms of institutions created by man, thus creating equality (Ibid p37). According to him Jahiliyya is every earthly reality constructed by man without taking God’s word into consideration.

Many of his radical ideas were in fact inspired by the deeply religious but controversial medieval scholar Ibn Taymiyyah, who in the Muslim world is regarded with respect for declaring the first obligatory fatwa (Islamic legal opinion) for Jihad against Mongols attacking Damascus in the 14th century. The Mongols in that time had already converted to Islam but he didn’t regard them as Muslims because they fought against other Muslims. This example of a conflict between true and not true Muslims will be later used as a justification for the killing of Egyptian President Sadat in 1981⁷³, and for many other future confrontations in the Muslim society. Taymiyyah is known for his books, the first scholar in Islam that encouraged the need for more religion into politics.

The years after the Second World War were turbulent for Egypt and the region. The establishment of the free state of Israel and the war with the Arab league in 1948 deepened the conflict along Islamist and nationalist lines in many Arab countries. While Qutb was two years in America, sent by Egyptian Government as an educational intern, the Egyptian Prime Minister an-Nukrashi was killed by a student member of the Muslim Brotherhood in revenge for the assassination of Hassan al-Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood that lead to the subsequent dissolution of the organization.

In 1953, the National-secularist government of Gamal Abdel Nasser overthrew the Egyptian monarchy. It was estimated that the organization then had already half of million supporters ⁷⁴. Again, over a thousand were imprisoned and many seeking refuge in Saudi Arabia.

⁷³Keppel,Gilles (2006) “Jihad:The trail of Political Islam” I.B Tauris p.72

⁷⁴ Wright, R (2001) “Sacred Rage: The Wrath of Militant Islam” Simon and Schuster p.179

During his two years in the US, Qutb forms the critical thinking in his writings that will later be used as a pretext for attacks on Western civilization. His writings become the structural base for terror ideologies to come, used by many radicals after he was hanged in 1966.

In his work “America I’ve seen”, the first question he asks is: “What will America add to the moral account of humanity” as “ a true value of every civilization lies in the universal truths they attained⁷⁵”. In his opinion, America has no universal truths to offer. Albeit of American industrial advancements, he sees nothing but cultural primitivism of the senses, superstition of religious practice and of human relationships. People in America go to church to have fun, contrary to his understanding that religion should be the foundation for every society.

It is a place where people dance and sing loud, he writes and there is no respect for God whatsoever. Qutb is making a clear statement about how American society, based on selfish materialism, is a true form of Jahili, or everything ignorant. Throughout his work we can see how great is the necessity to re-create the community of the prophet under a new Islamic civilization, a civilization that strictly focuses on religion and the true orthodox doctrine of Islam. He is differentiating true Islam from those who just claim to be Muslims⁷⁶, and under that category he precisely means newly formed monarchies and secular regimes in Muslim countries, that simply copy everything Western: governing systems and other social structures. According to him, the only solution is to rise above Jahilliya and “return to the concepts of the nature of the universe and its laws from which the concepts of life are commonly derived”. He advises the reader to “fight against government, politics, economics and any other aspect that is not in line with Islamic understanding⁷⁷”. At that point we can understand how his writing starts to turn towards extremism. He deliberately starts calling for the end of regimes in Muslim countries. He galvanizes people into action, to establish “Islam as a culturally authentic, pragmatic ideology at odds with various political orders dominating the Muslim world.” What he talks about is most precisely, the ideological system “against the modern-era Western hegemony; ethical vision that connects Muslims to the truth of the God, represented in the Quran and against the dross of the material world.⁷⁸” Only united in the faith again, he writes, Muslims will be able to “lead the humankind to a new future of prosperity, peace and deep spiritual satisfaction.” (Ibid)

⁷⁵ Qutb, Sayyid (1951) “America I’ve seen” page 6

⁷⁶ Hagler Aaron “The Effect of Sayyid Qutb’s Colorado Sojourns on the Political Islamist Worldview” Department of History Colorado College
<https://www.academia.edu/6541413/_The_America_That_I_Have_Seen_The_Effect_of_Sayyid_Qutbs_Colorado_Sojourn_on_the_Political_Islamist_Worldview>

⁷⁷ Qutb Sayyid (2005) “Milestone” Create Space Publishing p.23

⁷⁸ Calvert, J. (2010) “Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism” p. 4.

According to Qutb, all human progress and organizations, developed within the process of Western style modernity, are very dangerous for Islam, most particularly due to the fact that they are delivered from people alone and not from God⁷⁹.

To end his book he leaves the notion how fight against Jahiliyya is not only directed towards a 'corrupt' West, but towards any other Muslim government directed on the same model. He advises how that fighting against unbelievers should take atypical means due to the strength of governmental military power. He does not suggest face-to-face battle but talks about the concept of martyrdom, comparing jihadists with the "noblest angels, signed out from ordinary people for their honor" (Milestone p.151). According to Qutb, only Shariah, as derived from God alone and therefore outside man's influence, can bridge that gap. I will briefly explain the main points towards a better understanding of so-called Islamic sacred law.

4.5 Sharia Islamic Law

The meaning of the word Sharia is literally a 'sacred path to the water'. There are many controversies regarding this concept as it stands partially against western law practice and historical human rights achievement. Today there are more than 35 countries that, in one way or another incorporate Shariah into their legal practice. It is concerned with "protecting religious practice, life, personal and communal wealth⁸⁰." Its legal concept is developed from the Quran and Sunnah or practical guide for behaving written in Hadith together with writings from different Ulamas, religious scholars that were added. It is open to different interpretations and has been legal law, despite some local diversifications, since Muhammadan times. "Rulings according to Shariah are classified according to the following norms: obligatory, recommended, permissible or indifferent, the prohibited, and repugnant"⁸¹.

⁷⁹Murr, V. (2004) "The Power of Ideas: Sayyid Qutb and Islamism" Rockford College Project p.24
<<http://www.stephenhicks.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/02/murr-qutb.pdf>>

⁸⁰ Glazer Sarah (2016) "What is Shariah" Teaching Tolerance web page access date 25.5.2016
<<http://www.tolerance.org/publication/sharia>>

⁸¹ Hallaq, Wael B. (2004) "Shari'a" Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa, The Gale Group Inc. <<http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/sharia.aspx>>

4.6 Appendix to historical part

In contrast with Maududi who preached creation of Islamic state by taking slow steps, Qutb was clear how in order to establish new order, there needed to be a sharp cut with tradition. As I wrote earlier, Qutb was hanged in 1966 in Egypt, due to his subversive writings. Many of his followers would take exile in Saudi Arabia soon after, together with his brother Muhammad who continued to fight for his ideas⁸², working as a professor at King Abdulaziz University in Jeddah, together with Abdullah Yusuf Azzam, founding member of al-Qaeda, where many prominent radicals such as Osama bin Laden another prominent member of that organization, also studied and Ayman al-Zawahiri. Qutb left a clear and permanent mark on the map of Islamism in general especially on ideological formations of movements I plan to explain in next chapter.

5. ANALYSIS

CAUSES FOR RADICALISATION

5.1 Ideology as unifying force

My analysis of the causes for the Islamic radical extremism will include new social movement theory (NSMT) that in regard to religious extremism postulates how in order for mobilization and radicalization to occur a shared ideological bond, similar identity and a degree of religiosity must exist through which specific new social movement organizations (NSMO), in this case extremist terror networks are established. (Vertigans, 2009). Prime Minister Cameron in his recent speech addressing extremism in July 2015 echoed, how the main threat the West is fighting today is the ideology of

⁸² Kepel, G, (2004) "The War for Muslim Minds: Islam and the West" Belknap Press, p.174-5

subversive radical extremism that seeks to destroy nation-states and to invent its own barbaric regime⁸³”.

All extremist Islamic groups “claim to draw their guidelines from Islamic scriptures”, such as the Quran or books of Islamic ideologists “that are viewed as the basis for conduct of judgment and understanding life⁸⁴”.

In regard to understanding the extremist ideology of Islam, the term Jihad is essential. It is argued that mobilization occurs through mutual understanding of that term (Sageman 2005). Jihad is reflected in the idea of individual or religious violent ‘self-defense’ against ‘foreign attackers’ on Muslims and has roots in the medieval scholar Ibn Taymiyyah and other mentioned Islamic ideologists. In my historic overview I already explained the systematic progression of Islamic doctrine so that all necessary information can be easier understood in my analysis.

‘Foreign attackers’ are to be understood as everything outside the established extremist ideological order. Therefore to explain jihad I will refer to the already mentioned Pakistani Islamic ideologist Mawdudi and Qutb from Egypt, regarded as major contributors to the ideological support in the rise of jihadist movements from the early stages until today⁸⁵.

Maududi describes Jihad as a revolutionary struggle to bring the Islamic revolution. In his words Islam “shuns” or despises the conventional term war, as it does not believe in the specific interest of nations through which subjects fight for their ‘selfish ends’. So to say, he doesn’t believe Jihad can be waged throughout conventional warfare.

Islam is interested in mankind as a whole, he argues. “It demands not a piece of land”, making the connection that different states fight for their separate interests and influence, but wanting authority over the whole globe. Any government that opposes this ideology is to be eliminated. Further in his book “Jihad in Islam” he explains how Islam in its struggle through jihad should not limit itself geographically and to achieve victory it should fight globally to “annihilate all earthly tyrannical and evil state systems”⁸⁶ that oppose this ideology. He preaches in his writings how to fight for global Jihad with unconventional warfare.

Dave Dilegge simplifies my claim. “It is not necessary to prove whether Islamic extremists call for unconventional warfare in their writings”, but one should just “examine their strategy through the lens

⁸³ Prime Minister;s Office (2015) “Extremism: PM speech” part of Daesh Uk government response
<<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/extremism-pm-speech>>

⁸⁴Vertigans,S. (2008) “Militant Islam: A Sociology of Characteristics, Causes and Consequences” Routledge press p.8-9

⁸⁵Stern, Sarah (2011) “Saudi Arabi and the Global Islamic Terrorist Network: America and the West’s Fatal Embrace” Palgrave Macmillan p.30-32

⁸⁶Mawdudi M. (1939) “Jihad in Islam” p.6-8 <<http://muhammadanism.com/Terrorism/jihah_in_islam/jihad_in_islam.pdf>

of unconventional warfare”. He acknowledges how “major elements of unconventional warfare are subversion and activity designed to undermine the military, economic, psychological, moral or political strength of a regime or nation”⁸⁷, giving examples on terrorist activities by various terrorist groups.

The rise of the Islamic radical ideology can be traced as I explained in my historical overview since medieval times, throughout the 20th century, where it saw its birth with modern Jihadist movements that arose in the early 1980s at the time of the Afghanistan war. In the 60s, Arab national-secular states such as Egypt, Syria, Libya and non Arab Afghanistan throughout the process of secularization and modernization systematically tried to repress radical Islamic ideologies but with mixed success⁸⁸. One fatal example of ideological repression in national-secular Arab states was the execution of Sayyid Qutb, Egyptian Islamist writer and future major influence on Osama bin Laden in 1966⁸⁹ as his death lead to serious consequences for the radicalization in terms of future intensity.

Alongside the rising secular identity among deeply religious Arabs, that due to their ideological flirtation with the Soviet Union did not have the general approval of Western democracies, conservative Wahhabi Saudi Arabia emerged in the international theater as the respectable ally of the West. Their oil revenues expanded its economy and many exiled radicals of the Muslim Brotherhood from Egypt or Syria, such as the founding members of Al-Qaeda, Ayman al-Zawahiri or Abdullah Yusuf Azzam, moved there to work and live and later formed friendships with Saudi radicals, such as Osama bin Laden. (Gilles Kepel 2002). Their shared ideological bond was based on Qutb’s philosophy, focused mostly around the concept of Jahiliyyah or ‘pagan ignorance for the divine guidance’ through which concept of ‘offensive Jihad’ was born, as already presented in my historical overview⁹⁰.

Qutb’s political ideas remained very much alive in the region long after his execution by the Nasser regime. In Saudi Arabia and other countries with a conservative background, imams in mosques preached his fundamentalist literature of moral discipline and spiritual striving as a specific doctrine around which direct political action and new ideological bonds could materialize⁹¹.

Clerics would preach Qutb and Mawdudi ideas on jihad, jahiliya and martyrdom, portraying death through Jihad in the name of God as the noble cause.

⁸⁷Dilegge D, Bunker R (2016) “Global Radical Islamist insurgency: Al Qaeda and Islamic State networks” Small Wars Journal Anthology, iUniversity Press chapter.49

⁸⁸ Gilles Kepel (2002) “Jihad:The trail of Political Islam” I.B.TAURIS press p.43-51

⁸⁹ Eubene L.R (1999) “Enemy in the Mirror” Princeton University Press p.82-85

⁹⁰ Qutb Sayyid (2005) ”Milestone” Create Space Publishing p.23

⁹¹Aswini Mohapta (2002) “Radical Islam: Ideology behind global terrorism” India quarterly :Journal of International affairs p.1-3 <<http://iqq.sagepub.com/content/58/2/93.full.pdf+html>>

Already in the 70s, in countries where Islamism was suppressed such as Egypt and Syria, underground terrorist organizations strongly emerged. In Egypt, organizations such as the Egyptian Islamic Jihad developed out of the banned Brotherhood after Qutb's execution and gained enough power to assassinate President Anwar Sadat in 1981.

The Syrian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, dissolved when Hafez al-Assad and his Arab Socialist Baath party seized power in 1963, carried terrorist attacks throughout the 70s, culminating in the 1981 Hama uprising, when tens of thousands of Islamists were killed by the regime in the "deadliest act of any Arab government against its own people".⁹²

In Iran, civil resistance against the Western backed Reza Pahlavi led to violent Islamic revolution (1979), followed by the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan. But none of these movements showed enough strength to be called transnational, a role that NSMT assumes, as already explained in the theoretical part of my thesis.

5.2 Emergence of transnational jihadism

Dr. Farhan Zahid, the Pakistani counter-terrorism analyst writes. "During the Afghan War (1979-1989) Talibans and Mujahideens, received strongest incentives to execute global jihadist agendas based on Mawdudi and Qutb's writings". After the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, jihadists from Indonesia to North America flocked into Pakistan to take advantage of training camps sponsored by Saudis and Americans⁹³". Here we have a link with NSMT that assumes a transnational nature of movement. In CNN documentary "Soviet war in Afghanistan", we also find links to religious faith, something NSMT assumes. In their 1998 documentary, Afghanistan is described as a deeply agricultural country, where big landlords deprive powerless peasants. Further they tell us how the Soviets introduced complete land reform after their occupation. In the same documentary, Taliban mullah Laghman from the province Sahar Gul explains. "Reforms in the deeply religious countryside of Afghanistan were understood as communists trying to change the law of God. "They wanted to get rid of poverty in Afghanistan and make everyone equal" adding further how, "only God can decide who should be rich

⁹² Wright, Robin (2008) "Dreams and Shadows : the Future of the Middle East" Penguin, p. 243-244

⁹³ Dr. Farhan Zahid (2015) "Influence of Mawdudi on Abdullah Azzam - father of modern Jihad" CF2R Publication p.1-3 <http://www.cf2r.org/images/stories/foreign_analyzes/fa-33.pdf>

and who poor in Islamic tradition”⁹⁴. NSMT understands that mobilization occurs due to the fight for a ‘better world’, deep psychological needs and increased level of religiosity.

In that sense the Taliban and later the Mujahedeen movement against ‘godless Soviet Union’ can be understood as a threat against religion, from their Islamic understanding of ‘good’, and their vision of ‘justice’. We might also assume that the Soviet occupation increased their level of religiosity, through specific resistance due to the threat of occupation that threatened their tradition of life and practice of religion.

Suton (2004) in regard to this writes. Resurgence in Islamic radical movements is “characterized by their increased level of belief”. “Those on the extreme end of the spectrum are supporters who wish to adhere to a radical interpretation of Islam and seek to transform Muslim society into an Islamic State”⁹⁵. Therefore let me state it clearly how Islamic radicalism in the first phase as a transnational jihadi movement saw growth on ideological grounds that due to the perceived threat of foreign influence fueled higher level of religiosity and encouraged future radical interpretations of faith, so opening door to extremism.

Let me briefly go back to the transnational aspect again. According to Steve Colle, in the years around 1986 international training camps around Afghan border received around 17 thousand Jihadists every year, around 5,000 Saudis, 4,000 Egyptian and 3,5000 Algerians and others, making that war truly ‘international’.⁹⁶

Marc Sageman, one of the most researched scholars in the area of terror grouping agrees, pointing out how “Soviet invasion further internationalized the militant Islamic movement”. According to him, the main person responsible for this internationalization, was Sheikh Abdullah Azzam, mentioned above, who preached traditional Jihad against Soviet invaders. Many militants joined the fight. Azzam is today regarded as the father of the international jihadi movement. He finds a link with Jihad in Afghanistan and argues how Azzam after Afghanistan “extended jihad into global one”⁹⁷. In his book “Understanding Jihadi Networks” in the chapter “early Jihadist and Al-Qaeda grouping dynamics” he tries to “refute conventional wisdom about terrorists”. “Global Salafi terrorist”⁹⁸ were generally middle class, educated, young man from caring and religious families”, something NSM theory describes as a

⁹⁴ Cnn documentary (1998) “Cold War series: Afghan War” Cnn Global Network

<<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xx4RDzwyOFY>>

⁹⁵ Sutton P, Veritagans S. (2002) “Islamic “New Social Movements”? Radical Islam, Al-Qaeda and Social movement theory” p.104-107 <<http://courses.arch.vt.edu/courses/wdunaway/gia5274/sutton.pdf>>

⁹⁶ Cole, S (2011) “Ghost Wars: The Secret History of CIA, Afghanistan and Bin Laden” Penguin p.144

⁹⁷ Sageman, M (2004) “Understanding Jihad Network” Philadelphia Uni Press reviewed by Pinkley D.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/Vol49no2/Terror_Networks_Book_Review_9.htm>

⁹⁸ Salafi militants refer to all trans-national Islamic militant members

mobilization in a 'post-industrial and post-material modern societies'. Post-material here refers to understanding how mobilization doesn't occur because of financial incentives, but for deeper spiritual purposes. According to his book, written while a CIA informer in Pakistan between 1988-1990, most jihadists were global citizens, that "spoke numerous languages, had good computer skills and studied abroad". The recruiting process was always bottom up, as Al-Qaeda didn't have an official program for recruiting but selection was harsh and only 15 to 20 percent of the recruits accepted. He does not explain the reasons for why some were not accepted (Ibid).

So far I have described early mobilization of Jihadi militants in Afghanistan, inspired by a shared understanding of Islamic ideology and level of religiosity that due to the trans-nationality of the movement aimed to be extended into a global movement. In this part I will cover a different time span of radicalization looking at it through different aspects of a new social movement theoretical framework.

5.3 Toward Global recognition

In 1988 Osama bin Laden together with Abdallah Azzam founded Al-Qaeda or the "The Base" and throughout their "World Islamic Front for Jihad" established an aggressive global struggle. The first Iraq war saw Osama bin Laden isolated. He was "rebuffed by king Fahd" who rejected help from his Mujahedeen veterans against Saddam Hussein and further when Americans were invited to the Saudi kingdom his resistance to the "new crusader armies" found him exile in Sudan⁹⁹.

In the years before his first fatwa or "Declaration of War Against America" (1996), this transnational movement saw involvement in numerous wars around the world, in Bosnia, Chechnya, Algeria and others. In 1992, their first attack was against the US military base in Aden and later they claimed responsibility for training of militants responsible for killing U.S troops in Somalia in 1993¹⁰⁰.

In '95 in Riyadh they assassinated seven and in Dhahran in 1996 seventeen U.S soldiers. It was assumed that bin-Laden had up to half of billion of US dollars in funds and that the Al-Qaeda

⁹⁹Stanley Trevor (2005) "Evolution of Al-Qaeda" Perspectives of World History and current affairs web page <<http://www.pwhce.org/evolutionofalqaeda.html>>

¹⁰⁰Soufan Ali (2011) "The Black Banners: The Inside Story of 9/11 and the War against Al-Qaeda" W.W. Norton & Company, p.345

organization in the late 90s was structured by “ followers who take direct command from bin-Laden or small terrorist cells on the ground to whom he is like a messiah of a religious order”¹⁰¹.

The Al-Qaeda movement now aimed for global recognition with a global political and terrorist agenda, well understood by Stephen Vertigans NSM of “self-limiting radicalism” that had serious political ambitions. Al-Qaeda in the 90’s under the principle of ‘defensive jihad’ did not only represent rising global ideology against West, but also a serious security threat due to the growing terror activities through which he echoed Samuel Huntington’s theory of civilizations.

Following the period of exile in Sudan in which his views sharpened, Bin laden issued a ‘declaration of Jihad’ against United State that in 1996 signaled his emergence as an internationally recognizable figure and offered a full account of his main critique of an enemy he described as the “alliance of Jews, Christians and their agents”. Adopting the sensitive historical and religious imagery of Islamic resistance to European Crusades, Bin Laden condemned the U.S military presence in Saudi Arabia, criticized the international sanctions against regime in Iraq, support for Israel and massacres against Muslims around the world¹⁰². (Blanchard ’07)

5.4 New media, and the battle of symbols

Bin Laden’s fatwa against the United States in 1996 was his first public declaration and the emergence of his media persona.

Ayman al-Zawahiri, founding member of Al-Qaida explained. “We are in a battle, and more than half of this battle is taking place in the battlefield of the media, for the hearts and minds of our umma”. New social movements theory as explained by Vertigan, connect also through symbolism of protest through which they communicate.

Al-Qaeda put a lot of work into creating strong propaganda machinery especially after U.S intervention in Afghanistan when it positioned itself more virtually. Lynch who researched Al-Qaeda media strategies wrote. “The global arena of contention, absence of physical territory and an

¹⁰¹ Dr. Fagih sAAD (1998) “Exclusive Osama Bin Laden - First Ever TV Interview” CNN network
<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dqQwnqjA-6w>>

¹⁰² Blanchard C (2010) “Al Qaeda: Statements and Involving Ideology” Diane Publishing p.3
<<https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RL32759.pdf>>

environment constricted by Western and Arab counter-terror operations made the media premier site of their political actions”¹⁰³.

In regard to extreme radicalism, they use violent terror activities and the media (internet) to express views, ideas and recruit supporters. The symbolism of violent terror activities is probably most vividly expressed in World Trade Center, New York financial center bombings of September 11th. Reuven Paz, Israeli terrorism expert quote Abu Ayman al-Hilali, source close to bin-Laden in those years.

“Our solution is organized Jihad that sets at the head of its priorities the attacks against American and Zionist interests. It should not only boycott their goods but also explode their headquarters, centers and industries and everything that symbolizes them, such as MacDonalds¹⁰⁴”

Most researched study is that of Combating Terrorism Center under the name Islamic Militant Imagery Project 2006. I will present their interpretation of the Black Flag.

The Black Flag (al-*raya*) traces its roots to the very beginning of Islam. It was the battle (jihad) flag of the Prophet Muhammad, carried into battle by many of his companions, the image of the black flag has been used as a symbol of religious revolt and battle (i.e. jihad). In Shiite belief, the black flag also evokes expectations about the afterlife. In the contemporary Islamist movement, the black flag is used to symbolize both offensive jihad and the proponents of reestablishing the Islamic Caliphate¹⁰⁵.

Bin Laden’s ascetic appearance and lifestyle, despite his wealth, presented in many of his video appearances, was also symbolically related as a message towards the World and the ‘corrupt’ Saudi ruling class. “The narrative of Bin Laden living in a cave resonated strongly among his followers because it echos powerful Quranic symbols¹⁰⁶”, related to Muhammad and his first revelation when he was ‘visited’ by Archangel Gabriel. Also it is a powerful message of pity, marginalisation and struggle. (Ibid)

The mix of terror activities and symbolic media messages was precisely the strategy of Al-Qaeda to reach the hearts and minds of their fellow supporters.

¹⁰³ Lynch, Marc (2006) “Al-Qaeda’s Media Strategies” National Interest Magazine
<<http://www.marclynch.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/out.pdf>>

¹⁰⁴ Dr Reuven Paz (2002) “Qa’idat al-Jihad – A new name on the road to Palestine” International Institute for Counter Terrorism web page <<https://www.ict.org.il/Article.aspx?ID=1542>>

¹⁰⁵ Combating Terrorism Center (2006) “The Islamic Imagery Project” p. 95
<<https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-islamic-imagery-project>>

¹⁰⁶ Ingram, H (2016) “The Charismatic Leadership Phenomenon in Radical and Militant Islamism” Routledge Press p.179

According to the International Institute for Strategic Study, the “counterterrorism effort has perversely impelled an already highly decentralized and evasive transnational terrorist network to become more ‘virtual’, therefore harder to identify and neutralize¹⁰⁷”. The media was placed high in the strategy of Al-Qaeda.

“Zarqawi and Bin Laden aimed to reach out to the vast, uncommitted middle ground of Arab Muslims through tailored rhetoric that is broadcast over mass media”. (Lynch 2006) It might be coincidence that just after the U.S military intervention in Afghanistan Iraq global Arab TV media networks began to develop parallel with emergence of al-Qaeda. Two most prominent TV stations were Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya.

During so-called war on terrorism, Al-Jazeera has particularly infuriated American officials. It came under close scrutiny and harsh criticism from the United States for its coverage of the war in Afghanistan and the invasion of Iraq. Upon transmitting the controversial Al-Qaeda videotapes, Al-Jazeera was accused of serving as mouthpiece of Al-Qaeda, providing bin-Laden with a platform from which to preach jihad on the West, in general its tendency to air grisly footage and graphic pictures of killed children, wounded civilians and destroyed home, for no other reason than to drum up viewership or else to propagandize against the United States¹⁰⁸. (Elisabeth Pool 2006)

Thomas Friedman not only referred to Al-Jazeera as a large media phenomenon but also a political one. “Yes, it sometimes goes over edge. In the region where the evening news for decades has been endless footage of Arab leaders greeting each other at airports, no wonder that Al-Jazeera with real news and opinion has every Arab leader gnashing its teeth”¹⁰⁹. Al-Jazeera in those years was not regarded as an objective source of information according to western standards. Wahhid Phares is even calling it ‘Jihadi media’ that together with “absence of any serious universal Muslim state-generated condemnation of the ideology behind radical statements” positioned Al-Qaeda for years, at the top of the international media and governmental agendas. “Radical voices from the Greater Middle East were amplified, and triggered irredentist exaltation across the continent through which Islam as a whole, not just fundamentalism moved against the west and Jihadists were successfully transforming the perception of the confrontation into a clash of civilizations¹¹⁰”.

¹⁰⁷ Vertigans, Stephen (2016) “Terrorism and Societies” Routledge p.51

¹⁰⁸ Poole E, Richardson J. (2010) “Muslims and the News Media” I.B.Tauris chapter 15

¹⁰⁹ Friedman T. (2001) “Foreign Affairs;Glasnost in the Gulf” New York Times

<<http://www.nytimes.com/2001/02/27/opinion/foreign-affairs-glasnost-in-the-gulf.html>>

¹¹⁰ Phares W. (2008) “The Confrontation: Winning the war against future Jihad” Palgrave p.35-37

The latest Al-Jazeera poll from 2015 shows how 91% of Arab Muslim population supports ISIS, contradicting President Obama who declared how 99% of Muslims are moderate. Although it is not clear what impact surveys like this have on local population.

5.5 Deprivation and radical extremist identity formation in the West

NSM also focuses on the identity formation that constitutes the dynamics of the organizations, built through already mentioned similar ideologies and shaped through their mutual struggle and ideals. Vertigans and Sutton in their text regarding NSM and Islamic radicalism, used as a pretext for this analysis write how radical Islamists are not limited by belonging to specific nations or national struggles, like some other militant groups that for political goals have clear territorial aspirations; they are rather structured through mutual understanding of universal truth around which their organizations and movements are built. Sutton tells us how many studies claim extremists are simply brainwashed and indoctrinated people, but he claims how they should also be understood as a result of modernity, as members are from different social or economic environments that interact together despite their diverse life experiences. By diverse life experiences I mean how they decided to become part of the movement in regard to their previously different religious or secular backgrounds, their countries of birth, economy and their previous understanding of the world as such.

Petter Nesser who analysed structural diversity in the Islamic movements is concluding something similar to what NSMT postulates; how there is no specific single type of person or profile to define extremism as radicalization, achieved through different patterns of economic, social or psychological backgrounds. Identity in movements precisely focuses, as understood from the theoretical part of my thesis as a psychological process.

He finds that in Europe, as previously with early Jihadists in Afghanistan, people come from different national or ethnic backgrounds, occupations, ages or psychological profiles. He sorts them into four groups i.e. 'entrepreneurs', 'protégés', 'foot soldiers' and 'drifters'¹¹¹. In his words most radicals are joining the struggle out of deep religiosity and to 'defend others' but economic or political deprivation

¹¹¹Ranstorp, Magnus (2010) "Understanding Violent Radicalisation - Terrorist and Jihadist Movements in Europe" New York Rutledge, p.88

do play a significant role in some cases. Entrepreneurs and protégés are driven mostly by ideology and activism. They point to radical mosques, preachers and propaganda alone to justify their actions with reference to politics. “There is no meaningful way to measure their religiosity, but they frame their political grievances in religious terms, and appear to be generally convinced they are Holy Warriors and seem to long for martyrdom”. (Ibid p.108)

It is here, that we can examine identity formation, group structure and organizational dynamics and combine our two theories, NSMT and relative deprivation, in order to understand the complexities of modern extremist organizations built under the theoretical framework of new social movement organization. Proteges, he writes are usually well off with established social contacts and businesses and their cause for radicalization is understood as an intellectual process. They join the struggle through religious idealism, and a search for political and social justice is what fuels their grievances and determines their actions. Frustrated with political affairs and poor prospects for change through nonviolent means direct their violence to be logically acceptable as a noble ideal (Ibid). This is well supported by Gurr’s argument how modern grievances are not only linked with economics but also linked to political awareness and government responses to struggle under the idea of ‘popular discontent’, something that I will systematically explain further when I will examine causes for extremism in the Middle East.

On the other hand, the second group can be partially understood as Gurr’s classification of economic decremental deprivation under “value capabilities decline”. Foot soldiers or drifters’ are usually young criminal types without clear life goals and from violent backgrounds, living on welfare or unemployed, adventurers looking for thrills or Muslim converts in the process of finding their ‘true’ identity. Their motivation is explained by personal grievances and failures, internal dissatisfactions and disputes. Joining jihad is sort of self-therapy for them. They are usually approached alone by recruiters that together with other types form a well-functioning hierarchy (Ibid).

It is with this Nasser classification that we can understand Gurr’s arguments written in 2011 as an appendix to his old theory. Grievances in the modern world take many forms due to various reasons.

I will further present two cases under Peter Nasser's classification that might illustrate better Gurr’s deprivation arguments. First is a clear example of young protégé, radicalized due to ideological and political grievances and second, economic deprivation and psychological struggle for identity and ‘soul searching’ due to their inability to ‘adapt to modernity’.

5.5.1 Case nr.1 Algerian Mohammad Bensakhria

Mohammad Bensakhria, accused of planning to bomb Christmas market in Strasbourg in 2000¹¹² is one example of young ‘protégé’ radical. His reasons for recruitment were due to the belief that terrorism is the only legitimate mean of armed resistance and individual duty of every Muslim. He grew up in Algeria but moved to France in the 90’s to study and was from a good family. He never felt welcomed in France due to, what he called ‘racism and French police brutality’. Few years after moving to France he decided to leave for London where he felt more welcome. In London only place he socialized were mosques where he was introduced to propaganda movies of suffering Chechens in Russia during the 90’s. His idealism motivated him to join the struggle and he was looking for ways to get involved. After six months training in Afghanistan camp he came back to Europe but war in Chechnya ended. Then he decided to commit atrocities in Europe due to European support for Jewish occupation of Palestine.

5.5.2 Case nr.2 Courtallier brothers

Another case is of French Muslim converts David and Jerome Courtallier from the French Alps region of Savoy, accused of plotting to bomb the American embassy in Paris. They represent a ‘foot soldier’ and ‘drifter’ case. In David’s words, interviewed by Newsweek magazine (2002) he claims. “ I could not see a way out ” he referred to living in his small village in France, taking drugs out of boredom and having no incentive for living. He decided to travel to U.K in search of the job where he for the first time visited a mosque. “It was impressive, all those people in the process of finding themselves, there was serenity on their faces, going there was big change for me,” he told the reporter. When a recruiter approached them and asked if they wanted to travel to Afghanistan and join military training, he recalls: “It felt great. I’ve never traveled in my life, I was taken care of totally for the first time in my life¹¹³”.

¹¹² Taylor, Peter (2004) “A Jihad warrior in London” The Guardian web page
<<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/feb/09/alqaida.terrorism>>

¹¹³ Newsweek staff (2001) “Bin Laden’s Invisible Network” Newsweek magazine
< <http://europe.newsweek.com/bin-ladens-invisible-network-154211?rm=eu>>

Those two cases can give different understandings of causes of radicalism in Europe. One out of idealism, through what is perceived as justified struggle and the second due to deprivation incentives, frustration, boredom or simple thrills.

Olivier Roy categorizes ‘the second wave radicals’ or those who seek to radicalize in the west, similarly under the following three categories. First he writes, are students, who came from the Middle East to study, second are now mostly third generation migrants who were born in Europe and third are newly converts to Islam.

In his long elaboration of each terrorist ideological motives, he argues something essential in regard to extremism in the West. There are as many well-educated and well-integrated young men who are drawn to extreme radical groups, as there are simple jobless outcasts.

“What is at stake is more the reconstruction or recasting of old lost identity than the expression of a depressed social or economic situation.”¹¹⁴ He’s idea of ‘lost identity’ could be very well connected with Fukuyama’s ‘emptiness at the core of the liberalism’ which is explained in my introduction. Roy gives special accent toward ‘converts’, by the time when his book was published in 2004 there were more than 100.000 Muslim convert in France alone. He drove four categories of converts. First are political rebels fascinated by anti imperial dimension of Islam. Second are religious nomads in search of spiritual guidance. Followed by drug addicts and thieves that find strong ethical base out of their deprived life. Fourth group consist of various ethnic man that through feeling of brotherhood fight deep anxiety and inferiority complex due felt to racism and social exclusion. (Ibid p.317)

In this part I’ve analyzed the causes of radicalization in the wealthy secular societies of the West looking at it through identity formation and what impact relative deprivation has on extremist radicalization. As we understood relative deprivation theory (RDT) presupposes how radicalization occurs due to specific sense of deprivation, frustration, inequality, social exclusion, racial discrimination, integration, and a psychological understanding of their inability to adapt to modernity leading to identity crisis or ‘soul searching through which their identity is structured’. Also as we understand there are many forms of relative deprivation and situation is extremely complex.

¹¹⁴ Roy, Olivier (2004) “Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah” Columbia University Press p. 302-305

5.6 Social exclusion, racism and jihadi subculture in the West

In a recent European Parliament briefing regarding religious fundamentalism and radicalization from March 2015, under the chapter “Why is it happening here and now”, a specific question is raised regarding causes for terror activities and possible link connecting it with RDT. In their words, social exclusion is linked with second and third generation Muslim migrants who are “experiencing disconnectedness and loss of identity, the feeling of not being welcome or accepted in their countries, while also not being deeply rooted in the culture and traditions of their parents¹¹⁵”. It is to say that it is not only ideological pressure that indoctrinates; something already mentioned in previous chapter but a relevant triggering point for radicalization, in this case of radicalized Muslims in Europe, is identity struggle that through belonging to specific ‘jihadist subculture’ seek to reaffirm themselves and become part of broader Islamic struggle thus restoring their lost pride. As Tahir Abbas explains. “Indigenous-born Muslims often experience a complex and dislocated existence”. The majority of the Muslims who arrived in Western Europe from the late 60s as economic migrants have found “prejudice, discrimination and racism” in their neighborhoods that together with living in poor and isolated parts of the towns with bad educational facilities and conservative parents had a great impact on their life and image of future ‘good citizens’¹¹⁶

There are others who have made a positive effort at integration; but once they have experienced the negative impact of the system, a sense of dislocation and alienation, perceived or real, occurs and affects their consciousness. This then encourages some to seek to resolve Muslim issues, home and abroad. These individuals can be politically subjugated by radical interest groups, often resulting in their carrying out horrific acts of violence invariably involving the annihilation of the self and largely for other Muslims. (Ibid)

Tahir Abbas argues how in the west there is a “racial and class structure” in which some of 25 million European Muslims feel rejected. He understands emergence of radicalism in Europe “as a way of resisting the ‘weakness’ of being perceived under the category of ‘Asian’ through which new Islamic identity is perceived as more important. (Ibid p.201)

¹¹⁵ European Parliament briefing (2015) “Religious fundamentalism and radicalization”
<<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/EPRS/EPRS-briefing-551342-Religious-fundamentalism-and-radicalisation-FINAL.pdf>>

¹¹⁶ Abbas, Tahir (2007) “Islamic Political Radicalism” Edinburgh, GB: Edinburgh University Press, p.4

In his recent text regarding recent terror events in France and Belgium, he blames failed multiculturalism and failed integration policies where young ethnic Muslims are left behind from mainstream society. Unfortunately he does not go into the reason for their exclusion. “Their own self-criticism does not exist” he argues in regard to European political elites and their responsibility. It is here that we can apply Gurr’s theoretical understanding of relative deprivation under the term ‘popular discontent’ to analyse people’s justifications for radicalism due to bad or unpopular government policies. He explains how it is not only Islamic ideology that is responsible for radicalization but old legacies of racism, colonialism and Orientalism that fuels feelings of anger and revenge. This argument might be enforced to include feeling of fear due to recent right wing populist electoral victories in Europe that are based on clear anti Islamic rhetoric.

His main point is what he calls being “friends with Middle Eastern Oil”, with no will to break relations with countries that spread ultra conservative ideologies of Wahhabism, which he finds to be the biggest threat and also a case of double standards. He continues: “As Wahhabism spreads across the world unchecked, this force is unleashed among more pluralist Muslim societies, that galvanize resistance against the west” a response essentially ideologically against everything that Europe stands for; democracy, human right and political plurality¹¹⁷.

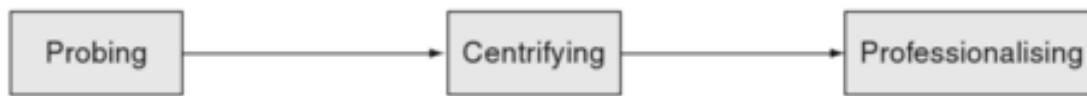
5.7 Extremism as occupation

Daniela Pisoiu in her work ‘Islamists occupation change problem¹¹⁸’ is moving away from the presupposed understanding that poverty or relative deprivation is enough to explain determination for the recruitment, but it is well in line with relative deprivations understanding of social exclusion or inability to adapt to modernism. For her extremism can be understood as a simple occupation or a career. She categorized radicalization through three groups of incentives i.e. ‘reward’, ‘standing’ and ‘recognition’ through which concrete materialization occurs. Materialization depends on certain sets of ideas, perceptions and mind maps of recruiters and can be conceptualized through three stages: probing, centrifuging and professionalizing.

¹¹⁷ Tahir Abbas “Inequality, Extremism and Radicalism: A global Overview” April 8, 2016

<<http://tahirabbas.co.uk/index.php/inequality-extremism-and-radicalism-a-global-overview/> >

¹¹⁸ Pisoiu D. (2012) “Islamist Radicalization in Europe: An Occupational Change Process” Routledge Press p.57-79



Probing is first stage, usually connected with recently arrived immigrants in Europe, something she understands under, “being at the wrong place at the wrong time”, when the understanding of the new culture and how to develop under new circumstances is still rather blurry. Manipulation by recruiters in this phase often plays crucial role that determines course of the extremists.

Centrifuging is second level, “characterized by gradual and increasingly exclusive focus on area related to Islamist radical occupation”. It is a phase, radical indoctrination with deprivation due to inability to adopt becomes chronic and social contacts out of radical milieu become to non-existing, leading to mind change.

Professionalizing is terrorist occupational specialization obtained after professional jihadist ‘training’.

‘Job’ assumes preparing attacks, logistical support, propaganda activities, financing and recruitment.

She argues that for jihadists main concern is not about being radical but about carrying out their occupational activities in the form of duty. “The appellative Islamic radical or terrorist seemed rather a label for the effect of behavior, not the account or explanation of the behavior itself.” (Ibid) It is to say that extremism is sometimes understood as a perverse alternative to real occupation, job or a career.

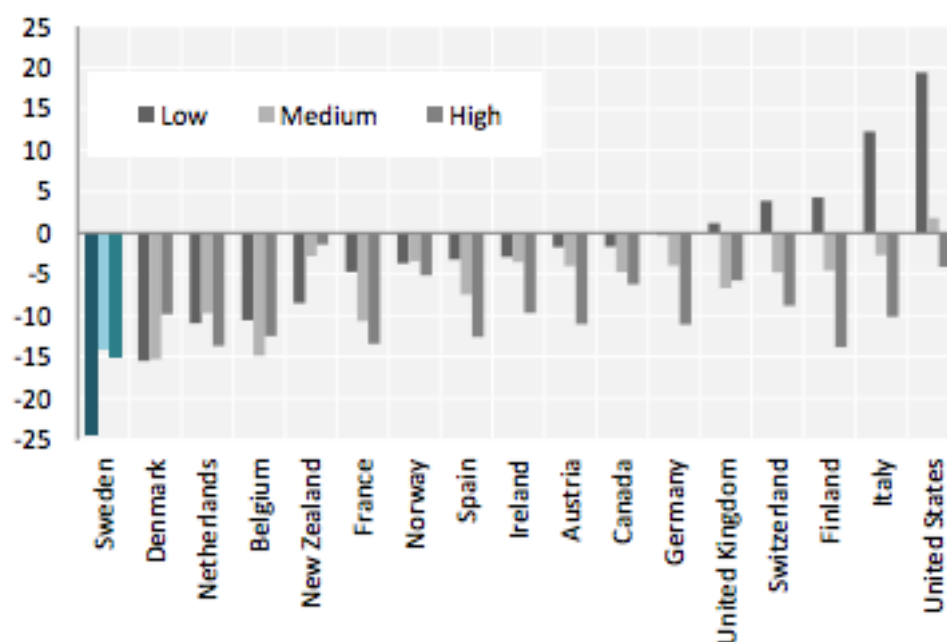
To logically understand her claims I will present statistical data that shows how unemployment in Muslim communities in Europe is around 20% for general population and 40% among youth¹¹⁹, more than double the average rate for native Europeans. Belgium is for example country with highest unemployment rate among Muslims in Europe with more than 45% people without work and Brussels is regarded as the Muslim capital of Europe with overall population exceeding more that 25% (Ibid).

Due to limited data and studies in regard to problematic of unemployment and radical extremism in Europe, I will not be able to go deeper into the problematic. Indeed, future researchers to the subject of radicalism and extremism in Europe will have to take this problematic into account.

¹¹⁹ Moniquet, C (2005) “The radicalization of Muslim youth in Europe: The reality and the scale of the threat” European Strategic Intelligence and Security Center p.5
< <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/testimony/302.pdf>>

In regard to unemployment and radicalization I will refer to recent escalation in KBH suburb of Norrebro and alleged youth gangs of ‘sharia police’ patrolling clubs on weekends. Danish Minister for Integration Inger Stojberg’s answer to them in recent interview was to ‘get a job’.

It is known that Denmark has one of the best welfare programs in Europe but is also on the same hand regarded as the second worst performer in immigrant workforce integration by OECD statistic¹²⁰.



5.8 Relative deprivation and extremism in Middle East

According to Li and Schaub (2004) research conducted in relation to radicalism in Arab states, “primary cause of transnational terrorism is underdevelopment and poverty”. “Poor economic conditions create ‘terrorist breeding grounds’ where disaffected populations turn to transnational terrorist activities as a solution to their problem¹²¹”.

¹²⁰ The Local (2016) “Danish minister to Sharia troublemakers: ‘Get a job’ “ The local magazine access date: May 12th 2016 <<http://www.thelocal.dk/20160512/sharia-zone-copenhagen-minister-get-job-nazi>>

¹²¹ Quain Li, Schaub D. (2004) “Economic Globalization and Transnational Terrorism” Department of political Science, Pennstate University p.236

This was precisely the case with Afghanistan or Sudan where countries underdevelopment, poverty and educational backwardness allowed Al-Qaeda to flourish.

However, Alan Krueger finds how “poverty does not always transform people into terrorists and murderers alone. Yet poverty, corruption and repression are a toxic combination in many societies, leading to weak governments that are unable to enforce order or patrol and are vulnerable to terrorist networks¹²²”. His study did not find many connections with poverty and radicalism. Although he claims how poverty can find ways to direct extremism through mutual symbiosis of economic deprivation in the countries that are experiencing civil wars which is in contrary with radicalism in the West where he states terrorist organizations prefer well-educated people because they “fit into the foreign environment better” and therefore are more successful in carrying complex terrorist tasks. The most researched example of deprivation and terrorism in Middle East before the events of the Arab Spring were in relation to Palestine. Palestine provides an example of how Gurr’s theoretical understanding of extremism under the frustrations caused by ‘bad governments or unpopular policies’ and economic deprivation can be explained.

In his study of 250 Palestinian militants Krueger did not indicate a specific correlation between extremism and poverty but he suggests that his data should be taken with caution as “data in his paper as often sketchy, incomplete and possibly not fully representative” and because reasons for committing terror activities are generally regarded private. Although he claims how “bombers are clearly not motivated for their own economic gain, promise of larger payments to their families may increase the willingness to participate in suicide missions”. He believes that the cause for extremist acts is due to their “passionate support for the movement” (Ibid p. 122-123)

In another case study, Maleckova argues that contrary to general public understanding of how economic is the main cause for extremism, something widely accepted around the world after Kim Dae Jung’s Nobel peace prize where he acknowledged that at the root of terrorism is poverty, she refers to the public opinion poll survey done in West Bank and Gaza that shows how 94.2% merchants are in favor of attacks against Israelis compared with 73.9% unemployed¹²³. Students however present the highest rate with almost 96% percent in favour of violent activities against Israelis. Concluding similar arguments presented by Gurr; the overall idea that deprivation moves from a simple understanding of economics as a major cause towards a more complex understanding of the term such as political and social deprivation and other.

¹²² Krueger A, Maleckova I (2002) “Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* p.105 p.122-123

¹²³ Bjorgo, T. (2004) “Root Causes of Terrorism: “Myths, Reality and ways Forward” Routledge p.33-40

5.9 Role of foreign interventions

In recent foreign policy speech Republican candidate Donald Trump raised many questions. I will quote part of his speech in order to give a pretext for more serious academic debate that goes along these lines.

“After Cold War, American foreign policy failed to create vision for a new time. Logic was replaced with foolishness and arrogance that lead to one foreign policy disaster after another. We went from mistakes in Iraq to Egypt and Libya, President Obama’s line in the sand in Syria and each of these actions helped throw region in chaos and gave ISIS the space it needs to grow and prosper. It all began with dangerous idea that we can make western democracies out of countries that had no experience or interest in becoming democracies. We torn up all institutions they had and we should not be surprised what we unleashed: civil war, religious fanaticism and terrorism.¹²⁴ (Donald Trump, 2016)

5.9.1 Case of Iraq

Toby Dodge analyzed Bush administration Invasion of Iraq under the democracy promotion doctrine, to conclude how new political institutions and realities after war should be seen as primary cause for the chaos that country experienced after the war and future rise of extremism.

“Iraq new political sentiment, initially constructed under US occupation, then expanded to be institutionalized by the group of formerly-exiled politicians, empowered by their allies resulted in exclusion of those from the old ruling elite¹²⁵”. This quote is showing the reality of post war Iraq after U.S. occupation and it is very essential to understand what happened after in Iraq.

¹²⁴ Trump Donald (2016) “Donald Trump Foreign Policy Speech” The center of National Interest
<Full Event: Donald Trump Speaks on Foreign Policy in Washington, DC>

¹²⁵ Dodge Toby (2013) “Enemy Images, Coercive Socio-Engineering and Civil War in Iraq” International Peacekeeping Press p.462 <<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13533312.2012.709756>>

The Official term de-baathification was introduced in 2003 to limit former party members any influence in the new society. It is to say that almost all of the previous employers in once, one party system country lost their jobs, and not only in political sphere of the society and administration but also educational, in schools, hospitals etc. It is important to say that majority of those under positions in Hussein's Iraq where Sunni Muslims, due to fact that in Saddam Hussein's one party system Sunni Muslims were dominated majority. The chaos that followed can be clearly understood under relative deprivation theory that postulates how anger and frustration can emerge into violence due to the fact of being denied inclusion into the political system and due to frustration as the result of government's unpopular policies. Sunni were de facto deinstitutionalized in post US Iraq that according to Gurr's theory proves why violent confrontations emerged soon after (Ibid).

“By August 2005 car bombs became weapon of choice. The dynamic of Alienation and exclusion fueled the increased spiral of violence and from 2005 onwards al-Qaeda was taking control of the movement that exploited and exacerbated political exclusion by using the language of sectarian extremism for attacks at Shia population”. (Ibid p.473)

Today's Iraq is clearly divided along Sunni and Shia lines and Kurds located in the North with sectarian violence deeply incorporated in the nation's body.

5.9.2 Libya after Gaddafi

Modern Libya emerged in 1969 after colonel Moammar Gaddafi's ousted King Idris in coup d'état under the moto “freedom, socialism, unity”. Due to the small population in size and vast oil reserves it emerged fast as one of the richest African countries with free education, health care and housing assistance to all, although wealth was mostly concentrated in the hands of the privileged ruling elite¹²⁶. During 70s and 80s, due to the disagreement with western support of Israel and the conflict in Palestine, Gaddafi engaged in controversial moves, such as financing Palestinian PLO and other networks, responsible for numerous atrocities such as Black September massacre at Munich Olympics in 1972 or attack on Rome airport in 1985. After bombing the Berlin discotheque, frequented with U.S

¹²⁶ Wikipedia “History of Libya under Muammar Gaddafi”
<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Libya_under_Muammar_Gaddafi>

soldiers in Berlin and Reagan's retaliation in 1986, confrontation continued to peak momentum with Pan Am flight 103 de facto declaring what is known as Libya's state sponsored terrorism¹²⁷. In the aftermath of Bush's war on terrorism in 2003, due to the following agreement for compensations to Lockerbie victims, elimination of Libya's weapons of mass destruction and in Condoleezza Rice words¹²⁸, "excellent cooperation in response to common global threats faced by civilized world since 9/11" relations with the West improved. Efraim Inbar writes, "Gaddafi even forged an alliance with US and other Western countries in the war against Al-Qaeda, who became active in Libya after 1993¹²⁹". First known radical Islamist organization in Libya, Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG) was formed in 1995 out of Libyan jihadi fighters from the Afghanistan. Some of Al-Qaeda prominent senior activist such as Abu Yahya al-Libi or Atiyah Abdul-Rahman were all Al-Qaeda members¹³⁰. This group after the initial uprising against Gaddafi in 2011, followed by NATO military intervention will eventually change its name to Libyan Islamic Movement and their leader Abdelhakim Belhadj will rise to become Tripoli Military Council head commander soon after the war. Some sources claim that he actually is a leader of today's Libyan ISIS held territory positioned around the city of Sirte. Post Libyan political reality saw various militias arms groups fighting for dominance. Ansar al-Sharia emerged to become most prominent one. It held responsibility for the attack on U.S embassy in Benghazi in 2012 and other vicious atrocities. Ansar al-Sharia emerged today to "represents loose confederation of various Islamist groups¹³¹".

Indeed, "characteristic of post Gaddafi era is the urge by all political factions to be part of the ruling establishment, and in the country with no functioning army national army and where guns are everywhere, political groups reached out to armed groups to their own protection and to further their agendas¹³²". This sentence clearly represents chaos for what U.S. President Barack Obama would in

¹²⁷ United States Committee on Judiciary (1986) "Libyan-sponsored Terrorism: A Dilemma for Policymakers" U.S. Government Printing Office p.83-86

¹²⁸ Meeleod, Scott (2006) "Why Gaddafi's Now a Good Guy" The Time Magazine
<http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1194766,00.html>

¹²⁹ Inbar, Efram (2013) "The Arab Spring, Democracy and Security" Routledge p.92

¹³⁰ Gambil, G (2005) "The Libyan Fighting Islamic Group" Terrorism Monitor The Jamestown foundation
http://web.archive.org/web/20060718051648/http://www.jamestown.org/publications_details.php?volume_id=411&issue_id=3275&article_id=2369477

¹³¹ Micallef, J. (2015) "Al-Baghdadi Ziroes In On Libya: The Next Evolution of Islamic State" Huffington Post <
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/joseph-v-micallef/al-baghdadi-zeroes-in-on_b_8792394.html>

¹³² Kmouni, F, Abdo, I. (2015) "Addressing Libya's multiple crises: When Violent Politics, extremism and crime meet" Clingendael – Netherlands Institute for International Relations
http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/Policy_Brief_Addressing_Libyas_multiple%20crises_Clingendael_CRU_July2015.pdf

recent interview call his 'worst mistake as a President' due to failed plan for the aftermath of military intervention in Libya, claiming how 'it did not work'¹³³.

Gurr's third aspect of relative deprivation - progressive model is explained how frustration and mobilization occurs due to the "sharp decline after long period of steady improvement". Gurr's argues how with this model events after revolutions or wars can be analyzed. I haven't found enough evidence to analyze this claim. The only relevant academic article was from Ricardo Laremont who wrote on this to conclude how "The North African mass revolt and demonstration fit into Gurr's paradigm of 'progressive deprivation where society's aspiration for betterment rise while the economic capacity of the state rise as well'¹³⁴". This is as I understand mostly related to the causes for the failed revolution. Three years after military intervention (2014), Libya fell into second civil that is still ongoing; leading to what many experts claims is now a failed state. Only academic text that researched causes for extremism points toward this conclusion.

"The removal of Gaddafi's grip on the security sector and the economy unleashed intense competition among numerous localized (armed) groups for control over strategic sites and of the flow and distribution of illicit goods. Libya's vast terrain, permeable borders and the absence of effective state control have created an ideal environment for criminals to maneuver in and for criminal networks and illicit markets to flourish. Illicit trade has provided groups in the warring camps with the necessary revenues and equipment to continue their fighting. In many ways, the expansion of criminal activity in Libya is both a symptom and a cause of the prevailing instability" (Kmouni, Abdo 2015)

Impact of NATO intervention on Libya is somewhat controversial. It is known that reasons for intervention was presented to the world as clearly humanitarian but according to Hehir and Murray "after few weeks evidence shows how NATO's primary aim was to overthrow Gaddafi's regime even at the expense of increasing harm to Libya's civilians¹³⁵". Democracy Now documentary (2015) 'Libya Gamble' examines how, "Gaddafi's huge arsenal of weapons showed up soon after intervention in the hands of terrorists in places like Gaza, Syria, Egypt, Nigerian and Mali" with hundreds of thousand of emigrants fled to Europe through Libya on boats¹³⁶. In same documentary new understandings of Hillary Clinton's role as a secretary of state was brought to public regarding her famous sentence "we came, we saw, he died", that explains the murder of Gaddafi and how hear

¹³³ Guardian "Barack Obama says Libya was 'worst mistake' of his Presidency" The Guardian magazine < <http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/apr/12/barack-obama-says-libya-was-worst-mistake-of-his-presidency>>

¹³⁴ Laremont, R. (2013) "Revolution, Revolt and Reform in North Africa: The Arab Spring and Beyond" Rutledge p.6

¹³⁵Hehir, A. Murray R (2013) "Libya, the Responsibility to Protect and the Future of Humanitarian interventions" Springer Press, google book web access no pagination

¹³⁶Democracy Now (2016) "The Libya Gamble: Inside Hillary Clinton's Push for War & Making of a failed State" Youtube web access date 27.5.2016 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1aLjvIbnY0c>

influence on Obama's decision to join France and Britain was crucial in what was 51% to 49% decision in favour of intervention. Controversy still remains high regarding her secret e-mail messages, and those are just some of the accusations Bernie Sanders will use against her in recent election debate accusing her for being primary cause for the rise of ISIS in Libya¹³⁷.

6. Conclusion

As understood from the introduction, aim of this thesis was to conduct a research on the causes for the rise of Islamic radical extremism. 'Rise' was understood through the categories of time progression and intensity of events. Therefor I will according to that analogy conclude how radical Islamic extremism emerged out of Wahhabi ideology that already in the early beginning of the late 18th and 19th century saw their fundamentalism nature toward other Muslim groups and their understanding of the Islamic doctrine. 20th century ideological developments deepened extremist understanding and grounded it further ideologically and theologically as a distinct dogma opposed to any modernism and most precisely western influences. Books such as "Jihad in Islam" reaffirmed medieval practices and introduced Sharia law. Qutb's 'America I've seen' propagated western blasphemous decadence to be used as a pretext to distinct 'US' from 'THEM' and deepen the divisions further. However it is not until Soviet Invasion that we can more clearly follow the emergence of this phenomenon and explore its causes. Soviet invasion could be seen as a primary cause for the rise of Islamic radical extremism as the perceived threat from foreign occupation activated old Quranic understanding of Jihad as a duty of every pious Muslim. The emergence of Mujahedeen's and their transnational structure was crucial for the evolution of radical extremism. Early proxy influences such as financial and military support from U.S and Saudi Arabia in then ideological battles between two prevailing systems during late Cold War just accelerated and fueled movement development, something that soon after emerged into Al-Qaeda and many other groups and phenomenon's. Analyzing the extremism through new social movement theory lead me to conclude how ideology is a primary cause for the motivation but economic, political and social deprivation should be taken into account. Radical extremism identity is formed almost exclusively through belonging to similar ideology. Typologies of radical extremist are many and all depend on motives, location of radicalization and current political situation or systems from which

¹³⁷ Dan, Robert (2016) "Sanders: Clinton's pursuit of regime change in Libya helped rise of ISIS"
<http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/dec/18/bernie-sanders-isis-libya-gun-control-wall-street-hillary-clinton>

they emerge. Olivier Roy's 'recasting of the old identity' seems crucial for the understanding of the extremism in the West as new Islamic identity is therefore perceived as a sort of the 'new beginning' and somewhat clear escape from the ideological emptiness of the Western society, probably best explained under Fukuyama's 'emptiness of the core of the liberalism'.

There is a tendency to connect problems of Muslims in Europe and causes for radicalism in regard to feeling of 'prejudice, racism and discrimination' connecting it with unemployment and overall dissatisfaction with life according to materialistic principles of the West. Further research is needed in this field in order to get clear understanding of this type of problematic, especially what impact might welfare societies have on the 'Fukuyama's boredom' and how that boredom can cause radicalization due to the real - ideological backgrounds or out of 'thrill' as presented in the two cases analyzed.

On the other hand, Middle East emerged in recent decade as a hot bed for terrorism as never before. Fall of dictatorial regimes supported by western military interventions escalate the rise of radical Islamism to the extreme, multiplying extremism groups, causing wars and desperation. Although motives for the interventions were clearly humanitarian, in reality it all exacerbated and complicated situation more than ever, creating brutal civil wars, destruction and unprecedented loss of lives. I will use this last sentence to quote Judith Shklar who in her essay 'Liberalism of fear' famously offered the understanding of how liberalism in Europe was indeed "born out of the cruelty of the religious civil wars"¹³⁸.

¹³⁸ Shklar N. Judith (1984) "Ordinary Vices" Harvard University Press p.5

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