Facing the root causes of terrorism

Preventing the apocalypse

Bachelor Thesis

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Abstract

Since the attacks on 9/11 terrorism has become a threat to Western societies all around the world. Terrorism is a symptom of radicalization, and instead of finding the source of radicalization and fighting that, the main focus is on fighting terrorism. Therefore this thesis will focus on identifying the root causes of radicalization and it will examine possible solutions. This thesis will examine what the reasons are some Muslims radicalize, mainly focussing on the breeding grounds of radicalization. How anti-West sentiments play an important role when it comes to radicalization, and this thesis will examine the reaction of people in Western societies towards the terrorist attacks of the last years. After this has been done this thesis is going to see if possible solutions to the causes of radicalization can be found. Hereby there will be a specific focus on long-term solutions instead of short-term solutions that might not be sustainable in the long run. It has to be noted that it is impossible to prevent radicalization in general, but what is possible is to try to deal with the solvable breeding grounds of radicalization. This thesis will provide a better insight in the complexity of the problem called terrorism, and what lies behind it, and it will evaluate what has happened in the past, and how a better future can be achieved.

Keywords: Terrorism, Root Causes of Radicalization, Xenophobia, Anti-West Sentiments

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1. Introduction

1.1 An introduction to the current situation of terrorism

The terrorist attacks on 9/11 were understood by the people in Western countries as a serious threat to Western societies. After 9/11 there was a strong call for retaliation, and the United States were focussed on catching Osama bin Laden who was supposed to be behind the terrorist attacks. Besides the call for retaliation the other response after this attack was that there should be an increase in the giving of development aid and the support of education in countries all over the world to put an end to terrorism (Krueger & Malecková, 2003). One of the main assumptions according to vice president Al Gore, President George W. Bush and several academic scholars was that only people who are uneducated and had no other alternatives to make something out of their lives would radicalize and participate in the violent jihad. Therefore they called for an increase in development aid and educational assistance to fight terrorism. But are education and no other alternatives really the root causes of radicalization? And if development aid is increased and Western countries assist in educating people, will this stop terrorism?

What I want to do in this thesis is to find out what the root causes are of the radicalization process, which could possibly lead to people participating in the violent jihad. Right from the start I want to note that there are a lot of different forms of radicalization and terrorism, but the one I want to focus on in this thesis is Islamic terrorism and radicalization. It also should be noted that radicalization is not the same as terrorism, and that even though someone might radicalize, this doesn't automatically mean that they participate in terrorism.

The events of 9/11 gave the US a very strong incentive to declare the war on terror, which is still going on nowadays. President Bush demanded that the Taliban should hand over Osama bin Laden, who was hiding on Taliban territory in Afghanistan, but the Taliban refused to do so if proof of his involvement in the attacks could not be provided (Guardian, 2001). Bush then responded by saying that this was not open for negotiation, and the US started a campaign to hunt down Osama bin Laden, who was eventually killed on the second of May in 2011 (Phillips M. , 2011). Even though Al-Qaeda lost a lot of power because of this, they are still existing today, and out of Al-Qaeda Isis has come to exist (Gömöri, 2015).

This thesis will revolve around the following question: *"How have Western policies towards the Middle East fuelled terrorism and radicalization, and how can this be addressed?"* In order to answer this question the first thing that is necessary to define is the concept of "the West". The countries that are considered to be part of the West are originally the allies of the United States. During the Cold War there was a distinction between the West (The United States and its allies) and the East (The Soviet Union and its allies). The West was also referred to as the first world, and the East as the second world. After the Cold War some countries of the second world joined the first world, and some didn't. The West, and therefore the first world consists of Northern America, Europe (including Russia), Australia, New Zealand, and Japan (Reuveny & Thompson, 2007) (Corbridge, 1986).

Something else which is important to examine are a couple of different aspects. First, this thesis is going to examine what the definition is of radicalization. In the second chapter I am going to examine the root causes of terrorism. In this chapter I will both examine the Muslims in the West, and the Muslims in the Middle East and Northern African countries that radicalize, especially focussing on relative young male Muslims. I will start by defining Islamic radicalization, and will continue to explain this through two different models, eventually moving to the root cause model. I will look at the root causes of radicalization on different levels (macro, social and individual) and explain how they also influence each other.

In the third chapter this thesis will go deeper into the history regarding international politics. The historical context of the Middle-East from the Cold War period onwards is important because this is the moment when the US is starting to interact with countries in the Middle-East. Since the US declared the war on terror I specifically want to examine what their role is in the Middle-East. The reason why I want to look into this specific area is because in these countries a lot of Islamic terrorist organizations are situated and operate from these countries. I want to look at the international interventions of powerful actors, but I also want to examine different significant events that has happened within countries in the Middle-East. This is highly relevant because from the context it is possible to find the roots of the hate towards the US and the West which is present in a lot of the countries in the Middle-East. I will use a historical approach to examine the political development in countries in the Middle-East and Northern Africa. A specific event which has happened relatively recently is the Arab Spring which I also want to examine, because this will show how Isis (for example) became so powerful in a relative short time Something specific which is important to mention is that the third chapter (which will be about the context) will explain why there is a negative feeling towards the West.

In the fourth chapter I will look at negotiation as a direct response in order to de-escalate the situation, but I will mainly focus on the possible non-violent based solutions for radicalization in the long-run. After the fourth chapter the discussion and conclusion will follow.

1.2 Relevance in science and society

It is highly relevant to look into the root causes of terrorism and radicalization because terrorism is perceived as a continuous threat for the national security of countries all around the world. Right from the start I want to note that radicalization is not the same as terrorism, or that radicalization always leads to terrorism. Terrorism is only a very specific way to channel radical thoughts and to try to achieve fundamental change in society. Having said this, I find it important to examine what the root causes are in order to start thinking about possible solutions to deal with these root causes in a successful way. I want to examine the possible solutions, but evaluate critically what can affect the effectiveness of these solutions. The current violent approach that is used nowadays when it comes to the problem of terrorism is only leading to more violence, where actors seek retaliation for the actions of the other over and over again. This is something which I will demonstrate throughout the thesis. Both sides continue to respond in a violent way towards the other creating only more fear, chaos and pain, an example of this is what happened after the Paris attacks (Hollande, 2015). Because of the fact that after a violent attack the other side wants to seek revenge or retaliation, which causes a vicious circle of violence (Doud, 2016). People in the West are afraid that their country will be the target of a terrorist attack, and this stimulates the fear towards the Islam and Muslims in general, causing a more xenophobic environment towards Muslim migrants, which will be demonstrated in the 4th chapter. Eventually it is needed to move towards a society in which both actors, although fundamentally disagreeing, can live side by side in the same society, without the need of responding in a violent way. It is important to deal with the root causes of terrorism and radicalization, because this is not a "normal" war about territory or resources, but this is a war between two different ways of seeing a "perfect society". Meaning that this war will only end when either one way of thinking is exterminated, (which is impossible because you can't exterminate a thought) or when both actors learn to live in peace with each other. The war on terror exists because there is a fundamental disagreement between both sides about the way society should work. This can be found back in what terrorist organizations like Isis or Al-Qaeda want to achieve, which is an Islamic State where the Sharia is the rule of law.

If it is not realized in time that this is a war between actors who want to achieve a completely different way of state organization, and that the conflict is stuck in a vicious circle of violence, this war has no end. This can be perfectly visualized by a statement of Bush in 2001: *"Our war on terror begins with Al-Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated"* (Bush, 2001). This statement shows how the United States is committed in fighting terrorism and especially terrorist organizations. The focus of the US went from Al-Qaeda, to the Taliban, and now on Isis, and the question will be where the focus will shift to next, maybe Boko Haram, maybe another terrorist organization.

This thesis will be relevant for society because it will provide a couple of possible solutions that can be used in the future, and it has scientific relevance because of the fact that I will link the solutions to a wider spectrum which will help to get a better view on the full picture of this problem. This is important because these solutions are non-violent based and will tackle the main reasons of why people radicalize and their breeding grounds.

1.3 Research domain and concepts

The central topics in this thesis are terrorism, the Arab Spring, xenophobia, radicalization and root causes. I believe that these different concepts are important to explain before this thesis continues because these different concepts will come back throughout the thesis.

It is important to understand what is meant by terrorism, especially because it can be quite an ambiguous concept when not properly explained. Terrorism can be defined as: *"the use, or the threat of use, of anxiety-inducing violence for political purposes by any individual or group, whether acting for or in opposition to established governmental authority"* (Testas, 2010). This is the definition of terrorism that I will be using throughout this thesis. It is important to understand the definition of terrorism, because it has to be clear what terrorism is and what not. Terrorist attacks have a political purpose which is important to analyse (Kruglanski & Fishman, 2006). This is the key difference between plain violence, and terror.

Besides the concept of terrorism, the Arab Spring is also important to explain. The Arab spring is important because it is a tipping point (Hudson & Flannes, 2011) (Lamberson & Page, 2012). It was the moment in history where a lot of different authoritarian regimes in Muslim countries collapsed and a revolution started (Abushouk, 2016). This is a significant event because of the fact that the fall of the authoritarian regimes caused a power vacuum which created an opportunity for terrorist organizations to grow or expand. This is something what can be seen in Syria with the rise of Isis (Gömöri, 2015). The term "Arab Spring" is elusive and intangible. It does not consist of one unified event, but rather *"a series of civil wars, sectarian and tribal conflicts,"* that reflect divisions within Arab societies that led to the recent revolutions; these rifts are not only between the political elites and the general public, but also within certain regimes themselves (Ruthven, 2016) (Angel, 2012). The Arab spring is therefore something that has to be examined in the historical context chapter and will contribute in our understanding of the situation there. Especially focussing on interventions that the West has done which has had serious consequences and brought us to the situation as it is now.

The third concept I want to examine is xenophobia. The word can be split into xeno and phobia. Xeno meaning foreign/strange and phobia means fear. Basically xenophobia means the fear of something strange or foreign. This can be people, culture, politics or anything else which is not native to people. Xenophobia is characterised by a *negative attitude* towards foreigners, a *dislike*, a *fear*, or a *hatred*. By framing xenophobia as an attitude, however, there is no comment on the *consequences* or *effects* of such a mind-set (Harris B. , 2002). Islamophobia is a specific form of xenophobia, oriented to Muslims and the Islam in specific. Xenophobia is important to understand because I will talk about this when I speak of the reaction in the Western countries. Xenophobia plays a significant role when it comes to the integration of Muslims in Western countries, and especially creating a more hostile environment towards them (Gottschalk & Greenberg, 2008).

The definition of radicalisation or radicalism is actively pursuing and/or supporting deeply fundamental changes in society, which could become a danger for the (continuation of) democratic rule of law (goal), possibly through the use of undemocratic methods (means), which could endanger the functioning of the democratic rule of law (effect) (Slootman & Tillie, 2006). Extremism is the strongest form of radicalism and is characterized by a violent application of principles (terrorism). This form refuses to accept democratic values and principles, and presents its own ideology as the universally valid one which has to be accepted by the whole population, to be accomplished (if necessary) with the use of violence (Schmid, 2013) (Slootman & Tillie, 2006).

This thesis will mainly focus on identifying the root causes, and therefore this might be the most important concept to fully comprehend. It is important to distinguish the difference between what a root cause is and what only a side effect/cause is. This thesis will use the following definition of root causes: a root cause is the deepest cause in a causal chain that can be resolved. A root cause is that portion of a system that, at the fundamental level, explains why the system's natural behaviour produces the problem symptoms rather than some other behaviour. A root cause has four characteristics on which it is possible to define if something is a root cause: 1) It is clearly a major cause of the problem symptoms. 2) It has no productive deeper cause. The word "productive" allows you to stop asking why at some appropriate point in root cause analysis. Otherwise you may find yourself digging to the other side of the planet. 3) Its resolution will not create bigger problems. Side effects must be considered (Harich, 2010). Since this thesis is focussing on the root causes of radicalization and terrorism, the term root causes also refers to the causal factors without which the radicalization process would not have occurred (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009)

1.4 Why not violence?
The reason why I want to investigate the root causes of radicalization is because it is important to tackle the problem at its roots. Right now, the West mainly uses a violent approach to solve and contain this problem. An example of this is the war in Syria. Different international forces, under which the US but also Russia, are joining forces to fight and defeat Isis, and secure Syria from the terrorist organization (Dobbins, Gordon, & Martini, 2016) (Graham & Saradzhyan, 2015). In general there is an incentive to increase the number of troops on the ground in Syria and Iraq. Governments are discussing how many more troops they should sent, instead of reflecting on if they should sent troops at all. The Obama administration is considering to send 250 additional US special forces to Syria (Starr, 2016). Russia has also been getting more and more involved into the conflict, and is one of the most active international actors involved in actively fighting Isis in Syria (Doud, 2016).

The war on terror, which really took off since 9/11, is quite unique in the history of wars, the opponent doesn't have a specific territory and regarding space they are a relatively fluid organizations that can easily move from place to place. After the terroristic attacks in Paris on November 2015, France responded strongly by saying that they will send more troops to fight Isis in Syria. This is partly because of the fact that the government has to show strength and show that it isn't afraid of the terrorist organizations, and this can be easily displayed through the use of violence. But it is also because many people in France want revenge for what has been done to them. France in this example, declared that as a response to the Paris attacks, they will step up their operations in Syria with airstrikes, to support the rebels on the ground, and to fight of the terrorists of Isis (Hollande, 2015) (Doud, 2016).

President Hollande claimed that France needed to destroy Isis in Syria (Hollande, 2015), but is that really possible by using bombs? The situation between the terrorist organizations and the West is an extremely complex one, one which can be labelled as a wicked problem. This means that the problem is so complicated that it is unsure what action has what consequence. To understand the problem of terrorism it necessary to understand a couple of things. First, there should be a focus on why people radicalize, which aspects play a role and how the social environment plays a role in that. Secondly, how did the situation regarding terrorism came to be? Why do radical Muslims often have a negative feeling towards the West? It has to be noted that each of these points is just a tip of the iceberg and is an extremely complex aspect that needs to be understood. I will show, later on in this thesis, that credibility and legitimacy play a role in this war, and that using violence is not benefitting the credibility and legitimacy of the West. In this thesis I will propose possible solutions, and I will also show the complexity of this problem by showing how these solutions are hindered in their effectiveness by other things like the anti-West sentiments and xenophobic reactions of people towards Muslims, but first let's take a look at what Islamic radicalization is and what the causes of radicalization are.

2. The dynamics of Islamic radicalization

2.1 What is Islamic radicalization

To start off I would like to look into what Islamic radicalization is before going deeper into the dynamics of it. It is important to note that not everybody who radicalizes also participates in the violent jihad. In fact, there are only a few people who participate in violent jihad, but people who radicalize are more likely to support the jihad with for example money. There is also a difference between terrorism and radicalization, the goal of radicalization is to fundamentally change the way society works. Terrorism is a violent expression of that wish. In the beginning Islamic terrorism has mainly been going on in Arab countries. The tipping point was reached after the 9/11 attack from members of Al-Qaeda on the economic and political nerve centres of the United States (Berger, 2007). After this significant event the West, and especially the US, made it its goal to tackle the problem of terrorism at its roots, but what are exactly the roots of terrorism? To understand the roots of terrorism it is important to understand what causes radicalization, and to understand the definition of radicalization. After this definition it is important to understand the process of radicalization which will be examined by looking into the simple models that explain radicalization, but also through two root cause model. I want to examine the root causes of radicalization to see if there are root causes that can be prevented and therefore possibly reduce the amount of people that radicalize.

2.1.1 The definition of radicalization

The definition of radicalism is once which is heavily debated, but I am going to use the following definition: radicalism is the actively pursuing and/or supporting deeply fundamental changes in society, which could become a danger for the (continuation of) democratic rule of law (goal), possibly through the use of undemocratic methods (means), which could impair the functioning of the democratic rule of law (effect) (Slootman & Tillie, 2006). Extremism is the strongest form of radicalism and is characterized by a violent application of principles. This form refuses to accept democratic values and principles, and present its own ideology as the universally valid one which has to be accepted by the whole population, to be accomplished (if necessary) with the use of violence (Slootman & Tillie, 2006) (Richards, 2015).

In this definition of radicalism it becomes clear what the goal of radicalism is. The goal is to change the way society is organized by supporting fundamental changes. This can be accomplished by the means, and the means will have an effect on the society, which should eventually lead to the accomplishment of the goal. It is important to realize that there is not one single form of radicalization, but that there are many. In this thesis I will focus on three different types of Islamic radicalization, and this chapter will examine the process of radicalization through different models, and see what factors play an important role in the process of radicalization. But first I want to examine three different forms of Islamic radicalization.

2.1.2 Different forms of Islamic radicalization

When it comes to the different forms of Islamic radicalization I want to take a look at Salafism, Fundamentalism and Islamism. The individuals that radicalize first go through a process of alienation. This process consists of the crisis of confidence, where criticism is formulated and a counter-culture is developed. Then follows the legitimacy conflict. The legitimacy of the system is discussed and an alternative ideology and cultural system is developed. The third and last stage is the ideological crisis is the criticism towards the system is then also expanded to the people that belong to the society. Those people are dehumanized and the activists develop a new morality. This process of alienation has a lot of similarities with the process of radicalization which will examined later on (Slootman & Tillie, 2006). After the process of alienation people can become "true believers" and can feel reborn. Having a new identity, hope, and a sense of purpose related to their holy cause (Doosje, Loseman, & Bos, 2013). It has to be noted that this process of alienation is not a linear one, and differs per person.

When it comes to Islamic radicalization it is possible to distinguish three different forms. The first of them is Salafism. Salafism is based on orthodox religious ideals, it advocates for a return towards the pure Islam of the prophet and his followers and see the Koran and the Hadith (Islamic traditions) as the sole source of religion. The Salafist groups can be divided into three different fractions, the apolitical, the political and the Salafi-jihadists (Hamdeh, 2016). The apolitical group keeps its distance from the politics because they think that mortal men should not be allowed to create rules and laws, and only God can. The apolitical Salafi group respects the democratic system, because it does not restrict their religious practices. However if they can't obey the laws in the host country then emigration to an Islamic country is the best option (Slootman & Tillie, 2006). The political group uses the democratic system to change the society and create a further Islamisation of their surroundings. In contrary to the apolitical Salafi group the political group recognizes that the religious scholars are also humans that can make mistakes and the criticism of their leadership is permitted when it is based on arguments from the Koran (al-Anani & Maszlee, 2013). The Salafi-jihad's consider a large number of Muslims and the Muslim world corrupt. According to them they are the only true Muslims, and they see the creation of an Islamic State as the only possibility to stop the fall of the Muslims (Hamdeh, 2016). This implies a violent battle and they justify the necessity for jihad with

Sunnite traditions and imply that Muslims have a duty to carry out violent jihad. They see democracy as a corrupt system, and everyone who is an unbeliever has to be killed. It is difficult to define who is in what exact stage, but in general it could be said that the apolitical and political Salafi groups can be considered to be between the crisis of confidence and a legitimacy conflict. The Salafi-jihadi group can be considered to be between the legitimacy conflict and the legitimacy crisis stages (Slootman & Tillie, 2006).

Fundamentalism is a specific combination of religious attitudes. The basis is the concept that the religious community is threated by enemies. These enemies being the West and their way of life. The people fear that their religion will be pushed out of society, and that it will blend with each other until nothing is left of it. Fundamentalism is therefore innovative traditionalism, the threat that religion is facing, which is a new situation that needs a new policy, legitimized by the holy text of the Koran. People that believe in fundamentalism see the world in a certain duality, and absolutism. Meaning that there is only good or evil, nothing in between (Slootman & Tillie, 2006). According to the fundamentalist way of thinking there should be a move towards an apocalyptic situation. All the criticism towards the fundamentalist way of thinking, the hate towards the West, and spreading terror is part of God's plan to save the world (Varisco, 2010). This also means that the people who consider themselves as fundamentalist should contribute in spreading chaos and panic which will bring them closer to the apocalyptic situation which is foretold by the religion (Slootman & Tillie, 2006).

The last form of Islamic radicalization that I want to examine is the Islamism, which are the political aspirations. It combines the pursuit of the fundamentalism of the faith with a struggle against colonialism, imperialism and modernization (Buck-Morss, 2003). Islamism is rooted in Salafism but goes further in the political beliefs, they strive for an Islamic State where the rule of law is based on the Sharia. According to the Islamism group the Sharia should be more important than the democratic system, and the democratic system should be subordinate. In contrary to the fundamentalists, the Islamism group can see value in it political system (Nesser, 2004) (Slootman & Tillie, 2006).

As I have mentioned not all people that radicalize are joining the violent jihad, but the terrorist organizations want the same thing as the radicalized Muslims which is a fundamentally different society. Terrorism is only a very specific tool to achieve this. The way terrorism works is that it is a good tool to spread fear throughout societies, the fear of an attack with a lot of deaths. In this way, terrorism is a very violent tool to achieve political change and create a fundamentally different society (Dumitrache, 2011). When examining the different forms of radicalization, only the Salafi-jihad group, and the fundamentalists are actively involved in spreading fear and chaos through violence. The people that "belong" to this group can be considered terrorists, when participating in violent activities.

2.2 Phase models of radicalization

It takes a long time for someone to radicalize in their ideology, opinions, believes and world view, but is it a process that goes through different phases and stages. I have already examined the process of alienation, which could be seen as a starting point for the process of radicalization. The definition that I use for the radicalization process is that it is a process of alienation from society, a process of de-legitimatization (Slootman & Tillie, 2006). I want to examine two simple phase model, and the root cause model for the Islamic radicalization of people. In the beginning of this chapter I want to focus on the individual aspects. At the end I will show how some individual causes can be linked to international politics.

2.2.1 Simple phase model of radicalization

When it comes to the simple phase model I would like to examine a Danish model, and a model from the NYPD (New York police Department). But before this, I will examine the general process of radicalization. The general radicalization process starts by a group or individual defining a particular event or situation as undesirable. This undesirable situation is most often framed as something that is unfair or unjust and should be changed. The responsibility of this unfair situation is attributed to a particular person or group, which is considered bad. Therefore aggression and even violence towards this individual or group is a justified reaction (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009). The Politiets EfterretningsTjeneste (PET) phase model, which is created by the Danish Intelligence Services, is divided in four different phases which are focused on the individual that starts the radicalization process. The first phase is the contact between a radicalisator and a person which is vulnerable for radical ideas, this moment is also known as the tipping point. A radicalisator is someone who already has radical ideas and tries to win people over by sharing his radical thoughts. In the case of Islamic radicalization this could be an imam speaking in a mosque and sharing his radical ideas, but this could also be a person with less power. The following phase is where gradual change in behaviour and religion happen. Slowly but steadily the radical ideas nestle into the mind of the person who is open for the radical ideas. The third phase is the phase in which the social life of the person that is being radicalized is changing. The people that don't share the same radical ideas are moved out of his/her social life, and only the like-minded people will remain part of the social network of this person. The contact to former friends, and even family is cut off or heavily restricted. The last phase of the PET phase model is that the radical goes through a process of moral hardening. Seeing things in the duality of good versus evil, faithful or infidel (Andersen, 2016) (Hemmingsen, 2015) (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009).

Another widely used model besides the PET phase model is the model that is developed by the NYPD. This model is characterized by the bottom-up approach, which focusses on radicalization as a bottom-up process. The first phase of this model is the pre-radicalization phase. This is the start, the people in this phase are not very special and only have a small or no criminal history. The second phase is the self-identification. Here the person is exploring him/herself in combination with the Salafi Islam. There is a slow move from their old identity towards the identity of like-minded people that also share the Salafi Islamic beliefs and values. In this phase the individual can be triggered by for example economic or social discrimination or a significant event like a crisis. This model continues with an indoctrination phase, in which the individual intensifies his/her beliefs in the jihadi Salafi ideology and comes to the conclusion that the only alternative to change the world is violence or other military action. This brings us to the last phase of this model which is the jihadization. Every group member of the jihad accepts their personal duty to participate in jihad to change the world (King & Taylor, 2011) (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009) (Silber & Bhatt, 2007).

The reason why it is important to examine these two models is because this can be of use when it comes to successfully identifying someone in the process of radicalization. This is of value because appropriate organizations/institutions can then act and assist in the de-radicalization process. By being able to identify when someone is radicalizing it is possible to act when the radicalization process is still in an early stage/phase. This, in combination with knowing and being able to deal with the root causes of radicalization should increase the chance of a successful de-radicalization of an individual.

2.2.2 Root cause model of radicalization

Besides being able to recognize when an individual is radicalizing, it is important to know what the root causes are behind the radicalization of an individual. According to the root cause model there are more factors that play a role in the radicalization of an individual. These factors can be divided into two different levels. These levels are the macro-level and the micro-level, of which the micro-level can be divided into the social factors and the personal factors. Regarding the macro-level factors I talk about the international relations, the poor integration and the effects of globalization and modernization. The micro-level factors consist of two different divisions, the social factors such as social identity, social interaction and group processes. And the individual factors such as personal characteristics and personal experiences. It has to be noted that these factors are not independent of each other and are in a way related to each other. Besides this, only macro-level factors, or only micro-level factors do not necessarily, or only cause the push towards the process of radicalization (Bjørgo, 2005) (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009). Chapter 3 will have an in-depth focus on the international relations, as root cause of radicalization, from a historical perspective.

2.2.2.1 Macro-level factors

Macro-level factors are related to social structures and include a lot of different aspects. Examples of this are demographic imbalances within a society, globalization, modernization and class structures within a society (Bjørgo, 2005). These factors can explain why young Muslims become frustrated, which could lead to a move towards the process of radicalization. Even in an environment which is frustrating for young Muslim men a very small number eventually radicalizes, not even to speak of the small number that actually conducts in terrorist activities. Catalysts and causes are important to take into account, because they can speed up the move towards radicalization. Examples of catalysts can be different per person, but are mainly trigger events. This could be the horrible things that happen in Guantanamo Bay, or the prison of Abu Gharib. There are many different triggers that can serve as a catalyst, economic, social, political and personal triggers can all function as a catalyst (Silber & Bhatt, 2007). The causes are different aspects that are much deeper rooted within a society then a trigger event which is something that happens at a short time but with a high intensity. I will now examine 4 different causes on the macro-level that might influence young Muslims to move towards the process of radicalization.

The first one is the poor integration. The governments of Western countries continuously had to change their policies to facilitate a better integration program for the fast growing Muslim communities in their countries. This is especially the case for the 2nd and 3rd generation of migrants that live in Western countries (Silber & Bhatt, 2007). The Muslims that live in the Western countries in general have a lower educational level, and often live in a lower socio-economic status neighbourhoods. Another problem is when they enter the labour market they have difficulties in getting proper-paid jobs. In general, Muslims are underrepresented in public institutions and organisations, as a consequence they do not identify themselves with the organizations and institutions and therefore they don't feel the need to participate in the political arena (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009).

A second cause are the international relations, (Li, 2007) concludes that democratic participation reduces incidents of transnational terrorism. This is because it raises the satisfaction and public tolerance of counter terrorism policies. Around the world it is felt by Muslims that the West is threatening the Islam. Especially the situation in the Middle East, and the actions of the Western governments contribute strongly to the radicalization of young Muslims. (Pape, 2003) argues that the only reason why terrorist organizations attack Western countries with suicide bombings is because they eventually want the West to withdraw combat forces from Islamic territories. The support from Western countries back in the day to keep certain authoritarian regimes into power is also fuel for the anti-Western sentiments (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009). The third cause is poverty (also relatively speaking), even though radical Muslims come from all different kinds of socio-economic classes poverty can still be a reason that can influence young Muslims. The option to engage in terrorism can be a rational and attractive behavioural alternative for economically marginalized social groups. Higher educational levels and better paid jobs do not necessarily lead to lower levels of terroristic support (Blomberg, Hess, & Weerapana, 2004). Poverty might ignite a spark in people to be more likely to feel sympathized with terrorist sentiments (Victoroff, 2005). The fourth and last cause that I want to examine on this level is the effect of globalization and modernisation. Because of globalization there is a global convergence of the political, economic and cultural domains. This facilitates the rise of transnational ideological movements that can spread (due to globalization) all over the world and can organize collective activities. The Salafi movement is the Islamic movement which is spreading most rapidly throughout the world (Nesser, 2004). Globalization is often mentioned as the source of conflict between diverse groups around the world, and Islamist fundamentalists can't see the Western form of modernisation existing next to the Islam. They perceive the rapid Westernization as an attempt by the West to gain control over the Islamic world (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009).

2.2.2.2 Social factors
Social factors are another dimension which can stimulate the process of radicalization. Radical behaviour can be triggered if someone identifies him/herself with a group that is being treated unjust, in this case for example young Muslims in the West regarding how prisoners are treated in Guantanamo Bay, or in Abu Gharib, where Iraqi prisoners got tortured by American soldiers. Also systematic discrimination, because they are Muslims and believe in the Islam, can trigger someone who identifies him/herself with the people who are being discriminated (Loza, 2007). This is especially the case with young Western Muslims, that have a double identity. They consider themselves Western, but also Muslim (Waldman, 2010). Events that do not directly influence the self, but others with whom one identifies with, can cause relevant emotional and behavioural reactions. The community of believers are also the group that responds the strongest to these events. Within a group everybody has a certain role, and because everybody is connected within a group the more powerful people have generally speaking a lot of influence. The person with the most influence within a network can determine the nature of the group. For example, an imam can be radical, and the group around him will move into that direction. But this also applies the other way around, if an imam is very positive towards the Western democracy, this can move people towards becoming an active member in the political system (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009).

The social dimension is especially interesting when it comes to home-grown terrorism. Home-grown terrorism are the terrorists that are "born" in a Western country. With this I mean that they develop radical beliefs whilst living in a Western country. It is interesting to examine home-grown terrorist because most often the young Muslims that become home-grown terrorists are second, third or fourth generation of former migrants. The people from these group still feel strong ties to their land of origin, even though they might have never been there. Within these groups there is a sense of unity because they all "belong" to the same group. The more an individual is integrated, the less he/she misses his/her country of origin, and the less likely he/she will be to have close ties to a diaspora group. (Waldman, 2010).

2.2.2.3 Individual factors

The personal characteristics of a person, and the personal experiences can also play an important role. Regarding the characteristics someone has to be vulnerable to radicalization and has to be open for the radical ideas of others to be affected. If someone is very convinced about some other type of belief and can't be persuaded otherwise this person will most likely not radicalize. Of course this also works the other way around when someone is very easily persuaded. Regarding the personal experiences the history of an individual has to be taken into account. If a Muslim in a Western country is often discriminated or blamed by authoritarian institutions or figures like the police, whilst they didn't do anything they can develop negative connotations towards the West. Especially discrimination can play an important role in this (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009).

2.3 Factors of radicalization

This subchapter is going to examine different root causes and aspects that influence the process of radicalization. The different factors that are discussed in the previous subchapter can be considered as root causes. To make it easier to understand they are separated in different levels but the different causes on different levels can still interact and influence one another. It is also important to understand the difference between a root cause and a side effect.

2.3.1 The terrorism narrative

A very strong weapon from a lot of terroristic organizations is the use of the media. Through the media they can share their stories and believes, and try to convince people to join the organization. This can be done both face to face, via imams or other people telling stories, but also via other conventional media. When it comes to media and terrorist organizations, Isis is currently using social media in a very smart way. They use it both as a tool for war, but also to gain more power and people. A perfect example of a terrorist organization that sees the importance of media to tell their story is Hezbollah. They have a TV station, a radio station, several newspapers, websites in various languages and publishing houses. With all these tools they are very fit to spread their message through a lot of different mediums (Angel, 2012). But what is the story they want to tell? And what is the importance of it?

The goal of narratives (stories) of terrorist organizations are basically two things, 1: to attract more people to join and 2: to scare people by telling stories of cruelties or something similar (Khalaf & Jones, 2014). An important aspect of the narrative is the myth creation element. In these myths they create a story with facts of the past and present to create an emotionally compelling background that very often directly influences and manipulates a group of people. Myth creation is a very effective narrative which often attracts a lot of people. Myths can also give an extra motivational boost, and can make stories more heroic. Two other alternative strategies which are very effective are the metaphor shift strategy and the manipulation of existing identities strategy (Casebeer & Russell, 2005).

When it comes to the Syrian war and especially Isis as terrorist organization, it is clear that they use media as a weapon even more than other terrorist organizations. The difference between Osama bin Laden's vague tapes from a cave in Afghanistan and the high tech video's and other forms of propaganda from Isis is as day and night (Rose, 2014). In the case of Isis, they have created Al Hayat Media, which is especially aimed at non-Arabic speakers, and has a focus on attracting young viewers. This media centre makes "documentaries" and other reality TV kind of shows. In a magazine produced by Isis called Dabiq, they spoke of the Caliphate, and made the metaphor in which the Caliphate is an ark, and what is happening/ about to happen is the flood. Here a narrative comes forth to convince people to join Isis. Besides this they do interviews with jihad fighters, and show a "documentary" called the Flames of War, in which Isis's military heroism, is showed. Even though the films that are produced are not of the highest qualities, they are extremely important for Isis to gain more support and attract more members. Back in the day, cameras were big and expensive and only available to movie and television studios. Nowadays, they have become cheaper and more available, ordinary people (including members of Isis) have gained control of the media narrative (Rose, 2014). It can be concluded that the terrorism narrative is not necessarily a root cause of why people radicalize, but more a tool to mobilize people and stimulate radicalization, and to use the real root causes, for example the anti-West sentiments. In contrast to the different factors and aspects that I have talked about above, the terrorism narrative is clearly more a tool than a root cause of radicalization. Basically the narrative can be seen as a medium which the terrorist organizations can use to spread their words and believes. In the narrative of Isis (for example) they portrait themselves as an actor of social change, the only actor who is truly committed to the true faith. The narrative of Isis stresses that victory is the only possible outcome and that they are gaining strength every day (Farwell, 2014).

2.4 Home-grown terrorism

2.4.1 The puzzle of home-grown terrorism

One of the general assumption when it comes to why people radicalize is that it is because of a lack of political freedoms, and a bad socio-economic position in society. But what about the people that radicalize in Western countries where the situation is different than in the Muslim countries, and they have the same political freedoms, and socio-economic opportunities as every other person in the Western country?

The assumption that is often made about terrorists from Western countries is that they must be mentally ill or psychopathic (Silke, 1998). But the demographic profiles of radical Muslims in the West show that in general they are not very special. They don't have mental problems, are generally speaking not poor, religious fanatic or suffering from political depression. Research shows that the jihadi terrorists in Europe are middle-class, educated young men who often had wives and children. What is interesting to see is that the Western Muslims that radicalize justify and legitimize their actions and radical beliefs because of the suffering of their fellow Muslim brothers and sisters in the Islamic world. These people do not necessarily have to be affected personally to turn to violence, but that it is much more complex (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009).

Another thing in which home-grown terrorists and other radicalized people differ in, is the fact that they struggle with a conflicting identity (Waldman, 2010). As I have mentioned, often the home-grown terrorists are people from the second or third generation of migrants. A remarkable feature of home-grown radicalization lies in the fact that many radicalized Muslims in Europe point to the victimisation of their fellow Muslims around the world as reason why they radicalize (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009).

2.4.2 Attacking your host country

Isis started to do a lot of symbolic terroristic attacks after they lost a lot of ground in Syria and Iraq. They did this in the form of suicide bombings, especially focussed on hitting the Western democracy in its centre. The reason for these attacks is because they want to threaten something which is valuable for the West and of which the West can identify themselves with, since this will be the most efficient way of spreading fear (Pape, 2003). The attacks in especially Paris and Brussels were attacks aimed at the values of humanity according to president Barack Obama (House, 2015). The attacks that happen in the Western countries are often done by so called home-grown terrorists, that radicalize in a Western country, and commit in violent jihad.

An example of a reason why home-grown terrorists attack their host country has to do with conflicting identities, and the lack of proper social, economic and political integration. Most of the time the home-grown terrorists are second or further generations of former migrants that have conflicting feelings, and a deep insecurity. The further generations of former migrants often are conflicted and see themselves confused by the confrontation of being in two worlds. On the one side the country with an idealised image from their parents and grandparents, and on the other side the country in which they currently live and contribute to in daily life. Another problem which migrants often face is the battle between two cultures. A lot of the migrants come from traditional societies, and there can also be a battle within the family if the children integrate "too well" in the host country. They can be convicted by their parents of betraying their actual culture and religion (Waldman, 2010). It can be concluded that the further generations have a lot of difficulties when it comes to creating their own identity, with pressure from within (the family) and from outside (the society). Especially Muslims in West European countries face difficulties when it comes to their identity. They notice that besides being Muslim, they are also French/English/Dutch etc. and identity reconstruction can put the emphasis on the difference between them and the native people of the country (Roy, 2003). People of a diaspora who struggle with double identities can either radicalize (this is a very small proportion of the diaspora) or try to reconcile the principles of their faith to the new surroundings (Waldman, 2010).

For the people that radicalize, violence is only one way of expressing their radical sentiments and ideas. The number of individuals willing to support an armed fight is in contrast to the amount of people that want to participate in actual violence, is much larger. Basically when it comes to home-grown terrorism, it can be concluded that the people that radicalize in Western countries and are willing to participate in violent jihad, because they have developed a double (and conflicting) identity, and are influenced by the lack of recognition and acceptance by the host society (Waldman, 2010). In this problem, discrimination and negative stereotypes can play a crucial role because it can hinder the integration possibilities of people. This can be due to the fact that there is a cultural hybridity which can scare the people of the host country. A certain form of xenophobia can come to exist, and the people from the host country can be afraid of the fact that they will lose their culture because they will have to adapt to the new migrants. Most of these migrants often come from Muslim countries, and therefore in the last couple of years, because of the way terrorist attacks are framed as being done by the whole of Islam, there has been an increase in Islamophobia in the West, and people have been afraid that the Western identity is jeopardized (Betz, 2009).

This chapter has examined the different root causes of radicalization and other aspects that can stimulate people in their radical thoughts, of which terrorism is an expression. When it comes to Islamic radicalization, this chapter has distinguished three different forms of radicalization: Salafism, Fundamentalism and Islamism. Everybody that radicalizes goes through a process of alienation. This consists of the crisis of confidence, the legitimacy conflict and the ideological crisis. Besides this, this chapter has also distinguished different root causes that can play a role when it comes to the

radicalization of someone, and has distinguished that there are two levels: the macro, and the social. The causes on the different levels can also influence each other, but are on its own not necessarily the reason one might radicalize. As I have already mentioned all of them can be considered root causes, but they are different root causes of the same problem. When it comes to the macro level poor integration, international relations, poverty, globalization and modernisation can play a role. Regarding this thesis the main focus is on both the macro level and the social level regarding identification with other Muslims, and catalyst events that have a big impact when it comes to the radicalization process. But the individual level is also very important, because for someone to radicalize it has to be open to radical ideas and not condemn them from the start. Also the anti-West sentiments play an important role regarding the radicalization of Muslims. This because it is used in a narrative by the terrorist organizations to attract people to join the violent jihad and show how bad the West is. Especially Isis is showing the "bright" side of terrorism and use many different forms of media to spread their message, but this may not be confused with a root cause. In fact, these kind of things are aspects that can influence people and are a tool to trigger the root causes of radicalization. Especially the terrorism narrative is being used as a tool to show the people the reasons of why they should radicalize, and why these radical believes are the real truth. Something that is also used are suicide attacks in Western countries to increase the fear towards the Islam, and stimulate xenophobic reactions in Western societies. This is causing some people in the West to systematically discriminate against Muslims and have negative stereotypes towards them. The more people have that attitude in Western societies, the harder it is for Muslim migrants to integrate. And poor integration is one of the reasons why some Muslims could potentially radicalize. This circle is important to understand, and it is important to search for options to break the circle.

2.5 Questionable motives of the West

After the fall of the authoritarian regimes in Northern Africa and the Middle East it remained unclear to what direction the countries are moving. Either a more democratic regime, or another authoritarian regime. The process of democratization is one with a lot of struggles, especially power struggles. Because of the fact that this process is such a struggle, radicalization and terrorism have the opportunity to grow in power, they can seize power as well because of the excising power vacuum which is created (Bradley, 2012) (Dawber, 2012). The West has been intervening and supporting the Northern African and Middle Eastern countries to move towards democracy, but have done this in a way where their own credibility and legitimacy has fallen into question (Berger, 2007). Especially the US has had a hard time due to Guantanamo Bay and the prison of Abu Gharib which made Muslims question how America really perceives the importance of human rights (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009). Besides this, they also have made some questionable moves that undermined the process of democracy, like the intervention in Iran (Dehghan, 2013). This are just some examples of why the credibility and legitimacy of the US and therefore also the West has become questionable. The examples stated above are examples of why people in the Middle East have anti-West sentiments. Because the motives of the US and the West are considered questionable, Muslims are questioning if the West truly wants to help with creating a democracy, or whether they are only interested in containing the Islam, or even to destroy it (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009). These are all aspects that contribute to the negative image towards the West and the US. The terrorist organizations can use this in their advantage to gain legitimacy, but also to fuel the anti-West sentiments. The way they do that is that they use a strong narrative to seduce people in joining the terrorist organization. The questionable motives of the West are not necessarily a root cause, but they do create a strong feeling of injustice. Besides that the questionable motives of the West also create a legitimate point for the terrorist organizations that they can use to increase their legitimacy.

Regarding the root causes of radicalization, there has to be a focus on the role the West has played. The anti-West/anti-America sentiments can be explained by examining the history regarding international affairs in the Middle East, this is something the next chapter will focus on. This can be linked back to the social and macro-level factors that play a role in the process of radicalization which are discussed in 2.2. The events which has happened in the past can be seen as both a trigger and catalyst for the radicalization process.

3. The origins of Islamic Terrorism

To understand how the anti-west/ anti-America sentiments came to be, I will now take a journey back in time, to see what has happened in the past that makes the situation as it is now. I don't want to examine this on the religious level by examining the Koran, but on a political and international level. This thesis is going to examine the role of big actors like the US and the former Soviet Union, and the dictators of the countries in Northern Africa and the Middle East. Repressive regimes have a certain influence on terrorist organizations and this chapter will show what happens when they collapse. I believe that this chapter will give a good visualisation on the complexity of the problem of terrorism. It shows how a terrorist organization can benefit from the chaos of the Arab Spring, and this case shows how the international community deals with this complex situation. Besides that this chapter will examine the roots of the anti-west sentiments.

3.1 The repressive regimes in Northern Africa and the Middle East

3.1.1 From the Cold War to the creation of the repressive regimes

In Northern Africa and the Middle-East where some authoritarian regimes came into power during the period of the Cold War. Because these authoritarian regimes came into power during this period, a lot of the people in Middle-Eastern countries believe that the US and the Soviet Union were the ones who created this situation and limited their freedoms. This is something which is used by terrorist organizations, but later more about that. Also, this contributed to the anti-West/ negative sentiments towards the West that only increased over the years. During the Cold War the former Soviet Union and the United States were facing each other in a war where the United States supported the neo-liberal capitalist system, while the Soviet Union supported the communist ideology. During this war the US was afraid that when a country was supporting the communist ideology, this will cause a domino effect, influencing other neighbouring countries causing eventually to make the whole world a communist place. It is safe to say that this was one of the biggest nightmares of the United States. Therefore they did everything they could to prevent that from happening, including the support of rebels that were fighting against communist leaders in countries all over the world. A perfect example of this is the case in Afghanistan, where the former Soviet Union tried to spread communism via Mohammed Daoed Kahn. Khan got rid of the king and declared himself president of Afghanistan. He was nicknamed the Red Prince due to his collaboration with the Soviets. (Bos, 2008). The response from the US was to support the Mujahedin, which is Arabic for holy warrior (Nesser, 2004), as rebels against the Soviet occupation in Afghanistan (Rubin, 2002). After a decade the Soviet Union finally gave up on the occupation, making Afghanistan part of the Western influence sphere.

Another example, which is maybe more relevant in relation to how certain dictatorships came to be, is the famous CIA intervention in Iran in 1953. In this year there was a coup against Iran's democratically elected prime minister Mohammed Mosaddeq, that was approved at the highest levels of the US government. By doing this the US consolidated the Shah's rule for the next 26 years until the Islamic revolution in 1979 (Dehghan, 2013). During the Cold War period a lot of countries in the Middle East were either supported by the US or the Soviet Union, this was because of the fact that they were the so called: "Third World countries". Those countries could not remain neutral, and could pick the side of the US or the Soviet Union. In order to make sure these countries didn't adopt either communism or capitalism they were supported by the US and Soviet Union. A lot of countries also tended to shift from the US as an ally, to the Soviet Union and the other way around.This caused a long-lasting political battle, which led to several different wars within those third world countries. This battle was going on all around the world (See figure 1).
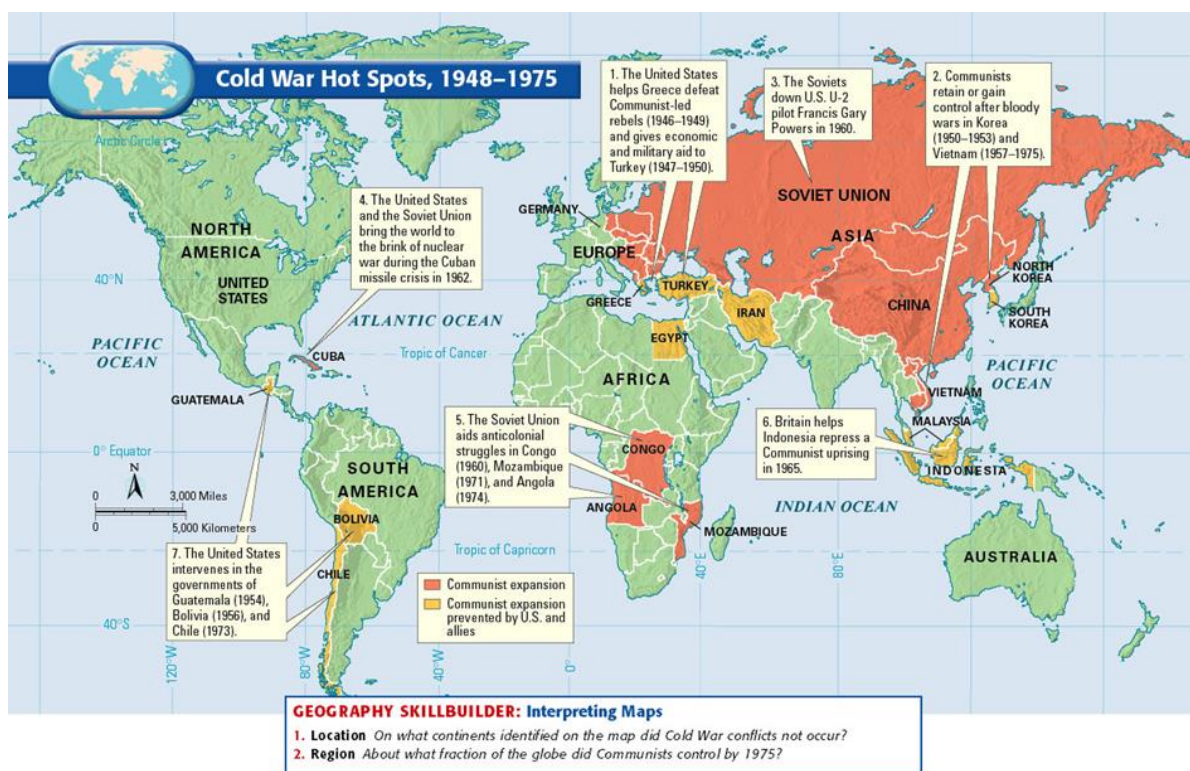

Figure 1 Cold War Hot Spots, 1948 – 1975 (Smith, 2012)

As Figure 1 shows, in and around the Middle East there were a lot of wars, mostly in Egypt, Iran and Turkey. Something which came to the attention of the American public later on in 1986, during the Reagan administration was the Iran-Contra affair (Mayer, 2009). The US had made a deal with Iran that included selling weapons. Because the US interfered in Iran after the democratically elected prime minister Mohammed Mosaddeq, they completely lost their credibility in the country when it comes to wanting the best for Iran and its people. This also caused a troubled relationship between the US and Iran afterwards (Dehghan, 2013). The US also got into some problems with Egypt's leader Nasser. The Suez canal which is in Egypt is an important place when it comes to the shipment of oil, and the US used different ways of gaining influence there, as for example via economic ways. Even though Egypt got a lot of money from the US, at one point Nasser got tired of the American influence and their relationship cooled down (Lesch, 2003). After the Cold War had ended in 1991, the United States still had its interests in the Middle East, especially political, economic and military interests.

The United States had found out that there is a lot of oil in the Middle East, and by using diplomacy and other means the US tried to get their hands on the oil mainly through Saudi Arabia. It is important to understand what has happened in the Middle East because it can explain certain behaviour or attitudes towards the United States in the countries of the Middle East and Northern Africa.

3.1.2 Repressive regimes in Northern Africa and the Middle East until the Arab Spring

At the end of the Cold War, the Northern part of Africa and the Middle East was a very interesting place regarding international political attention. From the Northern part of Africa, Egypt was an important place because it holds the Suez canal, which is a canal where a lot of oil comes through. When it comes to the Middle East a lot of countries were interesting, but the US was especially involved in Iraq. The countries in these regions most often had a president or colonel in charge for a longer period of time. These authoritarian regimes were for a long time quite stable. Egypt had colonel Husni Mubarak in charge from 1981 – 2011, in Tunisia Zine el Abidine Ben Ali was the president from 1987 -2011, in Iraq Saddam Hussein was in charge from 1979-2003, in Yemen there was Ali Abdullah Saleh from 1990-2012, and currently in Syria Bashar al-Assad is still in power (although relatively speaking) since the year 2000 (Kelly, 2011). This shows that these countries had a repressive system within their country, often supported by the army to repress the people that wanted change. I use the term repressive because different political thoughts or protests were actively oppressed by the government(s). Later on I will go deeper into the Assad regime in Syria, The reason why it is important to look into these regimes is because the terrorist organizations claim that these dictators are only the puppets of the West since they came into power during the Cold War period (Angel, 2012).

From the authoritarian regimes in the Northern part of Africa and the Middle East, I will focus on the regimes in Iraq, Libya and Syria. In Iraq Saddam Hussein was in charge for a long time, 24 years to be precise. From 1980 to 1988 Iraq was in war with Iran. Iraq had one of the largest armies in the world, and because Saddam Hussein didn't want to dismantle his army he decided to invade Kuwait. The consequence of this was that the UN Security Council imposed strict economic sanctions against Iraq. Besides this, Iraq might have had weapons of mass destruction. It didn't take long before the UN came back on the economic sanctions. The UN allowed Iraq to sell a limited amount of oil so the money they made could be used to avert a humanitarian crisis. Many people were ill and malnourished and needed food and humanitarian supplies to survive. But Saddam Hussein didn't use the money to avert a humanitarian crisis, he demanded that the UN should drop all their sanctions against Iraq. The UN didn't agree and due to the fact that people used contaminated water and the spread of curable diseases the mortality rate increased sharply under the population of Iraq. By 2001 Iraq's neighbouring countries didn't care much about the sanctions of the UN and traded with Iraq, giving Iraq a revenue of 3 billion American dollars on a yearly basis. These funds were used to finance rearmament and to secure the loyalty of Sunni tribal elite and the military security apparatus surrounding president Saddam Hussein. The Iraq regime became stronger and stronger and after 9/11 and with the possibility of having weapons of mass destruction, the US declared that Iraq has become a threat to the national security (FreedomHouse, 2003). Saddam Hussein himself was a Sunnite, and even though the Sunnites were a minority in Iraq (with less than 20%) they held a lot of powerful positions within the government. During his time as president he oppressed the Kurdish and Shiite movements that tried to become independent (El Fadl, 2005).

Another example in the Northern part of Africa is Libya. Here colonel Mu'ammar al-Gadhafi had been ruling the country from 1979 – 2011. Gadhafi was a Sunnite, and originated from a small un-influential tribal group who were Arabized Berbers from origin (Kawczynski, 2011). He tried to position himself as a pan-African leader and tried to break Libya out of its international isolation. Libya seemed to cooperate with the US on the war against terror, nevertheless, the US classified the country as a distributor of weapons of mass destruction. Libya had the status of international pariah because of the hostile attitude that Gadhafi had towards the West, and his sponsorship of terrorism. Even after Libya came out of the economic problems it had, the US still maintained their sanctions because of the possibility that they supported terrorism with weapons and other ways of funding, which after 9/11, became an extra sensitive topic. Gadhafi ruled the country with hardly any transparency, and no accountability. If there was any political opposition or rebels, he put them in jail. In total there were hundreds of people that were in jail without a real charge or trial (FreedomHouse, 2003).

The last example is Syria. Bashar al-Assad became the leader of the country in 2000, after his father had resigned. In the beginning it seemed like people would get more freedom on the political level, and this was illustrated by the Damascus Spring, when scholars and other people started to advocate for more rights and better care for the citizens of the country. This is something that hadn't been possible during the regime of Bashar al-Assad's father. In Syria, the government has been dominated by the Alawites, who represent only 12% of the total population, since the 1970's when a coup bought General Hafez Assad into power. The Hafez Assad regime managed to maintain control of the majority of Sunni Muslim population by brutally suppressing al dissent. Bashar Assad inherited a country that had a stagnant economy and a high population growth, the new president side-lined potential rivals within the regime. It suppressed the people with different political thoughts, but the West didn't intervene. This was because of the fact that Assad cooperated in the war against the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda. The Assad regime was the absolute authority in Syria. The Kurdish Muslims in Syria, that are a minority, faced cultural and linguistic restrictions, and suspected Kurdish activists are routinely dismissed from schools and jobs (FreedomHouse, 2003).

The reason why this is important to look into is because these regimes in the different countries have some similarities. First of all, all the regimes oppress any opposition. This is done in many ways, from actual violence, to structural discrimination. Another thing which is important to point out are the tensions within the counties between the different religious/ethnic/tribal groups. They are a cause for a lot of tension within the countries themselves. These authoritarian regimes stay in charge because they oppress the opposition and, in combination with creating an elite of people and using the military to threat with violence, it is the perfect combination for an repressive regime that can be stable for quite a long time. Stable in the sense that the regime remained in power, without any major disturbances. The international community can pressure the regimes, but the example of Syria and the Assad regime shows that the international community has an interest in collaborating with the regimes, if they can be useful. Because of these interests of the international community, some regimes are "supported" and these regimes can also use the international community to get certain things done. Like in the examples of Saddam Hussein regarding the economic sanctions, or Assad with supporting the war on terror.

This is something important to remember for later on in this thesis. The fact that there is a certain dynamic between the international community and the regimes where they can "use" each other for their own interests. As I have showed, many of these regimes came up during the Cold War period, and later on I will explain how this is important and how terrorist organizations make use of the fact that there is a certain dynamic between the international community and the regimes which benefits the terrorist organizations.

Afghanistan is a very interesting example when it comes to the dynamics between the international community and the repressive regime. To illustrate this I would like to examine an important event when it comes to the war of terror, and that is the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in the United States. The terrorist attack on 9/11 was a significant event when it comes to the war in Afghanistan. A month after the attacks, the US invaded Afghanistan because there was a threat to the national security of the US. But to be justified to invade a country you need to ask for permission to the UN Security Council. Only they are (internationally speaking) justified to authorize the use of force. Besides that the US also has a set of laws that help to determine when a war is legit and when it is not. But there are 2 exceptions to the rule of when force is allowed. This is when your nation has been subjected to an armed attack by another nation, you may respond in self-defence. And when a nation has certain knowledge that an armed attack by another state is imminent. Barack Obama said during his speech at the West Point in 2009: *"We did not ask for this fight. On September 11, 2001, nineteen men hijacked four airplanes and used them to murder nearly 3000 people. They struck at our military and economic nerve centers. They took the lives of innocent men, women and children without regard to their faith, race or station. As we know these men belonged to Al-Qaeda, a group of extremist who had distorted and defiled the Islam. Only after the Taliban refused to turn over Osama bin Laden, we sent our troops into Afghanistan"* (Obama, 2009). Interesting to understand is that in this speech Obama also claims to have received the authority for the invasion of Afghanistan but it is a little bit more complicated than it looks. Since it wasn't Afghanistan, but Al-Qaeda that attacked the US, and an invasion in Afghanistan is therefore not allowed. Also Obama says that the Taliban refused to turn over Osama bin Laden, but the Taliban first demanded proof of the fact that Osama bin Laden was actually involved in these attacks. Bush (in charge in the period of 9/11) responded by saying: *"These demands are not open for negotiation",* and later on he said *"there is no need to discuss innocence or guilt, we know he is guilty"* (Guardian, 2001). Because the Taliban wanted evidence and didn't want to give up Bin Laden without it, the US decided that they had no choice other than invading Afghanistan (Griffin, 2010). The war in Afghanistan continued until 2014, when the Arab Spring was already long on its way in other Arabic and Northern African countries.

3.2 The Influence of the Arab Spring

The Arab Spring was a revolutionary wave of demonstrations and protests that started when a Tunisian vender named Mohammed Bouazizi could not stand the daily humiliation and harassments from the police any longer. He set himself on fire in front of the municipal government office (Abushouk, 2016). The wave of revolutions moved all over Tunisia, then to Egypt and Lebanon, Libya, Yemen, and eventually to Syria. The Arab Spring is important to look into because there is a shift in the form of governance in these countries. The West would like to see a move towards the Western type of democracy, but it can also be that there will be a shift towards another system. It is important to take the influence of the West into account when it comes to finding out what the root causes are of radicalization. In the past we have seen that the US tried to make sure that countries didn't become communist countries, even going so far that they overruled a democratic chosen communist president (for example). Because of that, slowly the people developed an anti-west sentiment. In chapter 3 I will look deeper into how this is linked to the root causes of radicalization.

The Arab Spring can be examined as both a revolution, but also as a civil war, depending on which country is examined. The difference between the two is that a revolution is related to two concepts: 1) a fundamental change in political organization, especially the overthrow of one government to another, and 2) a fundamental change in the way of thinking about something, a change in paradigm. A civil war can be defined as a war between opposing groups of citizens of the same country (Angel, 2012). In figure 2 you can see the timeline of the Arab Spring from December 2010, until August 2011.
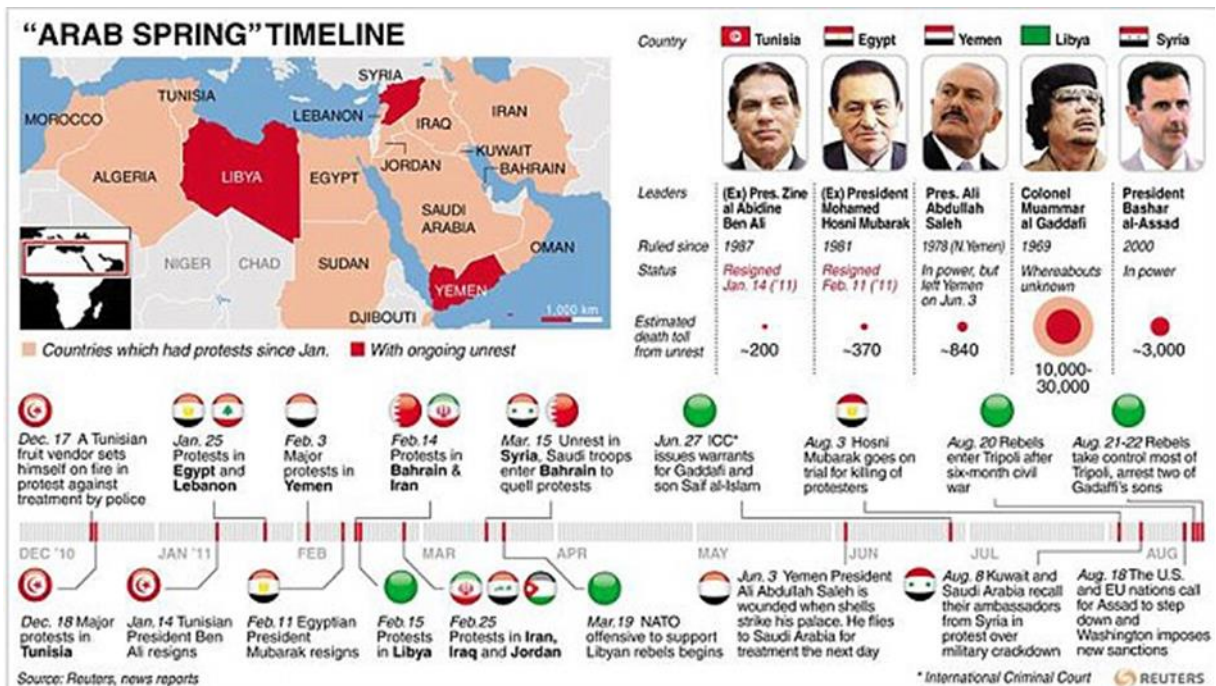

Figure 2 Timeline of the Arab Spring (Kelly, 2011)

In all these countries in the Northern part of Africa and the Middle East authoritarian regimes had been in power for a long time. There are according to (Linz, 1975) different forms of authoritarian regimes, but the specific form of authoritarian regime which I am referring to is the traditional authoritarian regime. This is because of the fact that in the countries discussed above this applies more than the other types of authoritarian regimes. The traditional authoritarian regimes are those where a single person (most of the times) maintains power through traditional legitimacy and repression of the opposition (Linz, 1975) (Inkeles, 1991)

After these authoritarian regimes fell there was more political freedom in the Middle East and Northern Africa. For the first time in a very long time people have the opportunity to express their political opinions without having to fear that they will be punished or locked up for expressing them. In a lot of the countries Islam based political parties were doing very well in the elections, Bernard Lewis explains this further. He says that the Islam provides an emotionally familiar basis of group identity. Because of the fact that the Islamist political parties were based on principles of the Islam it can be seen as logical that they get a lot of the votes (Lewis, 2003). Because of the fact that the authoritarian regimes lost their power, there has been a power vacuum in the Middle East and Northern Africa (Bradley, 2012). It is not yet clear in which direction the countries affected by the Arab Spring will move, but so far it seems like that if the power vacuum will be filled, it will be more likely that it moves to a new authoritarian regime (Dawber, 2012) (Bradley, 2012).

At first the terrorist organizations that were active in countries affected by the Arab Spring, like the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, didn't really know how to deal with the revolution that was taking place in the countries. It took relatively long before there came an official statement, and it was at the time that the authoritarian regimes were already starting to fall apart. All the terrorist organizations were in favour of the Arab Spring revolutions except of the Taliban. The Taliban stated that the Arab Spring is creating a false alternative to violent jihad. The other terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda and other local groups like the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group were trying to benefit from the Arab Spring, by saying that they supported it, because it is good that "we" (the people) finally got rid of these regimes. They also tried to persuade the crowd by saying that these dictators were puppets of the West, and now that they have fallen the people could create a real Islamic society (Angel, 2012). Because of the fact that during the authoritarian regimes the people did not had a legitimate way to express their political disregard of things, and there were severe punishments for having other political opinions, the alternative of joining violent jihad, and thereby joining terrorist organizations, had more legitimacy before the regimes fell. Many Arabs saw the jihadist struggles as legitimate because it was an answer to the Western influences in the countries (Byman, 2011). Many terrorist organizations (under which Al-Qaeda and the Taliban) framed the leaders of the authoritarian regimes as puppets of the West, thereby trying to create more legitimacy for their fight (Angel, 2012). Now that the authoritarian regimes have fallen there has become an alternative option. This has significantly decreased the legitimacy of joining the violent jihad and is therefore pressuring the terrorist organizations (Abushouk, 2016).

3.3 The Middle East and Northern Africa after the repressive regimes

As the previous chapter has shown, the repressive regimes have fallen due to the Arab Spring and its revolutions and protests. Terrorist organizations didn't know how to respond to the changes that the Arab Spring had caused, and tried to benefit from it. Even though the terrorist organizations tried to benefit from it and tried to turn it in their favour they have lost a legitimate way to gain support from the people (Angel, 2012). The legitimate way that violent jihad is the only answer to overthrow an authoritarian regime (which were only puppets of the West) has fallen apart and they now have to look for another legitimate reason to join violent jihad, and which is not the democratization of the Arab countries (Byman, 2011) (Angel, 2012) (Abushouk, 2016).

The academic world is divided about the future of the Middle East and the Northern African countries and can be divided into two camps. One camp of scholars from the Middle East say that slowly the undemocratic regimes will appeal for a regime change over time, changing to a democracy. On the other side there is a camp that is more pessimistic and thinks that the countries will go into another form of governance, for example, another authoritarian regime (Abushouk, 2016).There are definitely some signs that some Arab countries are moving towards a democratic system. This is mainly because of the fact that during the Arab Spring the frustrations of the youth were that they could not find jobs to satisfy their ambitions. Hilary Clinton warned leaders of Arab countries to listen to the youth. The youth wanted to see a democratization of the political system, the creation of new jobs and the suppression of government corruption. Social inequalities strengthened the trust in democracy of deprived social groups (Walt, 2011). Rami Nakhal (a Syrian cyber-activist) said: "We want what everyone in the region wants: an end to corruption, the ability to choose and dismiss our leaders, freedom of speech, and freedom of fear" (Abushouk, 2016). The West would like to see that the countries would move towards a democratic system because this would give the people more freedom and can live up to their capabilities, and therefore decrease the chance someone would radicalize. Maybe most of all, the US would like to see a democratization of the Arab world because according to their idea, this will stop the anti-American terrorism (Gause, 2005)

In Tunisia and Egypt the course of events has been supported by the armed forces which in spite of difference in size and role, had been important components in both countries. Parliamentary elections were held from December 2011 to February 2012, first to the lower house and later to the upper house. Ever since the departure of Mubarak in Egypt the SCAF has been in power and needed to find an ally that could help maintain the status quo, without challenging the SCAF itself for its supremacy (Kienle, 2012).

Something which is important to remember from this chapter is that it is unclear what type of politics will become the dominant type of politics in the countries affected by the Arab Spring. On the one hand there are signs that a new authoritarian regime will arise, and on the other hand there are some signs that these countries will move to democracy. The reason why this is important is because of the fact that this can create a lot of possible challenges in the future, which can be opportunities for terrorist organizations to legitimize themselves. To give an example of this, the US is focussed on the democratization of the Arab world. Yet, it forgets that there is an alternative to democracy for these countries, which is the Islam/politics based on Islamic principles. Because the US is so focussed on making sure everything goes according to plan, this can lead to increased tensions (Gause, 2005). If that happens, terrorist organizations have a new source of legitimacy, because they can fight the US (Armborst, 2014). Besides this, the democratization process is a process which can create a lot of instability (Mansfield & Snyder, 1995). Besides that, there are also a lot of challenges that need to be faced: The first challenge that may hinder the process of democratization is the absence of cultural prerequisites for democracy. The second challenge would be the tribal and Islamic values that have fostered a culture of submission to authority. Therefore making it vulnerable for dictatorships and other oppressive regimes. And the last challenge would be the conflict between secularist and Islamist, which is generating some doubt about the future course of democratic transitions in the Arab World (Abushouk, 2016).

4. Facing a future apocalypse

So far this thesis has discussed what the root causes are of radicalization, and has examined repressive regimes in the Middle-East and Northern Africa. Besides that, the previous chapter has also looked into the influence of the Arab Spring, and how terrorist organizations anticipated to that. In this chapter I will start by explaining how the events discussed in the previous chapter play a role in the creation of anti-west/ anti-America sentiments. I will also examine how terrorism has changed Western societies, and how this has affected the political environment in the West. I will end this chapter by examining possible solutions to deal with the breeding grounds of radicalization.

4.1 The Anti-American sentiment in the Middle East

Terrorist organizations have as a goal to achieve the apocalypse, but the question when this will happen differs per organization. Al-Qaeda for example sees the apocalypse happening in the far future, while Isis has the view that the battles that are going on now are the last few battles before the apocalypse begins (McCants, 2015). If the main goal of the terrorist organizations is to spread fear and chaos to move closer to the apocalypse they need something or someone to fight. According to the terrorist organizations when the apocalypse is achieved a saviour will rise and the apocalypse will end with only the real Muslims remaining. In order to move to an apocalyptic situation, the terrorist organizations need an enemy, which in this case is the West. The West has been an enemy of the terrorists for over a long time and since halfway through the Cold War there has come to exist an anti-sentiment against the West, and especially against the US in the Middle East. As has been showed in the previous chapter, the US has had a past of intervening in Middle Eastern countries like Iran, Iraq, Egypt and Saudi-Arabia to either fight off communism, or to get their hands on the oil that is in the ground. The US is also one of the countries that is, and has always been

a strong supporter of Israel, which contributes to the increasing tensions in the Middle East (Kohut, 2005).

"The people in the Middle East know the Americans only through their government's policies and practices in the Middle East, and this deserves to be hated by most of the people in the Third World and especially in the Middle East." Said Ghassan Khatib a moderate political analyst from Palestine (Gizbert & Bury, 2015).

The foreign policy of the US is something which is hated the most by Muslims in the Middle East. Besides their foreign policy many people think that the things the US is doing in the Middle East is something in which they undermine their own ideals of freedom. This is especially felt concerning the bombings in Palestine which is done by American made F-16's, with American bombs and is denying the Palestinians their freedom (Gizbert & Bury, 2015).

When it comes to the foreign policy of the US itself there are four things that create a negative association towards the US. Those four things are 1) The war in Iraq, 2) the war on terror, 3) the way the US is acting on the world stage, and 4) the Israel-Palestine conflict (Kohut, 2005). These four things are considered to frustrate the people in the Middle East the most, and help to create a negative image of the US and their involvement in the Middle East. The majority of people in the Middle East say that because of the intervention by force of the US they have created a more dangerous situation instead of dealing with this problem without violence. When it comes to the way the US is acting on the world stage it is said that the US either focusses only on the interest of the other countries in the Middle East, or not at all. There is no in between and this is also frustrating the people in the Middle East. When it comes to the Israel-Palestine conflict the people in the Middle East say that the US is favouring Israel too much and does not have an objective view on the situation which creates a lot of tensions in the region (PewResearchCenter, Anti-Americanism: Causes and Characteristics, 2003) (Kohut, 2005).

The US and the war on terror face a decline in the support of the US among the Muslim population in the Middle East. Also the people in Middle Eastern countries start to see Islamic radicalization as a threat to their own country, but there is still a substantial group of people who see suicide bombings against Western people and institutions, and especially Americans as a justifiable measure to the fact that the West still has a lot of military groups on the ground in the Middle East (Kohut, 2005). Even though Islamic radicalization is seen as a problem in the Middle Eastern countries and is considered a possible threat to society, there is a positive feeling towards the involvement of the Islam in politics (Kohut, 2005) (PewResearchCenter, Global Opinion: The Spread of Anti-Americanism, 2005).

4.2 Xenophobia, Political parties and the fear of the Apocalypse

This thesis so far has focussed a lot on why there is an anti-west sentiment and anti-American sentiment in the Middle East, which helps us to understand the tensions between these two sides. So how does this stand in relation to the terrorist organizations and their desire to move towards the apocalypse. When it comes to terrorism it is important to think about what the eventual goal is that the terrorists want to achieve. Terrorists basically have a couple of different goals that they want to achieve of which creating an Islamic state in which the Sharia law is the law of the country is the eventual goal. This might slightly differ per terrorist organization, Isis for example wants to move much more towards a medieval interpretation of Islamic law (Gömöri, 2015).

Terrorists have as a goal to spread chaos and fear among the Western population in order to move closer to the apocalypse (McCants, 2015). This means that xenophobic reactions of people in the West towards Muslims is something positive for the terrorist organizations. This is because of the fact that the more people fear and discriminate against Muslims, the smaller the chances are that the Muslim communities will integrate well into the Western societies, and the bigger the chances are that there will be an increase in the number of Muslim radicals joining to fight with the terrorist organizations. Besides that it also increases the legitimacy of the terrorist organizations because they can claim that the West is not a place for Muslims and that they are not accepted, and that the xenophobic reactions are a good example of that.

Especially since the Syrian war, and the start of the immigration crisis in Europe it is clear to see that there has been a political reaction in Europe. All over Europe nationalist parties are gaining more and more support from the people in their country. Because of the fear of the Islamisation of the West the nationalist feeling is becoming more and more important and the political parties who express the same concerns gain more and more power. When it comes to right wing nationalist parties, this was the last opinion poll in April 2016 (figure 3) (Adler, 2016).
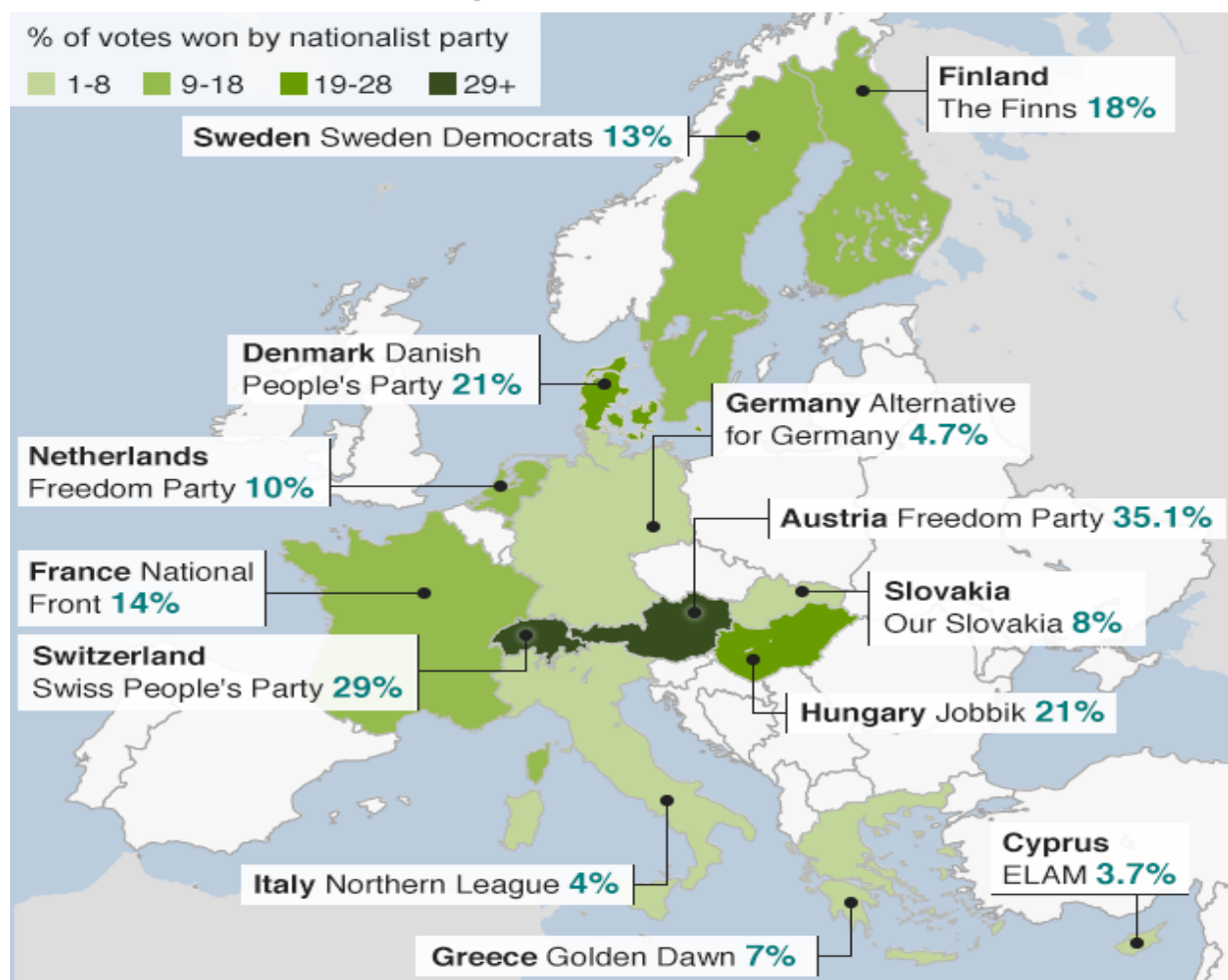
Figure 3 Opinion polls in April 2016 (Adler, 2016)

Figure 3 shows that the nationalist parties are growing and growing. Especially Switzerland, Austria, Slovakia and Denmark have strong nationalist parties that are all still gaining more influence. Something that those parties have in common is the critical view towards the EU, the negative associations towards the Islamisation of the West and a focus on the national sentiments (Adler, 2016).

The whole point of this is that because there is an increasing fear towards the Islamisation of the West, there are also increasing tensions between the native people of a country and migrants. Creating a more hostile environment and indirectly contributing to more difficulties regarding integration. Let me give you some examples.

One that I know a lot about because of my personal experiences as a Dutchman, and one which has happened very recently and is therefore interesting to examine. I am talking about examining the PVV (Partij van de Vrijheid, also, freedom party) in the Netherlands and UKIP in the United Kingdom. Geert Wilders is in the Netherlands quite often in the news because he negatively stereotypes the Muslim community in the Netherlands. Especially when it comes to the Moroccan population which has often been in the news in a negative way. In 2014 after his party became one of the bigger parties in the Netherlands, Wilders had given a speech to the members of his party, celebrating that he and his party gained more support in the Netherlands. In his speech he asked the crowd whether they wanted more or less Moroccan people in the Netherlands. The crowd responded by shouting less, less (ANP, 2014)! This is a perfect example of how xenophobia can be used as a tool to gain political power. Geert Wilders has always had a focus on the Islam and how it is contaminating the Western society, and he made a short film (Fitna) that provoked a lot of Muslims all over the world and put the Netherlands, and the West in a negative perspective. Besides Geert Wilders I want to examine someone else who used xenophobia against the Muslim population in the favour of the political party.

I want to examine Nigel Farage as one of the most prominent persons who focused on the Brexit. He used the migrant crisis and the xenophobic feelings against Muslims to gain support for the Brexit, which would make the UK safe for the power of the EU. He claimed that if the UK would remain in the EU, this would mean that the EU would force them to give shelter to more Muslim refugees that were coming from Syria, and who, according to Farage don't want to become part of the culture (Beauchamp, 2016). This is once again a perfect example of how xenophobia is used in the favour of the nationalist parties in Europe.

Concluding, there has been an increase in the popularity of nationalist parties, who besides saying that the country has to leave the EU, are focusing on the protection of their culture, against the Islam. The fear of the people in the country for Muslims and the Islam is mainly because they are afraid of terrorist attacks, and because some well-known politicians like Geert Wilders are generalizing and stereotyping all Muslims as potential terrorists, this creates a general fear for Muslims. This fear is then used to promote the interests of the Nationalist parties who put the emphasis on how dangerous these new Muslim migrants from Syria can be, and how this will negatively affect the culture of the host country. A perfect example of this, is that after the Brexit there has been an increase in discriminating and racist violence against especially Polish migrants, but also other types of migrants in the UK (Westcott, 2016) (Agerholm, 2016).

Concluding I want to sum up that, one of the goals of the terrorist organizations is to contribute in the creation of the apocalypse that will cleanse the world and will only leave the "good" Muslims. The xenophobic reactions of people, and the stimulation of it by politicians all around the world only contributes to an environment in which the apocalypse is more likely to happen. Let me elaborate that further, because there is a growing fear towards Muslims and other immigrants in some countries, migrants will have a harder time integrating in the society. The more a society fears Muslims, the more difficult it will be for Muslim people to integrate due to discrimination and racism. The discrimination and racism will only contribute to the poor integration, and therefore will increase the chance that the Muslim migrant will feel very much in touch with their Muslim identity. If then, as the Brexit has showed, a large group of people participate in the spread of hate against people from a certain county or culture, this could be the fuel for a much bigger fight. Shortly said, the xenophobic reactions, and the politicians who (although clever) make use of this fear, only contribute to the increasing gap and tensions between the Muslim migrants and the native people of those countries. Therefore they are in fact only contributing to the thing that they are so much afraid of which is Islamic terrorism and their desire to move towards the apocalypse. This is indirectly related to the root causes of radicalization, because the xenophobic environment which is spreading through Europe and other countries enhance some social and macro level root causes. Like for example the increase in integration, but this can also influence the international politics of parties.

So far this thesis has examined the root causes of radicalization, but also the breeding ground of these causes. In order to effectively deal with the root causes, it is important to deal with what stimulates and feeds these causes. Therefore I will now continue with possible short term approaches to see if it is possible to decrease the hate towards the West. After that I will examine different approaches that could possibly work in the long run.

4.3 directly preventing the apocalypse

4.3.1 Negotiation as direct approach
When it comes to preventing the apocalypse from happening, and de-escalating the conflict of terrorism there are a couple of options that could be examined. Negotiation is a strategy that if the West would use it, they would show good will and the willingness to hear the intentions of the other side. If this would be taken seriously, even if it will remain without effect this would still increase the legitimacy and credibility of the West.

Negotiation is central to the practice of diplomacy, deal making, mediation facilitation, group solving, consensus building and advocacy (Finnegan & Hackley, 2008). When it comes to negotiation, and especially good negotiating, negotiations are judged on three criteria. 1) it should produce a wise agreement if agreement is possible, 2) it should be efficient, and 3) it should improve or at least not damage the relationship between the parties. A wise agreement is one in which the interests of both parties are met as long as they are legitimate (Fisher & Ury, 1991).

People in the US think that Isis is posing more than a serious threat, and people in Syria and Iraq think that the US is only bombing Iraq and Syria because they are fighting the Islam. Amaryllis Fox (a former CIA undercover agent) says that the only way to dismantle your opponent is to actually listen to them. If you can hear them out you can hear that maybe you would have done the same thing when put in that position. The people fight because they think that certain policies are unfair, or certain things are unjust, and if you keep dismissing the enemy as evil, you will never hear them out. Because as long as your enemy is less than human and will always attack you no matter what, this war never ends. But if your enemy is a policy, no matter how complicated, you can work and deal with it (Fox, 2016).

Right after the 9/11 attacks President Bush released a statement with demands, and claiming that these demands are not open for negotiation (Bush, 2001). Even though the Taliban was at first open to negotiation, asking Bush to show proof that Bin Laden was involved in the 9/11 attacks, Bush turned this opportunity for negotiation down claiming that it was clear that he (Osama bin Laden) did it (Guardian, 2001). Also, the terrorist organizations like the Taliban, Al-Qaeda and Isis find a part of their legitimacy in the violence that the West is using. Both the West and the Islamist terrorists are therefore not open for negotiation because this will limit the legitimacy of the terrorist organizations, and the West can't "sell" this to its own people that they don't need to use violence, when the West is hit by a violent terrorist attacks. This is something which can be seen clearly in the speech of President Hollande after the Paris attacks, where he stated that we (the West and especially France in this case) are going to destroy the terrorist organization Isis (Hollande, 2015).

4.3.2 Strengths and weaknesses of negotiation theory

Negotiation as an answer to terrorism and to de-escalate the situation has both benefits as disadvantages. Regarding the strengths, it is safe to say that negotiation can help to deal with a problem in a constructive manner, without the use of violence necessary to come to an ending of a problem. I think that especially when it comes to the international interventions negotiations can play an important role. In the past a lot of the interventions of the US have created a negative image of the West. By using the negotiation strategy it should be possible to include the countries in the Middle-East better and listen more carefully what they really want. But it is also important to acknowledge that it is not that easy to get two completely opposite actors to talk to each other in the first place. Especially regarding all the opinions both parties have about the other, and all the harm that already has been done, the problem and the identity of both actors have become entangled with the problem of terrorism. This creates a very complicated situation, in which both parties cannot permit to lose face when finding a solution (Fisher & Ury, 1991).

4.4 Long-term solutions

When it comes to the long-term solutions to deal with the terrorism problem I want to focus on different actions and aspects within society that have to change and should be focussed on. Besides the actions that I am going to discuss, I want to say in advance that these actions should also have a focus on dealing with the causes that feed the root causes of radicalization, and decreasing the tensions. Hereby it is important to especially focus more on the xenophobic reactions of the people in the West, and the anti-west sentiments that exists among many Muslims in Arab countries.

There are six different actions that I want to discuss in this paragraph. These actions are focussing on: 1) Storytelling, 2) political change, 3) integration, 4) law, 5) education and 6) development aid. I think that these 6 different factors can play an important role when it comes to face the root causes of radicalization. Because they can contribute to minimize incentives that stimulate the anti-west sentiments, the xenophobic reactions and some of the root causes of radicalization.

4.4.1 Storytelling

By examining terrorism, it became clear that social media has become an important tool to spread the messages of the terrorist organizations. Before Isis came to be, Hezbollah had the biggest media empire to spread their messages and believes (Kalb & Saivetz, 2007) (Angel, 2012). Terrorist organizations use storytelling and social media to trigger young Muslims that are open to their radical ideas. This narrative is one of the tools that is influencing people. According to the US National Security, the global war on terror is the number one security priority. This justifies the need to explore a counter narrative that stands right against the terrorism narrative. The terrorism narrative has gone, and is going through a life-cycle, where it at first focusses on the growth of the organization. Especially the use of myths and other form of heroic stories, can significantly benefit troops and supporters of the terrorist organization (Casebeer & Russell, 2005).

The terrorist organizations claim that when you die during the violent jihad, and therefore die for your faith, you will be seen as a martyr and therefore end up in paradise. This is something that attracts a lot of young Muslims that are radicalizing or already have radical thoughts. But the West doesn't really have a strong counter narrative, while this could be an option that could benefit the de-radicalisation and prevention of radicalization in Western countries. After all, narratives can help people to make up their mind (Casebeer & Russell, 2005).

In the past the West has already used the media to help to move the public to agree on fighting a war. Frank Capra (a Hollywood director) for example made a series of propaganda films for the US troops. Capra later said that he didn't shoot a gun, dropped no bombs, but a psychological weapon aimed at destroying the will to resist (Rose, 2014). Back in the day in the US, there was the narrative of the American dream. From paperboy to millionaire. This was, and maybe is a very strong narrative that still makes people want to move towards the US, to pursue that dream. Therefore the power of constructing a counter narrative can't be underestimated, when thinking about possibilities to tackle the terrorism problem. For example by putting Muslims in a different light and showing the positive things they do in Western societies, or showing the values of the Islam, and how Muslims in Western countries respond in mosques to the terroristic attacks all over the world. This are some examples of possible topics of a counter narrative that could deal with the problem of xenophobia in Western societies.

4.4.2 Political change

Another nonviolent dimension that I would like to discuss is the political one. Political change can also significantly contribute to tackling the breeding grounds for radicalization. Besides that I think that the most important thing is that political change (if done correctly) can contribute to a situation in which it is possible to co-exist in a society in a peaceful way. This because of the fact that right now the political system does not facilitate the possibility of an extremist opinions.

According to Chantal Mouffe it is important to take a better look at the current form of democracy. According to her, the Western neo-liberal form of democracy is outdated, and because people moralize certain things within society, and label them as either good or bad, it is impossible to have a constructing dialogue. This can be the case when talking about different fundamental ideals. Instead of labelling the other fundamental idea as evil and by nature bad, this leaves no room for a constructive discussion in an agonistic way (the difference between agonism and antagonism is that agonism respects the fundamentally different view of the other whilst antagonism sees the other opinion as bad/evil). Mouffe, in a way, argues that if the political environment is changed to one in which it is possible to acknowledge the political in its antagonistic dimension, it is possible to abandon the dream of a reconciled world in which everybody always has to agree with each other, and move towards an agonistic form of politics. This would mean that two people can fundamentally

disagree without that being a problem, and especially important, with a focus on the legitimacy of the others' arguments and opinions. What is happening right now is that there is a strong focus on the we/they relation. The uprising nationalist parties strongly focus on this differentiation framing the other as bad, and generalizing it to the broader group. An clear example of that is the "minder minder" (less/less) speech from Wilders, where he generalized it to all the Moroccan people in the Netherlands. What is important to realize is that a society and the political of a society are bound to a we/they distinction. We as a state and they as the other state, or we as the West, and they as radicalized Muslim terrorists, or we as the real Dutch people, and they as the migrants. The neo-liberal democracy cannot distinguish between friend and enemy because it is always focussed on the individual. Within the liberal state, there is always the need for consensus and see conflict as by definition something bad (Mouffe, 2005).

Involving resilience theory to this conclusion that the liberal state is always looking for consensus and leaves no room for conflict, the democratic elections are the only possibility for the population of a country, to change the political debate within a country. This are the small revolts within a society which makes it resilient. But, when the elections never actually give a significant different outcome, and it is all more or less the same, this makes the system vulnerable for collapse and revolution. This point is called a tipping point and a system will fall into a new equilibrium (Folke, Berkes, & Colding, 1998). The political parties have moved to the political centre over the years which made the difference very minimal instead of when a political environment is highly polarized. Mouffe says that it is needed to acknowledge conflict in social life, and that the democratic system cannot be limited to always seek for compromises. For this, conflict must take a form that does not destroy the political discussion, meaning that the other can always be just as legitimate as you, and not moralize the opponent by saying the opponent is bad. (Schmitt, 2007) says that every consensus also always involves an exclusion, mostly this are the more extreme people with radical thoughts. Because all the political parties are moving towards the centre (since that is where the majority of the population is, and therefore the most possible votes) the extreme left and right are left out or limited (Mouffe, 2005). When it comes to the political the morality of the other should be avoided, meaning that they should not be defined as inhumane or by definition evil or bad. If you do this, you will automatically destroy their legitimacy as participant in a constructive dialogue, and therefore you make the constructive dialogue impossible because all the things they claim or want are by definition wrong. If you moralize the "they", you create the partisan. Schmitt argues that wars waged in the name of humanity (like the war on terror) are most often the most inhumane wars, because you have de-humanized the other, all means are justified to destroy the enemy, including all humane ways. This is the case with radical Islam. Because they are beforehand labelled as evil, and democracy hasn't moved to an agonistic form, their only option is to get their rights by using violence (Schmitt, 2007).

4.4.3 Integration
Another aspect that I want to focus on is the integration of migrants. Due to the Syrian war there are a lot of migrants moving towards Europe, causing mixed reactions in the European countries. There are groups of people that welcome them, and groups of people that want them out. This xenophobic reaction can be explained by the fact that those people are afraid of the Islamisation of the West, and that their cultural identity is at stake (Betz, 2009). When it comes to integration it is needed to start acknowledging that this is a two way process. A big group of migrants coming into a new society can create problems, therefore it is needed to prepare both the migrants for successful integration, as the people who already live in that society.

The process of integration is one that goes two ways, both the host country, as the migrant have to be willing to integrate and adapt. Countries can stimulate this by supportive policies which take away most of the boundaries to integration, and migrants can do this by showing interest and participating. Yet, it is most likely that people will interact with other people from the same culture (Ahmed, 2013). When it comes to home-grown terrorism, the second, third or further generations are more vulnerable for radicalization because of discrimination and problems with double identities (simply said) (Waldman, 2010). This shows that when integration is done successfully, of both the migrants as the people who already live in the society, these problems should be possible to be overcome. The reason why xenophobia is on the rise in some Western countries is because they are afraid of the Islamisation of the West. Besides this, the terrorist attacks also create a lot of fear towards the Islam. This is especially the case because radical Islam is so fundamentally different from the Western ideals that it scares people if those people all come to Western countries.

4.4.4 Law

Law can also be used as a tool to bring about social and political change. Under the Bush administration spreading democracy was the goal in the foreign policy of the US. Currently during the Obama administration the idea that the development of an appropriate legal framework and the preservation of political freedom and social justice is the most important goal when it comes to the foreign policy of the US. The rule of law is one of the most fundamental characteristics of liberal democratic societies (Wilson, 206). Research has shown that democratic countries create environments where ordinary citizens are able to access various nonviolent mechanisms for the resolution of disputes, giving people alternative options instead of using violence. This shows the importance of strong democratic institutions within a society. The rule of law within democratic societies are based on a fair, impartial and effective judicial system, and a non-arbitrary basis according to which laws and the legal system as a whole can be viewed as legitimate. When the rule of law is implied properly the population has a nonviolent way of expressing political grievances, therefore the people in democratic countries are less likely to participate in political violence than the population of a country that is not democratic. Choi argues that ordinary people have incentives to terrorize foreigners and foreign facilities when 2 criteria are met. 1) when they hold grievances against foreigners who violate political and legal rights of local citizens, and 2) when these local people, due to poor-quality rule of law in the home country, do not believe in the effectiveness of pursuing justice peacefully. The rule of law reinforces a political system's legitimacy by protecting the rights of citizens and foreigners and by providing them the possibility to express their political and other grievances in a nonviolent way (Choi, 2010).

When it comes to the law and policy aspects the foreign policy of the US has created a lot of anti-West and anti-America sentiments in countries in the Middle East (Gizbert & Bury, 2015). But when this problem is solely based on the foreign policy of the US, this means that via negotiation it should be possible to alter the policy in a way that both parties still get what they want. The US being able to do their foreign policy, but also with taking into account that the more anti-America sentiments they create, the harder the US will get it.

4.4.5 Education

There has always been the idea that well educated people will not participate in violent jihad, and that only uneducated people who don't have any possibilities in the labour market will join the violent jihad (Krueger & Malecková, 2003). In reality it is clear that this is not the case, and that all the important people within Islamic terrorist organizations have had a higher education, most often also in Western countries. This can be explained by the fact that terrorist organizations prefer to have higher educated people in charge of the organization, than less educated ones. Therefore in some situations in the Middle East education can actually have a positive effect on terrorism (Testas, 2010). Besides good or bad education, the economic prosperity of a person is not necessarily a root cause of radicalization of that person (Krueger & Malecková, 2003). So even though education can have an effect on terrorism, it can still be a tool to prevent terrorism. I argue that education can help someone to create a better socio-economic situation for him/herself. Also there should be a focus on the content of the education, and a focus more on the human rights education, peace education and development education. In addition to providing different strategies to achieve peace, there is and should be a focus on the pedagogic way of creating a peaceful situation in a democratic way. The goal of this type of education is to create a critical way of thinking, focussed on kindness and cooperation, which will lead to a more peaceful way of behaving. But peace is not something that is achieved easily, and therefore the focus should be on all the different aspects that contribute to a violent environment, and how to overcome that (Harris I. M., 2004).

4.4.6 Development aid

The US during the Bush administration had a focus on the development of nondemocratic countries. Especially there was the focus on developing democracy (Berger, 2007). Something which is coming back over and over again is the basic assumption that radicalized young Muslims that participate in violent jihad, come from a socio-economic class which does not give a satisfactory environment in which they will live up to their possibilities.

When it comes to giving development aid it is possible to distinguish the traditional donors (the western countries, also known as the so called "North" and the non-traditional donors (BRICKS countries). The South include countries that are "in need of" development assistance (Mawdsley, 2012). The policies that Western countries are using have a strong focus on democracy and the implementation of it. Especially the US have clear goals to encourage democracy. The US specifically tied democracy and governance to their aid programs since 1991. Also, Norway for example has said to give less aid to countries that stagnate in securing democracy (Lekvall, 2013).

(Mauss, 1990) says that the act of giving creates a social bound between the giver and the receiver. There are a couple of different elements to the giving of the gift, the first one is the giving of a gift. This creates the social bound between two different actors. The second one is receiving (refusing would not just be refusing the gift, but also the social relationship). The last element is reciprocating (this is to demonstrate in return one's own honour, wealth and standing). This is mostly the element that is making it more complex and where the power relations play an important role. Besides this there are also a couple of requirements to the performance of the gift giving. For example that the performance of a giving a gift has to be voluntary, disinterested and "free". This, even though it sets an obligation at some future point to reciprocate, which basically means returning the gift.

Although the fact that most people around the world, are favourable towards democracy, the way of implementation is crucial. One of the requirements to receive development aid, is to be favourable towards democracy, and to try to implement it into the society (Lekvall, 2013). Due to the fact that the countries that are receiving the development aid are indirectly "forced" to implement democracy, since they have to return the gift, this means that the people in the country don't have a

choice and have to accept the Western type of democracy. When linked to terrorism, it can be questioned, whether the Western type of democracy leaves enough space to implement the Islamic believes and values which are in a lot of Muslim countries highly valued and very important. This can be seen as the West trying to oppress Islam and further trying to oppress the Muslim population.

It can be questioned whether or not development aid is a possible solution that could be used. Just like many things it has both up and downsides, and what I have tried to do is to look critically at the giving of development aid. I find this important to do because of the fact that it was one of the main thoughts that development aid could "solve" this problem, but the giving of something (in this case development aid) is more complex than it looks. I have tried to show that development aid and democracy are closely linked to each other nowadays, and I want to point out that this can create certain problems. Especially when/if development aid becomes a tool to indirectly "force" a country to adopt the desired form of democracy. Especially in the countries in the Middle-East (where there is already a strong anti-West sentiment) this negative association with the West can increase. Development aid could work but only if it is separated from the necessity of moving towards a democratic system.

This chapter has examined both the anti-West sentiment and the xenophobic reactions of the people in Western societies. One of the reasons why people in the Middle East have anti-West sentiments is due to the foreign policy of the US. The US has been frustrating people with their foreign policy because of a couple reasons: for example what happened in Iraq, the war on terror, how the US is behaving on the world stage and the Israel-Palestine conflict. Besides this, in a lot of Western societies nationalist political parties are becoming more and more popular. Generally speaking they put a lot of emphasis on the national identity, which doesn't include Muslim migrants. The ideal situation for terrorist organizations is the apocalypse. In a situation like that needs to have two different camps that oppose each other and can only solve their dispute by violence. In this scenario that would be the Islamic terrorists on one side, and the xenophobic people in Western societies on the other side. In order to prevent this from happening this chapter has looked at negotiation as de-escalating tool, but it can be concluded that both parties have already moved (too) far away from each other, and is right now not yet the best option. This chapter has also examined some long-term solutions to the root causes of radicalization but they will only have a positive effect when they are not hindered by something else.

5. Discussion and conclusion

In the discussion I want to look back at the main question of this thesis, and discuss if it can be answered. The main question of this thesis is: *"How have Western policies towards the Middle East fuelled terrorism and radicalization, and how can this be addressed?*

To answer this question it is needed to examine what feeds the root causes of radicalization and think about possible actions that can be taken to face the breeding grounds of radicalization. It has to be noted that the complete prevention of radicalization is, and shall always be impossible. I argue that the actions that I have showed in this thesis could help to solve some of the factors of why people radicalize. This thesis has come across a number of root causes of why people might radicalize, and I believe it can be brought back to the following reasons: 1) poor integration, 2) sensitive international relations, 3) poverty, 4) globalization, 5) identification with other Muslims and 6) anti-West sentiment. I will now examine all these aspects individually and combine the problem and the possible answer to the problem.

Let's first examine the poor integration problem. In general it can be said that the Muslims that migrate to Western countries, and the further generations have slightly lower education than the average population in the country. Besides this, most often they also live in low socio-economic neighbourhoods, and are not represented enough in public institutions and organizations, including in the political arena. The possible actions presented in chapter 4, show that education can play an important role in this part of the problem. Education for both the Muslim migrants, as well for the people surrounding them.

Therefore it is important to put energy and money in creating neighbourhoods that are culturally diverse. If there is a certain area of a city, for example where all the migrants go to, and where no people live who are native to the country, this will not benefit the integration process. While if you would have a neighbourhood that has all kinds of nationalities, cultures and skin colours, this would most likely benefit the integration, and also tackle the negative stereotype problem. This is something that I can see back in the Netherlands, some neighbourhoods in big cities like Den Haag or Utrecht (respectively "de schildereswijk" and "kanaleneiland") were places where a lot of Muslim migrants moved to and became problematic areas for the government. Nowadays this problem is being/ has been tackled and especially kanaleneiland is become more culturally diverse and is giving less problems.

Especially in the Western countries, there are certain population groups that are against Muslims moving to the West, because they are afraid that their culture will destroy the Western culture. If you would have a culturally mixed neighbourhood, those people will see that the Muslims that live in the country, or migrated to the country, are not trying to destroy the culture, and they could use some help with integrating in the host country, and learn about its traditions and culture. Mixed neighbourhoods would help with the education of people both native and migrants. Also, the next generations of Muslim migrants go to school in the Western country, learn our norms and values, and benefit from our school system which would give them a chance to be better educated than their parents, and therefore find a better job later on in life. But if the socio-economic environment is hostile towards them, because of negative stereotyping and discrimination, this will make it more difficult for them to find a proper paying job that fits their skills. If there would be a focus on the good integration and prepare the people of the host country that they are not a threat to the Western way of life, this would benefit the successful integration of the Muslim migrants and their future generations. But it will be something that takes time, and generations. For the older generations in the country, Muslims might be something new, while for the children that are born today it will be normal to grow up and go to school in a country where also Muslims live and

participate in society. It is important that the older generations don't influence the new generations in a negative way and by stimulating negative stereotypes. I believe that education can be an important tool to deal with the poor integration problem in the long run. The problem of poor integration can't be successfully dealt with without also dealing with the problem of xenophobia in the Western societies.

Regarding the second problem of the international relations. One of the arguments of the terrorist organizations is that the West has supported the authoritarian regimes in Northern Africa and the Middle East which were repressing the population. The Syrian war is an example of the West not intervening for a long time, because the Assad regime supported the war on terror. By doing so, the West has lost a lot of its legitimacy and credibility, when it comes to having genuine and good intentions for the people in those countries. Besides this, there is also the feeling within the Muslim population that the war on terror is actually a war against the Islam, and they want us to leave Islamic territories. There are a lot of different reasons why Muslims in the Middle East have anti-West sentiments, and it mainly has to do with the foreign policy of the US. I argue that instead of supporting the rebels with airstrikes, the West should put more emphasis on peacebuilding processes and recovery of the societies. This first can be done by sending humanitarian aid, to avoid that the local populations suffer from malnutrition, and diseases that can be cured easily. Also development aid can be important so that people can rebuild their cities. It has to be noted that this development aid should purely and solely be for the support of the local people, and should not contain any demands when it comes to how it should be done, or any other political attachments.

Also important to understand is that just as some people in the West have the fear of the Islam taking over, the Muslims can be afraid that the West is taking over. Instead of focussing on how scary that might be, It is needed to move towards a society in which both can live side by side. Therefore it can be a good idea to use (just like Mandela and Gandhi) negotiation and symbolism. An example of this could be building a mosque in a big Western city to show to the Muslims in the country that the Islam, just like any other religion is welcomed in society. If symbolism and framing are used, it is possible to create a counter narrative focussed on this and peace that can compete against the violent terrorist narrative. Showing that violent jihad is not necessary, and that the Islam and Muslims are just as welcome as any other religion in Western countries.

When it comes to the poverty problem there are, in a lot of Muslim countries no alternatives that satisfy the needs of higher educated Muslims, which can make terrorism a rational attractive option. It is important to understand that higher education is not necessarily a tool that helps people stay away from terrorism. Therefore there should be a focus on creating a high quality socio-economic environment in Muslim countries, in which the country can develop itself and its people. If there are better alternatives, and everybody has the possibility to express his or her political believes, it is possible to tackle the terrorism problem at its roots in the Muslim countries. It has to be understood that they could choose another form of governance, and that whatever they choose, the West should not force their form of democracy onto them. Therefore I argue that it is important that the West doesn't intervene in the process after the Arab spring. It is important that the countries that were affected by the Arab spring find their own form of government. Data has showed that a lot of the people are in favour of democracy, but that the Islam is also something that is valued highly in politics. Therefore it is important that the West doesn't force the Islam out of the politics, and respect the different forms of democracy.

The fourth problem of globalization is basically focussed on something I have already mentioned here above, which is the fear of Muslims that the West is taking over and will consume the Islam, leaving nothing left of it. This problem can be partially solved, because I don't think you can take away the fear for everyone. There should be a focus on the promotion and narrative, that the Islam is welcome in the Western society. And that even though these two are completely different, the Islam will not, and is not threatened. Storytelling might be useful, in which symbolism is used, to show that the Islam and Muslims are welcome. The fact that the "West" is spreading all over the world is also something which scares Muslims and is combined with the fear that the Islam is threatened. Therefore I argue it is especially important that the Muslim countries are not forced to take the Western type of democracy, but can also be free to combine democracy with the Sharia if they want to.

The fact that Muslims in the West identify themselves with other Muslims in Muslim countries is something logical since no matter how well integrated, they will probably always feel some sort of connection to them and their country of origin. The focus should be on is the fact that the double identity doesn't become a problem, and there should be a stimulation for good integration. This can be done by trying to mix neighbourhoods as good as possible. This can be achieved by a focus on integration, and laws can help to stimulate this or facilitate this. If you combine a poor integration into a Western society, with the identification with other Muslims (and especially the Muslims that are being harmed by the West), this can lead to radicalization, and a form of anger against the West. Besides the focus on integration, try to focus more on the actions of Western countries in relation to Muslims. A good symbolic action would be to close down Guantanamo Bay, and make sure that during war time, no innocent people are harmed or accidently bombed when trying to bomb for example Isis. In general I argue that it would be a good thing if the West would use less violence because this will significantly decrease the legitimacy of terrorist organizations, and will increase the legitimacy of the West. Symbolic action can be extremely important and is a very good way to show the intentions. Because of the fact that both sides fear one another, the West fears the Islamisation of the West, and the people in Muslim countries fear the Westernization of their country, it is important to use symbolism to show that it is not or the West or the Islam, but that those two can be combined. This can be done by using symbolism, to show good will. For example by building Mosques in Western countries. To show that the Muslims are just as welcome as any other religion in the West.

The last problem was the one of the anti-West sentiments, which I consider a very valid problem and argument that is being made. Especially in the past, the West, and especially the US hasn't been very honest about its true intentions. There the coup of the democratically elected president in Iran which showed for the first time that the US wasn't focussed on achieving democracy, but more on beating communism. Besides that there are other reasons why there is such a strong anti-West sentiment in the Middle Eastern countries. If there is a focus on these issues, and the US tries to work on their image and actions in the Middle East it should be possible to create a better image of the West. Also I want to argue that it is important that regarding the giving of development aid is truly free and focussed on the prosperity of the people of the country it is given too, instead of indirectly trying to force the Western type of democracy onto the country. I argue that by giving Muslim countries, especially after the Arab spring, some freedom to figure out what form of government they want, is very important. Because even though the West might consider democracy mixed with the Sharia laws as wrong, or strange, it is a form of government that they would choose, and therefore that should be respected.

To conclude, this thesis has examined the role that the West has played, and how their actions have fuelled terrorism and radicalization. Both the people in the West and the Muslims partly act out of fear. Fear of the Islamisation of the West, and fear that the Islam will no longer have a place in the world. There is a fear that the war on terror is not just a war against terrorism, but also against the Islam. The war on terror, the strong position of the US regarding the Israel-Palestine conflict, the war in Iraq and the international politics of the West (both present as in the past) all contribute to the anti-west sentiments. On the other side of the spectrum, the terrorist attacks, and the connection it has to the Islam creates a xenophobic environment. Because of this xenophobic environment there is more negative stereotyping towards Muslims, and more discrimination. This leads to a more difficult integration process, and can contribute in poorer socio-economic statuses, which can both be fuel to the radicalization process.

The goal of this thesis was to examine how the West has fuelled terrorism and radicalization, and how this can be addressed. The six main reasons why some Muslims radicalize are: 1) poor integration, 2) sensitive international relations, 3) poverty, 4) globalization, 5) identification with other Muslims and 6) anti-West sentiment. In the discussion part above I have discussed how the possible solutions which are proposed in chapter 4 could deal with part of these six main reasons. It can be concluded that the long-term solutions could in fact be successful and face the breeding grounds of radicalization, but that it is something which is highly complex and dependent on a lot of different things whether or not they succeed.

Xenophobia is a problem that could hinder the effectiveness of long-term solutions to deal with the root causes of radicalization. The xenophobic reactions of people in the West towards Muslim people can hinder the effectiveness of the proposed actions like education, integration or any of the other proposed actions. The reason why xenophobic reactions would hinder the effectiveness is that even if the actions are successful, the Muslims are still in a hostile environment where discrimination and racism would be used towards them. This is something that would stimulate a violent reaction to the people who discriminate and creating more unnecessary tensions within a country. The political parties can play a really important role in preventing the stimulation of xenophobic reactions by focussing on the content of the discussions between political parties. Political parties who use the fear of people for a certain group in society for their own political interest are a big threat and contributor to the problem of terrorism. Not in a direct way, but the consequence of using negative stereotypes and generalizing a whole group of people is that they create increasing tensions within the society, and strengthen the idea of an antagonistic we/they relation in which the "we" and "they" are enemies of each other and the "they" is automatically illegitimate and evil. This is only benefitting the terrorist organizations, by creating a legitimate reason for Muslims to hate "the West". The reason why people have xenophobic reactions comes from the fact that they associate Islam and terrorism with each other, and therefore don't want to have the Islam in "their" society. Because of the xenophobic reactions they create increasing tensions within societies, with the consequence that the tensions could become too much and escalate into a violent reaction. This is then only attracting a more and more violent response to each other, moving closer and closer to a kind of apocalyptic situation. Which is the thing they actually fear the most in the beginning and is only benefitting the terrorist organizations. Therefore I find this to be the most important aspect that should be focussed on, because if this problem remains, the possible actions to deal with the root causes of radicalization will be pointless, because the environment within society is not facilitating the success of these proposed actions.

Also, the anti-west sentiments need to be addressed. They can make it more difficult for the actions to be a successful answer to the reasons why people radicalize. This thesis has examined what these anti-West sentiments are based on and that especially the foreign policy of the US and the war on terror is something that contributes a lot to the negative feeling towards the West, and the idea that the West is threatening the Islam. I argue that by giving development and humanitarian aid the West can help to support local communities in the rebuilding of their villages and cities, but it has to be noted that this actually has to be a real "gift". This means that it should come without any strings attached, and that if countries in the Middle East should decide for another system than democracy, Western countries don't pull back their development and humanitarian support. If the West is willing to do this, than it can work on its image in a positive way, showing that they really want the people to have it good instead of focussing on whether or not a country adopts the neo-liberal Western type of democracy.

I would like to end this thesis by saying that this is a subject which is extremely complex. I have tried to map out what the root causes of radicalization are, and I have proposed possible solutions to deal with the breeding grounds of radicalization, but since it is extremely complex, this is a subject that needs a lot more research. For example what role the fear against the Islam plays in the Western world, but also the fear that there is no place for the Islam plays a role in this problem. Also, research about how to counter narratives could be constructed, and how they would look like is something which I consider important.

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