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CONTRIBUTION OF MUSLIM DISCRIMINATION TO RADICALISATION IN WESTERN EUROPE

Bachelor Degree Dissertation

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Dissertation

How does discrimination against Muslim minorities contribute to radicalisation in France, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands and what anti-discrimination governmental policy changes are needed in these countries?

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Executive Summary

Since the announcement of the establishment of the Islamic ‘caliphate’ in the Middle East on June 29 2014, the number of people leaving Western European countries to join the ISIS military has dramatically increased. It is estimated that over 1,430 French, around 700 British and at least 180 Dutch nationals made their way to Iraq and Syria between 2012 and 2015. These journeys show that some European Muslims actively support ISIS. They also indicate a potential threat to European security because radicalised Muslims who return from conflict zones can often be dangerous for society, as the most recent Charlie Hebdo, Thalys train and Paris November 13th attacks show. Europe has experienced an increased number of terrorist attacks in this decade and, without doubt, this issue must be taken seriously.

This research considers discrimination against Muslim minorities residing in France, the United Kingdom (UK) and the Netherlands and the relationship between discrimination and radicalisation in these countries. Prejudice against Muslim minorities appears evident from observations of discriminative behaviour in different environments including politics, media, education and workplaces. This report examines religious discrimination as one of the main reasons for Muslim radicalisation, supported by different theories such as F. Moghaddam’s *Staircase to Terrorism*, Marc Sageman’s *Four Stages of Radicalisation* and the New York Police Department’s *Four-Stage Radicalisation Theory*. Another relevant study conducted by Victoroff and Adelman emphasises perceived discrimination, rather than real discrimination, as a trigger for terrorism support.

As the findings of this report suggest that discrimination is one of the main reasons for radicalisation in the West, governmental anti-discrimination policies are also investigated. Discrimination on any grounds is legally forbidden in the European Union (EU), and thus beyond existing EU Directives there is not much to be added in terms of legislation. However, there is still much to be done in real everyday life where Muslims face discrimination. This report proposes an appropriate initiative for national governments to consider, which would be to promote the actions of NGOs in educating young children in schools about cultural and religious diversity. Moreover, this research suggests that it would also be helpful to strengthen the emotional intelligence of society through different educational programmes to teach children to empathise with others who hail from different backgrounds. The main benefit of these actions would be to prevent discrimination by teaching children about prejudice and its negative consequences.

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Abbreviations

AIVD	General Intelligence and Security Service of the Netherlands
EC	European Commission
ETA	Dutch Equal Treatment Act
EU	European Union
FN	French Front National Party
IFOP	French Institute of Public Opinion
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
LSE	London School of Economics and Political Science
ONS	Office for National Statistics
SCP	Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (The Netherlands Institute for Social Research)
TERRA	Terrorism and Radicalisation – European Network based prevention and learning programme
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the EU
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States of America

Introduction

Islam is the second most dominant religion in Europe and there are currently approximately 38 million Muslims living in Europe, constituting around 5% of the total population (Hunter, 2002, p.xiii). The largest Muslim communities within the EU are concentrated in Western European countries such as Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands (Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2009, p.21) (see Appendix 1).

On June 29, 2014, the establishment of the Islamic 'caliphate'¹ in the territories of Syria and Iraq was announced, with Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi named as its caliph (Stakelbeck, 2015, p.134). According to the Dutch General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD), since then the number of European Muslims travelling to fight in Syria and Iraq has increased: 'late in 2012, almost overnight Syria became the most popular destination ever for jihadists from the Netherlands and the rest of Europe' (AIVD, 2014, p.46). AIVD claims that defending and expanding the 'caliphate' is an important reason for Muslims from all over the world to join the Jihad in Syria and it is highly likely that more and more people will leave (AIVD, 2015, p.16). All of these trips are closely monitored by European intelligence services as returnees are regularly considered to be a threat to Europe's security; this is not without reason, as Western Europe has already seen a number of devastating terrorist attacks, such as the Madrid train bombings² in 2004, the London Underground train bombings (so-called 7/7 attacks)³ in 2005 and more recent ones such as the Brussels Jewish Museum attack⁴ in 2014 and the Charlie Hebdo⁵ and Paris November 13th⁶ attacks in 2015.

Leiken argues that 'Muslim communities in Europe are getting angry and aggressive. Radical Islam is spreading across Europe among descendants of Muslim immigrants. Disenfranchised and disillusioned by the failure of integration, some European Muslims have taken up Jihad against the West' (Leiken, 2012). The most common translation of 'Jihad' is 'holy war'. Giving a broader definition, as AIVD

¹ According to Chandler, the Islamic 'caliphate' refers to an Islamic state led by a caliph who is considered as a political and religious leader, a successor to the Islamic prophet Muhammad (Chandler, 2014).

² Attacks in Madrid perpetrated on the 11th March 2004 by a local Al Qaeda cell which killed 191 and injured 2,050 people.

³ 7/7 attacks - suicide attacks perpetrated by four Muslim men on London Underground trains and a bus; 52 people were killed and about 700 injured on the 7th July 2005.

⁴ The Brussels Jewish Museum attack was a terrorist act carried out at the museum on the 24th May 2014; two Israeli tourists and a French volunteer were killed and one person seriously injured. The perpetrator, Mehdi Nemmouche, had spent most of the year before the attack fighting in Syria with jihadist groups.

⁵ A series of attacks on the 7th January 2015 in Paris, which began with shooting staff of the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo*; 17 people were killed and more injured during the three days of violence. Al Qaeda in Yemen has claimed responsibility for the attacks (Aboudi, 2015).

⁶ Paris attacks: six terrorist acts perpetrated in Paris on the 13th November 2015, where 129 people were killed and more than 350 injured. The attacks have been the deadliest acts of violence in France since WWII.

proposes, Jihad is ‘an armed struggle in the defence of (the country of) Islam. In a religious sense, [Jihad is] the – not necessarily violent - struggle between good and evil, both inwardly and externally’ (AIVD, 2007, p.13).

In the recording of the *Jihadism on the Rise in Europe: The Dutch Perspective* conference, director-general of AIVD Rob Bertholee is asked a question by a journalist from the Middle East Broadcasting Networks. She asks what is happening on a societal level that makes Dutch Moroccans, even those born in the Netherlands, not feel or identify themselves as Dutch. She also asks him what he thinks their motivations are for turning against the Netherlands and aligning themselves with jihadism. Bertholee replies that they do not feel accepted as Dutch citizens by the Dutch community, nor are they accepted as Moroccans in Morocco. He agrees that ‘not feeling at home while being at home’ is definitely part of the problem (Washington Institute, 2014, min. 49:30-51:45). This proposition has led to the formulation of the main question of this research: how does discrimination against Muslim minorities in France, the UK and the Netherlands contribute to radicalisation in Western Europe and what governmental policy changes are needed in these countries?

Terminology

Discrimination

This report focuses on discrimination against Muslim minorities in the West and for that purpose it is necessary to define ‘discrimination’. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), ‘discrimination’ is ‘an unjust or prejudicial treatment of different categories of people’. Discrimination can be based on religion and belief, race, age, disability and other factors (Oxford University Press, 2015). This report focuses on religious and belief discrimination because its main research question concerns discrimination against Muslim minorities.

Religious discrimination and Islamophobia

According to Fox, religious discrimination is defined as the extent to which religious practices are restricted either due to public policy or widespread social practice (Fox, 2000). ‘The dislike of or prejudice against Islam or Muslims, especially as a political force’ is called ‘Islamophobia’, as defined by the OED (Oxford University Press, 2015). Frequently, both general discrimination and religious discrimination are hard to identify as not everything that people feel or believe about discrimination is necessarily the reality. Hence, the concept of ‘perceived discrimination’ is introduced.

Perceived discrimination

When referring to discrimination as a cause or trigger to radicalisation or identity crisis, some scholars distinguish ‘real discrimination’ and ‘perceived discrimination’ (Al Raffie, 2013; Victoroff, Adelman & Matthews, 2012). Actual or real discrimination refers to behaviours of one group that restricts the rights of another, whereas perceived discrimination is a cognitive or emotional phenomenon experienced by an out-group (Victoroff et al., 2012). The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) defines ‘perceived discrimination’ as ‘what people themselves perceive and describe as discrimination, regardless of the consequences (they need not suffer disadvantages as a result). Events that are not regarded as discrimination according to the law or social scientific definitions can still be perceived as such by the people concerned’ (SCP, 2014, p.9). As this dissertation is concerned with the link between real and perceived discrimination and radicalisation, the concept of radicalisation also needs to be introduced.

Radicalisation

Radicalisation is another concept frequently used in this report. According to M. Sedgwick, because of the variety of existing definitions, no consensus concerning the meaning of ‘radicalisation’ exists (2010, p.479). The literature offers many definitions to the concept, for instance AIVD describes it as

‘an increasing willingness to pursue and/or support changes in society, possibly by undemocratic means which are in conflict with or could pose a threat to the democratic legal order. Paves the way to extremism’ (2015, p.3). The concept is described by Waldmann as ‘the adoption of a fundamentalist, orthodox religious attitude’ (2010, p.16). Another definition proposed by F. Moghadamm introduces it as a ‘politically motivated violence, perpetrated by individuals, groups, or state-sponsored agents, intended to install feelings of terror and helplessness in a population in order to influence decision making and to change behavior’ (Moghadamm, 2005, p.161). However, it is worth noting that the literature often argues that radicalisation is not *per se* violent (Scmid, 2013, p.8) and should not be equated with violence (Waldmann, 2010, p.8). According to Waldmann, ‘it is first of all a psychological syndrome and construct, an attitude’ (2010, p.8). In some cases the expression of radical ideas asserts in violence but frequently it manifests in an individual's support for an armed fight, such as providing finance or delivering weapons to fighters (2010, p.9).

Literature review

In this section, the literature underpinning the theme of Muslim discrimination and its relation to radicalisation is examined. Various sources discussing Muslim discrimination and radicalisation exist, including governmental reports and scholarly articles. Further scholarly commentary related to the topic is overviewed and presented under different themes, however there is a lack of literature that can be directly linked to the main research question of this dissertation.

Muslim minorities in the West

Muslims in the West and in Islamic countries

The literature distinctly emphasises Muslims living in Western countries while discussing the causes of radicalisation. This is because Muslims in the West become involved in the radicalisation process for different reasons compared to Muslims in Islamic countries. In the titles of works examining Muslim radicalisation of Al Raffie (2013), Beutel (2007), Haider (2015), Laskier (2008), Roy (2007), Vidino (2011), and Waldmann (2010), terms such as *diaspora*, *Europe* and *the West* are employed. In his paper, Roy points out that ‘the Western-based Islamic terrorists are not the militant vanguard of the Muslim community, they are a lost generation [...]’ (2007, p.55). A large amount of literature that clearly specifies the distinction and discusses the occurrence in the West reveals that the topic has to be analysed by looking at this specific region. However, the concept of the West is still too broad to examine the phenomenon as different trends prevail within Western countries.

Europe and the US

Different literature sources compare Muslim minorities and their radicalisation in the US and Europe (Beutel, 2007; Roy, 2007). The situation in Europe is described as worse than in the US for several reasons. Firstly, the percentage of Muslims that have immigrated to Europe is higher in relative terms compared to the US. Secondly, Europe's geographical location makes it easier for its Muslims to stay in contact with Muslims in conflict areas and that brings the connectivity factor as a threat. Thirdly, the Muslim population in Europe consists mainly of ‘the under-class and jobless youth’ (Roy, 2007). Finally, the level of Muslim integration into Europe and the US differs; according to Beutel, ‘European models of integration have largely failed’, while the integration of American Muslims was successful. Responsibility for the 9/11 attacks lies with foreign nationals and was an ‘imported threat’, while the London 7/7 attacks were a ‘homegrown threat’. As expressed in the literature, the US has to learn from Europe's mistakes in order to prevent the problem of ‘homegrown terrorism’ faced by European

nations (Beutel, 2007). Since the literature suggests that the situation in Europe is more threatening than in the US, this report looks specifically at causes of Muslim radicalisation in Western Europe.

Causes of radicalisation

Main causes

Distinct factors contributing to radicalisation are highlighted in the literature and, as Haider notes, ‘radicalisation cannot be attributed to any one factor but is rather the outcome of a multiplicity of factors’ (2015, p.2). The concept is seen as a ‘complex mix of internal and external pull and push factors, triggers and drivers’ (Schmid, 2013, p.5). Schmid classifies causes for radicalisation into three different levels: micro-level, meso-level and macro-level. The micro-level includes various reasons on the individual level, such as identity, discrimination and integration problems; the meso-level focuses on the wider radical social environment; and the macro-level includes the political situation in the host and home countries as well as the general social environment (Schmid, 2013, p.4). Other factors discussed in the literature include prison experience (Laskier, 2008, p.101; Roy, 2007, p.55), globalisation (Laskier, 2008, p.99), residential segregation (Al Raffie, 2013, p.82), the problem of unqualified local imams (Laskier, 2008, p.100), the Internet (Beutel, 2007), and the influence of Islamic movements such as al-Qaeda (Al Raffie, 2013, p.67) or al-Muhajiroun (Wiktorowicz, p.17, n.d.). These causes are attributed to a specific group within the Muslim population that is particularly prone to radicalisation.

Second and third generation Muslims

According to Laskier, Islamic radicals in Europe can be divided into three categories: foreign residents (including refugees), second generation immigrants (most often native-born), and converts (Laskier, 2008 p.103). The literature mainly highlights second and third generation Muslims when referring to radicalisation in Europe (Al Raffie, 2013; Haider, 2015, p.3; Schmid, 2014, p.1; Waldmann, 2010, p.5). Waldmann argues that ‘second- and third-generation immigrants are particularly receptive to radical impulses’; these Muslims are commonly linked to the ‘homegrown terrorism’ phenomenon (Waldman, 2010, p.10), which is generally the result of poor Muslim integration within EU countries (Beutel, 2007). While the first generation immigrants adapt to the culture of the host society, their descendants are ‘confronted with two worlds’ (Waldamann, 2010, p.5) and are often described as experiencing the so-called ‘identity crisis’ (Haider, 2015, p.3). As the literature highlights second and third generations in the process of radicalisation this report concentrates on the issues that these generations face and that might further lead them to extremism, for example the identity crisis.

Identity crisis

The literature widely discusses the identity problems faced by second generation Muslims face as a trigger for radicalisation (Beutel, 2007; Haider, 2015; Schmid 2013; Waldmann, 2010, p.11). Haider defines an identity crisis as ‘an alienation and lack of belonging to either home or host society’ (2015, p.2); a double relationship with the home and host country is a cause for multiple frictions and tensions, creates frustration, and prevents an individual from forming an unambiguous identity (Waldmann, 2010, p.5). Al Raffie found that there are a couple of reasons for the identity crisis: the first is personal crises such as ‘Muslims feeling unaccepted in society due to their religious affiliation’, and the second cause is a religious identity dynamics, ‘a tension between traditional Islam as practiced by the first generation (the parents) and individually formed religious identities of later generations’ (Al Raffie, 2013, p.82). Discrimination has also been identified as a trigger for identity crisis when combined with other factors (2013, p.85).

Schmid (2013) classifies identity problems related to the psychology of an individual under the micro-level of causes for radicalisation. ‘Most of those who eventually become members experienced the severe identity crisis prior to their initial stages of participation’ (Wiktorowicz, n.d., p.14). Some scholars recognise a search for identity as a key influence in the process of radicalisation (Al Raffie, 2013; Vidino, 2011). As identity crisis is mentioned among the triggers for second and third generation Muslims residing in Western Europe to become radicalised, the role of discrimination, which is seen as one of the main reasons behind the phenomenon, is further examined.

Discrimination as a cause

Discrimination is often mentioned in the literature examining the process of radicalisation. Four different theories discussing the process of radicalisation include discrimination among the factors for radicalisation: Victoroff and Adelman's *Muslim Diaspora Community Support for Terrorism is Associated with Perceived Discrimination and Employment Insecurity*; F. Moghaddam's *Staircase to Terrorism*, Marc Sageman's *Four-Stage Process* and the New York Police Department's *Four-Stage Radicalisation Process*.

The concept is broadly used in the relevant research, for example Waldmann states that prejudice and discriminatory practices are contributing factors in radicalisation (Waldmann, 2010, p.11). In his work, Wiktorowicz cites Omar Bakri Mohammed, the founder and worldwide leader of al-Muhajiroun, noting that discrimination and racism in the West eases the process of recruitment into terrorist networks (Wiktorowicz, n.d., p.16). Discrimination is also mentioned among the examples in the micro-level of Schmid's defined causes for radicalisation (Schmid, 2013, p.4). Haider relies on 2006

Pew Surveys of Muslim residents in Europe and the US demonstrating that ‘younger age and perceived discrimination toward Muslims living in the West are significantly associated with the view that suicide bombing is justified’ (Haider, 2015, p.5). Discrimination -real or perceived- is also indicated as a trigger for the self-identity crisis, which Al Raffie identifies as ‘a source of frustration’ (Al Raffie, 2013, p.85).

On the other hand, some scholars such as M. M. Laskier disagree with the idea that discrimination alone is a cause for radicalisation, arguing that although other minorities face similar issues, they do not become radicalised (Laskier, 2008, p.130). However, Fox and Akbaba's work sharply contrasts with Laskier's argument by suggesting that ‘Muslims suffer from higher levels of discrimination in comparison with other religious minorities, especially since 2001’ (Fox et al., 2015).

The literature frequently refers to a practice of discrimination in the process of radicalisation, but despite this there is a lack of sources assessing discrimination as a separate trigger in the process. The question ‘how does discrimination contribute to radicalisation in the West?’ still needs to be answered. This research attempts to fill the gap in the existing literature and answers this question by examining various literature and media sources.

Methodology

The purpose of the study is to examine the relation between discrimination and radicalisation and provide recommendations to address the issue of increased radicalisation in Western Europe. In order to address a phenomenon that is broadly occurring throughout Western Europe, the focus of the research is limited to France, the UK and the Netherlands. These countries were chosen as the case countries of the report for several reasons: firstly, Muslim minorities in these countries are larger compared to other Western European countries, and secondly, all three of these countries have suffered from attacks committed by radicalised citizens in the past, for instance the Charlie Hebdo and November 13th Paris attacks, the 7/7 attacks in London and Theo van Gogh's assassination in the Netherlands. The main research question that this research investigates is: *How does discrimination against Muslim minorities contribute to radicalisation in France, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands and what anti-discrimination governmental policy changes are needed in these countries?*

In order to answer the main research question four sub-questions are raised:

1. Is there discrimination against Muslim minorities in France, the UK and the Netherlands?
2. What are the current trends of radicalisation in France, the UK and the Netherlands and what threats do they present?
3. Is there a relationship between discrimination and radicalisation in these countries?
4. What are the anti-discrimination governmental policies in the case countries and how could they be improved?

In order to address the research sub-questions, secondary data was collected and analysed by using a desk research method. The method helped to gather information on current situations and trends and to form a better understanding of the issue of discrimination and radicalisation in Western Europe. Various secondary data sources were examined, for example media articles, official governmental statistics collected and scholarly commentary obtained from academic journals. The strengths of secondary data analysis include factors such as time and cost saving, monitoring trend changes over time and simplicity, allowing the un-experienced researcher to engage in the research process. The weaknesses of this method include considerations that secondary data analysis does not reflect reality and might be biased by those who originally collected the data.

To answer the first sub-question, the data gathered during the literature review process is used. Several surveys and pieces of research conducted by various scholars, think-tanks and institutions, such as

European Commission's Eurobarometer research on Discrimination in the EU, are presented. In order to identify levels of racial and religious discrimination and to what extent discrimination in the countries of interest exists, this report examines applications for open job positions by people with different religious backgrounds. This is because, normally, it is hard to determine the level of discrimination in a country. In addition, a closer investigation of specific cases of Muslim discrimination is conducted. This suggests that discrimination against Muslim minorities does exist, and is thus relevant, to confirm or deny the raised theory that discrimination is a trigger for radicalisation in Western Europe.

The second sub-question is focused on current trends of radicalisation and the dangers that extremism poses in Western Europe. This question is significant for this report in order to assess whether radicalisation has increased. The presented figures for individuals that have left to fight in the Middle East conflict and the information on the threats they pose are found in press articles and intelligence service reports. AIVD reports are highly valuable sources of information on the situation in the Netherlands.

The third sub-question analyses the relationship between discrimination and radicalisation in Western countries. In this section various theories are reviewed, finding that most of them do mention discrimination – real or perceived - as part of the cause. This can be seen as one of the most relevant discussions concerning the research question of whether or not discrimination contributes to radicalisation.

After analysing the first three sub-questions, anti-discrimination policies and initiatives of the EU, the Council of Europe and the Member States of interest are introduced. Due to the myriad of practices and initiatives currently being enacted in the case countries, this report deliberately focuses on two EU Directives concerning the prohibition of discrimination, and more specifically how they are implemented in the case countries. The discussion related to this query is also relevant in answering the second part of the main research question: *what anti-discrimination governmental policy changes are needed in these countries?* The answer to this question is considered in the Discussion section. In addition, recommendations of this research are also based on the last sub-question.

The author of this report acknowledges that there are many other significant factors in the process of radicalisation, however discrimination is the focus here as the practice is frequently referenced in the literature. Because of the sensibility and secretive nature of the topic not all of the relevant information

is publicly accessible, thus limiting the precision of this research. On the other hand, the amount of the scholarly and media commentary related to the topic is overwhelming but the possibility that some useful sources were overlooked cannot be denied.

This research does not intend to harm anyone in any way. As this research does not involve primary data collection, the ethical considerations of the report are limited to the acknowledgement of works of other authors by using the American Psychological Association's (APA) referencing system. Moreover, during the whole process of the research the author attempted to remain objective in data analyses and interpretations as much as possible.

The reader should be aware that the primary research of this report was conducted before the Paris November 13th attacks, which could have had an effect on some of the findings this paper. As a result analysis of this recent development has been deliberately left out of the report.

Results

1. Discrimination against Muslim minorities in Western Europe

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the whole world changed, including the quality of life for Muslims living in Western countries. Since then, prejudice and discrimination against Muslim minorities has significantly increased (EUMC, 2002, p.5). According to a 2012 European Commission (EC) report:

Close to four out of ten Europeans believe discrimination on the grounds of religion or beliefs is widespread (39%) while more than half continue to see it as rare or non-existent (56%; -1 percentage point since 2009). Feelings towards members of religious minorities vary quite widely from one country to the other. The profile of perceptions of religious discrimination suggests that the issue remains largely latent but potentially problematic. (European Commission, 2012, p.119)

Since the beginning of Muslim immigration into Western European countries, governments have employed different integration strategies to help these immigrants feel at home in the host country. Beutel (2007) revealed that the UK and the Netherlands implemented a multicultural policy while France adopted an assimilation strategy. However, it is suggested that neither of these integration policies worked, and as Beutel (2007) asserted ‘a disproportionately large number of Muslims are economically disadvantaged as unemployed or poor, high numbers are imprisoned and many feel a sense of alienation and discrimination from their host country’. According to the EC’s report, the level of religious discrimination in France, the UK and the Netherlands was relatively high compared to other EU member states in 2012; after collecting responses from more than 26,000 correspondents, the EC concluded that the discrimination level was 66% in France, 51% in the Netherlands and 50% in the UK (European Commission, 2012, p.49) (see Appendix 2).

1.1. Discrimination against Muslim minorities in France

As an officially secular state, France forbids distinguishing citizens or residents according to their faith. As a consequence, governmental statistical data on the number of Muslims residing in the country is not available (Euro-Islam, n.d.). On the other hand, some academic evidence states that France is home to one of the largest Muslim populations in Europe (Giry, 2006). The French newspaper *France24* claimed there was an estimated four to five million Muslims in France in 2015,

though President of the French Muslim Council Dalil Boubakeur put the number at seven million (*France24*, 2015). The information provided by Euro-Islam suggests that Muslims in France are mostly of Turkish, North African and Middle Eastern origin, however at least two million Muslims have French citizenship (Euro-Islam, 2015).

According to Viorst (1996), the largest wave of Muslims immigrated to France in the 1960s. Some of the immigrants came from Algeria after the country's war of independence. Others immigrated after France opened its doors to manpower, which was necessary due to the intensely growing economy. Despite the 'zero immigration' laws enacted in the 1970s the Muslim community in France grew rapidly, making Islam the second most common religion in the country (Viorst, 1996, p.78). Viorst (1996) further argued that despite France's positive intentions to promote Muslim integration, 'French Muslims find few precedents for cultural adaptation' (p.79). This means that the integration of Muslim minorities has not been entirely successful.

Issues related to the integration of Muslim minorities in France have been relevant for several decades. Stephanie Giry (2006) argued that 'it was in 1989, during the first controversy over whether to allow Muslim girls to wear the hijab, a Muslim headscarf, in school, that the integration of immigrants became a religious matter' (p.5). The fact that today large Muslim communities in France are concentrated in the desolated suburbs, the so-called *banlieues*, is a fitting example of the failure to integrate (Walt & Bajekal, 2015). Another example can be seen when comparing the incomes of Muslim and Christian families; Muslim households in France tend to have lower incomes than Christian ones, which according to Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2010) is a significant factor when looking at the level of minority integration. The researchers found that the monthly incomes of families following the Muslim religious tradition were 400 Euros lower than those of Christian families in 2007.

The French Institute of Public Opinion (IFOP) conducted a survey in 2012 and found that 67% of the French population believes that people of Muslim descent are poorly integrated into French society (LSE, 2013). *Laïcité* (the French state's aggressive official secularism) and feminism, which are part of the republican values, are reasons behind this belief. Muslims face separation from the rest of society as they are less secularised than the norm and usually tend to have more conservative views and behaviours towards women (Adida et al., 2015; Giry, 2006). According to *The Washington Post*, the failure of Muslims to integrate into French society is the main reason for their discrimination (Adida et al., 2015). As argued by Amiriaux and Mohammed (2013), discrimination against Muslims can be seen

in multiple forms, such as the desecration of religious sites, restrictions against wearing burqas in certain places, and physical and verbal aggression. Deliberate provocations from the French media are also contributing to discrimination in the country (Amiriaux & Mohammed, 2013). One example of this discrimination is the disparaging cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad published in French magazines. This kind of attitude in the media increases tensions, and as the Charlie Hebdo attacks illustrate can bring terrible consequences.

Discrimination against Muslim minorities is also apparent when it comes to finding employment. Giry (2006) described an experiment where two job applicants with equal work experience applied for a job, and the one with a Moroccan name was six times less likely to be invited for an interview than the one with a French name. In her study, Giry (2006) explained the national origin of the applicant was the main reason for discrimination. French historian and political scientist Patrick Weil asserted that a lot of young Muslims are encountering different problems related to their origin. He commented that ‘they [*French Muslims-ed.*] have to overcome a difficult economic and social background, and they also face serious discrimination. It makes it much harder to succeed’ (Thomson & Stothard, 2015).

Just before the Charlie Hebdo attacks, *Russia Today News (RT News)* announced that the Council of Europe had warned that France was becoming more intolerant towards minority groups, including Gypsies, Muslims and Jews (RT News, 2015). However, even though there were obvious signs of Islamophobia in the country, for a long time few had denounced these signs because they believed segregated Muslims exaggerated these matters (Amiriaux & Mohammed, 2013).

The recent Charlie Hebdo attacks have brought Muslim issues back to the centre of public attention. A day after the attacks, Michael White claimed that French society is scared and that these occurrences will bring more tensions between Muslims and other French residents (White, 2015). The amount of discriminative acts against Muslims intensified after the attacks. *The Washington Post* announced that ‘in January, the month of the attacks, Zakri’s group recorded 214 separate acts of anti-Muslim behaviour—more than it documented in all of 2014. The offenses included physical assaults, threats to eradicate Muslims from France and pigs’ heads dropped on mosque doorsteps’ (Witte, 2015).

Discrimination in France is practiced not only by the civilians but also by the legal authorities. In 2004, when the French Parliament passed a law prohibiting headscarves in schools and burqas in public, various controversial remarks were made by the international audience as the policy has been viewed as discriminating on the grounds of sex, religion and ethnic origin. According to Ware (2014), a law

professor at the University of Delaware, this kind of policy would violate American anti-discrimination laws and the right to the free exercise of religion. This controversial law was initiated by right-wing parties, such as the French Front National (FN) party (Lefebvre, 2004). FN has often been accused of xenophobic attitudes, one of the most notorious examples of which is current FN leader and former France presidential candidate Marine Le Pen's declaration that Muslim prayers in the streets are like 'Nazi occupation'. The statement has been condemned by several other political parties, and four different organisations have brought Le Pen to trial for inciting racial hatred (Al Jazeera, 2015).

1.2. Discrimination against Muslim minorities in the UK

In 2011, the Office for National Statistics (ONS) found that more than 2.7 million Muslims reside in the United Kingdom, of which over 1.2 million were born there. England hosts the largest share by far and the rest is scattered between Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The largest groups of British Muslims are of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian origin (ONS, 2011). According to M. Laskier, EU data shows that Maghrebi⁷ Muslims in the UK constitute a much smaller percentage of the total Muslim community compared to France or the Netherlands (Laskier, 2008).

As argued by Poynting and Mason, the majority of Muslim communities immigrated into Britain after the Second World War (2010, p.65). The BBC makes it clear that most Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi men arrived to Britain in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s and were later followed by their families. Most of them came from farming areas with the intention of finding better economic opportunities, as they could earn up to 30 times more in Britain than in their home countries. Later, immigration for single men was blocked with the acts legislated in the 1970s (BBC, 2009). The same acts separated the applicants for British citizenship based on their race, creating the paradigm of the 'other' within society (Poynting & Mason, 2010, p.65). However, this did not prevent the Muslim population from growing. Due to the high fertility rates Muslim communities have expanded to over 2 million people today, while in the first quarter of the 20th century there were only around 10,000 Muslims in Britain (BBC, 2009).

Muslim integration into British society has not been completely successful, according to the survey on Muslim opinion in Britain conducted by Channel 4 News (C4 News), which was presented in the

⁷ Maghrebi is a term used to define people originating from Northwest African countries, consisting of the territories of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Mauritania and the disputed territory of Western Sahara.

documentary movie *What British Muslims Want* first broadcast in 2006. The phenomenon of Muslim immigrants integrating less and more slowly than non-Muslim immigrants was also found in an analysis based on the UK Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities (Bisin, Patacchini, Verdier, Zenou, 2007, p.1). The findings of the C4 News survey found that many young second and third generation Muslims identify themselves less with Britain and more with their religion than their parents and elders did.

Although 82% of British Muslims feel strongly British, the majority of them feel under attack. 'I have been discriminated in this country because I wear this scarf, because I carry this authenticity. (...) and it is by police as well. Police that is controlled by the government', says a British Muslim schoolgirl (AustralianNeoCon1, 2012, part 3, 6:44-7:00 min.). C4 News also claimed that 56% of British Muslims fear that they will be the victims of extreme religious persecution. Four out of ten Muslims responded that police stop and search too many Muslims. Police actions are alienating the Muslim community even though the police need Muslims to be on their side for the purpose of gathering better intelligence (2012, part 3, 7:44- 7:49 min.). The cartoons of the prophet Muhammed have also been indicated as an offence against Islam as 78% of Muslims believe that those that published the cartoons should be punished (2012, part 3. 4:24-4:27 min.).

Since September 11, 2001, the quality of life for Muslims in Western countries, including the UK, has worsened. Following the attacks, most of the Muslims residing in the UK started facing increasing discrimination and religious harassment. The Islamic Human Rights Commission indicated that one year after the 9/11 attacks, verbal and written abuse, discrimination, psychological harassment and pressure, and crimes of violence against Muslims drastically increased (IHRC, 2002). All of these factors can be considered signs of persistent Islamophobia in the UK.

The way in which Muslims are represented in British media is arguably worth a long discussion. According to the article by Catherine Happer and Greg Philo, the media's influence on society is undeniable as it shapes people's opinions and makes them create associations (Happer & Philo, 2013). *The Representation of British Muslims in the National Print News Media 2000-2008* report uncovers that during 2000-2008 there was an increase in the coverage of British Muslims in the media. As stated in the report, 'the bulk of coverage of British Muslims focuses on Muslims as a threat (in relation to terrorism), a problem (in terms of differences in values) or both (Muslim extremism in general)' (Moore, Mason & Lewis, 2008, p.21). This implies that there is a tendency within the British media to adopt a negative approach to Muslims. The research also specified that the most common nouns used

in the media in relation to British Muslims were *terrorist*, *extremist*, *Islamist*, *suicide bomber* and *militant*, with very few positive nouns (such as ‘scholar’) used. The most common adjectives employed were *radical*, *fanatical*, *fundamentalist*, *extremist* and *militant* (2008, p.21).

New research conducted on the issue revealed that discrimination continues and is very frequent when Muslims are looking for work. The situation is similar to the one in France, and, as the Independent has publicised, out of 14 ethno-religious groupings Muslims are the ones most at disadvantage. 76% of Muslim men and 65% of women are less likely to have a job of any kind compared to white British Christians of the same age and with the same qualifications (Dobson, 2014). In addition, another survey conducted in 2009-10 displayed that ‘Muslims in England were more than twice as likely as the average to consider that racial or religious harassment was a very or fairly big problem in their local area’ (Weller, 2011, p.43).

The 7/7 attacks were another occurrence after which religious hate crimes intensified. The fact that all four of the suicide bombers were British Muslims split society. BBC News, reported that ‘there were 269 religious hate crimes in the three weeks after 7 July, compared with 40 in the same period of 2004. Most were verbal abuse and minor assaults, but damage to mosques and property with a great ‘emotional impact’ also occurred, police said’ (BBC News, 2005). This discrimination has not vanished over time: ‘Lady Warsi, the first Muslim woman to attend the Cabinet, sparked controversy when she declared that prejudice against Muslims had ‘passed the dinner table test’ and was now seen as socially acceptable’ (Kirkup, 2011). In 2015, a decade after the attacks, prejudice against Muslim minorities continues. In an article published by The Guardian, M. Hasan commented: ‘I asked friends and relatives – all of them patriotic, well integrated, middle class – to sum up how they felt about being British and Muslim these days. Their responses? Helpless. Despondent. Tired. Worried. Exasperated. Anxious’. M. Hasan also states that he is ‘sick and tired of this relentless hostility towards Muslims; the negative headlines; the climate of fear and suspicion; the constant collective blaming’ (2015).

British politicians are also being blamed for spreading Islamophobia in the country. In a speech on tackling extremism given on the 20 June 2015, the Prime Minister of the UK, David Cameron, attracted much attention from the media and British Muslims. Lady Warsi criticised his speech, as published in The Guardian, by stating that ‘David Cameron is at risk of demoralising British Muslims with his ‘misguided emphasis’ (as cited by Mason, 2015) on saying that some people in the community are quietly condoning Islamist extremism’ (Mason, 2015). The Britain First party, with its leader Paul Golding, is another political body in the UK widely known for its anti-Muslim approach. The party calls itself ‘a patriotic political party and street defence organisation that opposes and fights the many

injustices that are routinely inflicted on the British people' (Britain First, n.d.). Paul Golding has been arrested for intimidation of Muslim minorities and racist behaviour for a number of times (James, 2014). Britain First's discriminative behaviour towards Muslim minorities includes 'invasions' into Mosques, direct bullying and intimidation of Muslims, and spreading anti-Muslim rhetoric (HOPE not Hate, n.d.).

1.3. Discrimination against Muslim minorities in the Netherlands

According to the Statistics Netherlands, there are approximately 825,000 Muslims living in the Netherlands, constituting 5% of the total population (CBS, 2009). The majority of these Muslims are of Turkish and Moroccan descent. There are also those who hail from Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Indonesia and Suriname (Euro-Islam, n.d.). As presented in the report *Muslim in Nederland*, 'virtually all Dutch citizens of Turkish and Moroccan origin regard themselves as Muslim: 94% of those of Turkish origin and 97% of the Moroccan-origin group held this view in 2011' (SCP, 2012, p.182).

As Focus Migration has demonstrated, the first waves of immigrants from Turkey and Morocco reached the Netherlands in the 1960s when, like many other Western European countries, the Netherlands started to recruit guest workers. At first, it was believed both by the national authorities and immigrants themselves that they would return home; however, due to the economic and political situation in their countries of origin, Turkish and Moroccan people remained in the Netherlands. They were later joined by their families and their communities have expanded (Focus Migration, 2007, p.2). Similar trends are evident in other case countries of the report, France and the UK.

According to the Focus Migration report, the assumption that immigrants will finally return home meant that government authorities in the Netherlands remained inactive in terms of creating integrational programmes for immigrants. Instead, conditions for better integration of the newcomers were created, such as giving them rights to use the welfare-state; furthermore, 'special cultural and social facilities were set up for them, and their children had special classes in order to preserve their mother tongue' (Focus Migration, 2007, p.5). Only in the 1970s were the first integration policies developed. Before that 'all measures were aimed at making the transition back home as smooth as possible' (2007, p.5). The failure of first-generation immigrants to integrate is considered to be the fundamental reason for the problems that Dutch Society faces today. Rachid Jamari of the Amsterdam Centre for Foreigners told The Guardian that 'in many Moroccan-Dutch households they speak Berber or Arabic, so when the kids get to school they are already at a disadvantage' (Burke, 2004).

The issue of Islamophobia is recognisable within modern Dutch society just as in France and the UK. According to Keulen's article published in the *Middle East Eye*, violence against Muslims is one of the discriminatory and racist behaviours about which the media is silent: '[...] especially women are victimised: scolded, spat at, hijabs pulled off, beaten' (2015). The situation in Dutch schools is no better as 'recent research undertaken among 500 Dutch secondary education teachers shows that 61% of them witnessed verbal or physical aggression against Muslim students' (2015). Islamophobia can also be identified by looking at cases of vandalism that have targeted Mosques. This has been supported by Keulen, who highlighted that 'in the last 10 years, at least 39% of all 475 Dutch mosques (and probably more) faced vandalism, desecration, the painting of swastikas, decapitated pig heads, arson and threatening letters' (2015).

The situation of Muslim minorities in the Netherlands deteriorated after Theo van Gogh's assassination in November 2004. Theo van Gogh, a controversial Dutch public figure, intellectual, writer and movie maker, was shot by Mohammed Bouyeri, a man of Moroccan descent. This happened a few months after his 10 minute movie *Submission* had been shown to public. The movie portrays an oppressed Muslim woman praying for Allah. Her head and face is covered with a veil, but her naked body covered with Koran quotes written in Arabic characters can be seen through the black light shroud. The incident firmly shocked the whole country and discrimination against Muslim people intensified as a result. Mr. Benali, a Muslim novelist living in the Netherlands, conducted an interview with the *New York Times* in which he said: 'if I say something that may sound apologetic for Muslims or Islamic practice, they hang me. [...] When I give readings, people ask me when I'm going back to my country' (Donadio, 2014).

The research of the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) argues that it is perceived discrimination that Muslim people experience in the Netherlands the most. 'Many Muslims feel they suffer discrimination: two out of three say they have felt this at least once in the past year. If those who are uncertain whether the incident was discrimination are added to this, the figure rises to three-quarters of Muslims' (SCP, 2014, p.23). Prejudice and discrimination against Muslims come from different sources.

Politics is one of the most significant sources as politicians represent the society and its beliefs. In the past, several Dutch anti-immigration politicians and political parties have exhibited discriminatory behaviour towards Muslims, including Frits Bolkestein and Pim Fortuyn. Currently, the Party for Freedom led by Geert Wilders is considered to be one of the most anti-Islam parties present in the

Dutch Parliament. As published in the Middle East Eye, G. Wilders ‘maintains that Islam is not a religion but a ‘totalitarian ideology’; he wants to close Muslim schools, forbid the building of mosques and stop immigration from the majority of Muslim countries’ (Keulen, 2015). His speech ‘Minder! Minder! Minder!’ (*Nl. Fewer! Fewer! Fewer!*) attained significant controversy and was condemned by the Dutch and international media. ‘In this city and in the Netherlands, do you want more or fewer Moroccans?’ he asked the crowd. ‘Fewer! Fewer! Fewer!’ the crowd roared back. ‘Then we’ll arrange that’, he finished’ (The Economist, 2014). Even though Wilders had been sued for this declamation, it did not stop him from further spreading his discriminatory and racist rhetoric. In June 2015, a video of Wilders showing cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad (see Appendix 3), which he had obtained in the exhibition in Texas, was published. In the video, Wilders explains that he was not allowed to show the pictures in the Dutch Parliament and that is the reason why he finds it important to demonstrate them in the video for the wider audience. ‘That is the only way to assure that the terrorists do not defeat freedom of speech’, Wilders argues (PVVper, 2015, 0:45-0:55).

2. Current trends of radicalisation in Western Europe

Radicalisation in Western Europe has recently increased, posing significant security challenges (European Commission, 2015). There are two aspects indicating increased radicalisation. The first reason is the rapidly growing number of European citizens, mostly European Muslims, leaving their home countries to fight alongside ISIS in Syria and Iraq. The second reason is the expanding European jihadist networks that are constantly looking for new recruits, for instance, in gyms, Mosques, or different Islamic associations located in Universities (Stewart & Brown, 2013).

‘Late in 2012, almost overnight, Syria became the most popular destination ever for jihadists from the Netherlands and the rest of Europe’ (AIVD, 2014, p.46). According to Silke, the vast majority of radicalised individuals are young males in their late teens or early twenties (TERRA, 2013, p.21). The Syrian Civil War triggered these journeys that involved not only young men, but also women who travelled to marry jihadist individuals. After the establishment of the Islamic ‘caliphate’, there were more people that moved to the ISIS controlled territory with their entire families in order to live there and raise their children under Sharia law⁸. As stated by Stratfor Global Intelligence, ‘not all are jihadists; many who have traveled to Libya and Syria are nationalists or non-jihadist Islamists. Nevertheless, there are many jihadists among them, along with other Muslims who become heavily influenced by the jihadists after fighting with them’ (Stewart & Brown, 2013).

Governments and the security services of Western European countries with large Muslim minorities have observed these trends with huge concern as expanded radicalisation is followed by an increased threat of terrorism. There were several attacks in Western Europe in 2015 alone, with France being struck the most. The Charlie Hebdo, Thalys train⁹ and Paris November 13th attacks demonstrate that threats posed by radicalised individuals are concrete reality. The Brussels Jewish Museum⁶ attack in 2014 is another recent example of extreme violence against innocent civilians in Western Europe.

Although the awareness for terrorism rose increasingly and security measures were strengthened throughout the world after 9/11 attacks, terrorist attacks are still happening. However, this does not mean that police or intelligence services are not performing their duties well. On the contrary, as announced by CBS News, many attacks have been foiled by European Intelligence Services (Associated Press, 2015).

⁸ Sharia law is the body of Islamic law covering all the main aspects everyday life including politics, economics, and social issues.

⁹ Thalys train attack was an incident on the Thalys train travelling from Amsterdam to Paris via Brussels on the 21st of August, 2015. The perpetrator was stopped by passengers and four people were injured, none of them fatally.

However, in most cases society is left unaware of terrorist attacks that have been prevented because these cases are kept in secret for security and further investigation reasons.

2.1 Current trends of radicalisation in France

The number of French citizens or permanent residents of France involved with jihadist networks is 1,850, according to the French Interior Minister Bernard Cazeneuve (Associated Press, 2015). In addition to these numbers, French Muslims also constitute one of the highest numbers of Europeans joining ISIS forces in Syria. On April 8, 2015 Agence France-Presse announced that ‘just over 1,430 French people have made their way to Iraq and Syria, representing 47% of jihadists from Europe that are known and accounted for’ (Agence France-Presse, 2015). As Stakelbeck reveals, ‘ISIS sees France as a gold mine of potential recruits and is making a concerted effort to woo more French citizens to its ranks’ (Stakelbeck, 2015, p.171). French intelligence services are especially concerned as at least 200 ISIS fighters have already come back to France posing the threat of attacks similar to the Charlie Hebdo and Paris November 13th incidents, whose perpetrators have been involved in training with terrorist linked organisations. An intriguing fact is that, according to Stakelbeck, as many as 60% of those that travelled to fight in Syria are converts to Islam. It is argued that European converts are attracted to fight for ISIS because of its revolutionary pattern rather than its religious ideology (p.170).

2.2. Current trends of radicalisation in the UK

Anjem Choudary is one of the most well-known Muslims in the UK, widely spreading radicalised ideas in Britain and outside it. According to HOPE not Hate, around 70 individuals that have been involved in terrorist related activities have been in contact with his radical Islamist group al-Muhajiroun. It has been revealed that ‘Anjem Choudary’s group now leads a network of hardline Islamist organisations across Europe. Together, they represent the largest extreme Islamist network in Europe linked to domestic or overseas terrorism’ (HOPE not Hate, n.d.). As the documentary *What British Muslims Wants* has outlined, one in four of the respondents to a survey said that London's 7/7 bombings were justified in light of British support for the war on terror. Young Muslims under the age of 24 were twice as likely to show this sympathy, while eight out of every thousand consistently chose the most radical answer to every question (AustralianNeoCon1, 2012, part 1, 12:11-12:36). As of August 2015, it is known that around 700 British citizens have left Britain to fight in Syria and Iraq since 2012 (Parry, 2015). Many of these are supporters of Anjem Choudary’s or another closely related network. However, it is hard to identify the precise number as they vary depending on the source. As has been published in the Newsweek, ‘Khalid Mahmood, the MP for Perry Barr in Birmingham, estimates that at least 1,500 young British Muslims have been recruited by extremists fighting in Iraq and Syria in the

last three years’ (Grant & Sharkow, 2014). According to Newsweek, more than 60 of those who travelled to fight alongside ISIS have been killed and around 350 have already returned to Britain (2014).

2.3. Current trends of radicalisation in the Netherlands

Even though there were some concerns about Dutch home grown jihadist networks in 2006 (AIVD, 2007, p.19), the findings of AIVD in 2010 declared that jihadism in the Netherlands had been in regression over the previous ten years. The situation changed dramatically in 2013 when jihadism in the country rapidly intensified with an estimated 120 Dutch nationals travelling to fight alongside terror groups in Syria and Iraq since the beginning of the conflict in the region (AIVD, 2014, p.6). This number has continued growing and even these figures are hard to confirm, the latest AIVD report revealed that at least 180 Dutch nationals had travelled to the territory of the Islamic ‘caliphate’ and 20 had died there (AIVD, 2015, p.16). According to AIVD, there have been 35 individuals that came back to the Netherlands from ISIS held territory and they are considered to be posing a threat to society (p.16). The threat they pose is not always directly related to terrorist incidents; it also involves participation in the spread of radical ideas to others. The AIVD report suggests that there are a few thousand sympathisers for the Jihad in the country, which is also seen as a potential threat to national security (AIVD, 2014, p.26).

Table 1.1 Numbers of French, British and Dutch citizens travelling to ISIS controlled territories

	France (2015 data)	The UK (2015 August data)	Netherlands (2014 data)
Persons who left to ISIS controlled territories	1430	700	180
Persons who returned	200	350	35

2.4. Threats of increased radicalisation

Radicalised individuals pose a large threat for Western European democracies and this threat can manifest itself in many ways.

Firstly, there is always a danger of violent acts. While the number of people travelling to fight in Syria and Iraq is exiguous compared to the population of Western Europe, it is an evident truth that one extremist can perpetrate an overwhelming attack with numerous victims. However, not only do those who are trained in Syria, Iraq or Afghanistan pose danger as there is also a threat of so called ‘lone wolf’¹⁰ attacks, which are highly encouraged by ISIS as a new strategy. Lone wolf attacks reveal that radicalisation poses a high threat of terrorist incidents and the creation of new extremist gangs within Western European countries. According to Fraser, ‘in a new tactic, online recruiters are encouraging those at home to form jihadist gangs and start the long-term process of creating a British Islamic State’ (Fraser, 2015).

In addition to that, the threat and fear of a terrorist attack can split society and increase confrontations between different societal groups. The ‘not all Muslims are terrorists but every terrorist is a Muslim’ belief is planting seeds into people’s minds, thus meaning that a large part of society has become afraid of Islam and its confessors. Moreover, as noted by AIVD, in a country such as the Netherlands whose constitution ‘seeks to improve the international legal order’, every radicalised individual poses a threat to the state based on democratic principles and laws. Furthermore, terrorism involves other criminal activities such as ‘trade in false personal documents, false asylum applications, social security fraud, forbidden possession of weapons and fundraising, all on behalf of and for the benefit of the Islamic battle’ (AIVD, 2002, p.6).

Finally, radicalised individuals led by the idea of changing the current system using extreme means very often tend to look for other aspirants. This can be done simply by meeting in person, for example when returnees share their experiences about life in the Islamic ‘caliphate’ and try to convince others to travel there. Other radicalised individuals work online and look for new recruits on social media websites. In this instance, a person may potentially get involved in the radicalisation process without ever having left his home, which could lead to him joining a jihadist network or initiating a lone wolf attack.

Although not all of the returnees from Syria and Iraq pose a threat, police believe that some individuals could potentially plan new terror attacks (Davenport, 2015). An investigation by Sky News journalists confirmed these suspicions when a fictional character created by the same journalists that had been in contact with jihadists in Syria via the Internet for four months received terror guidebooks together with

¹⁰ A ‘Lone wolf’ attack is an act of violence which has been arranged and perpetrated by one individual alone, without any financial or material assistance from any group.

information about seven potential bombers: ‘British security services cannot afford to ignore the possibility that seven bombers could be operating in the UK’ (Ramsay, 2015).

3. The relationship between discrimination and radicalisation in Western countries

‘We all know there is no one profile of a violent extremist or terrorist’, said President Obama at the Summit on Countering Violent Extremism (Halper, 2015). This statement has been supported by different scholars suggesting that as there is ‘no one profile’ of a terrorist, there is also ‘no one reason’ to become radicalised. As Fenstermacher discusses:

Terrorism is the result of interactions between human beings – who live in an environment with other individuals and groups, with a government that does or does not meet their needs and expectations, who interact on a daily basis with others, who they may increasingly identify with radicals based on a variety of reasons, who may have experienced trauma and/or perceived discrimination either first hand or indirectly (e.g., Internet videos), who may meet a charismatic leader and/or hear a resonant message that meshes with their psychological vulnerabilities. (Fenstermacher, 2010, p.6)

Since there are various reasons and pathways to extremism, various scholars have discussed and explained the process of radicalisation in a different manner and no general theory has been developed. Despite that, most of these theories share similar patterns. This is clarified by the Terrorism and Radicalisation Prevention and Learning Programme (TERRA):

Ostensibly, all [*theories which TERRA’s research has been focused on - ed.*] document the process through which an ordinary member of the public forms a certain set of beliefs, seeks a group which seems to appropriately reflect them, and ultimately, carries out an act of violence against civilians in the belief that this act will somehow further the aims of this group. (TERRA, 2013, p.11)

Many of the theories indicate discrimination as an imposing factor in the process of radicalisation. The relation between discrimination and radicalisation is that the former fuels the later. In fact, as Dounia Bouzar, a French anthropologist in charge of a mission to de-radicalise candidates for Jihad, asserted: ‘discrimination has been climbing and radicalisation has been climbing. [...] It’s a vicious circle’ (Thomson & Stothard, 2015). On the other hand, discrimination is not always direct and in many cases it can be *perceived discrimination*, which is defined as ‘what people *themselves* perceive and describe as discrimination, regardless of the consequences’ (The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, 2014, p.9). Below, four main theories indicating discrimination or perceived discrimination as a trigger for radicalisation are presented.

a) Victoroff and Adelman's *Muslim Diaspora Community Support for Terrorism is Associated with Perceived Discrimination and Employment Insecurity*

The research conducted by Victoroff and Adelman (2010) has actually proved that the support for terrorism from the Muslim communities is influenced by two factors: the amount of perceived discrimination they experience and unemployment. The study is based on the results of two different surveys that have confirmed two primary hypotheses:

1. The opinion that violence against civilian targets is justifiable to defend Islam would be associated with perceived discrimination.
2. The opinion that violence against civilian targets is justifiable to defend Islam would be associated with unemployment (Victoroff & Adelman, 2010).

b) F. Moghaddam's *Staircase to Terrorism*

F. Moghaddam's *Staircase to Terrorism* (see Appendix 4) emphasises the factors of discrimination and deprivation as key elements in the beginning of the radicalisation process. According to the scholar, there are six different stages in the process of radicalisation beginning on the ground floor and ending with a terrorist act on the fifth stair. Moghaddam argues that 'terrorism arises, essentially, when one ethnic, religious, political or even professional group feels that they suffer from deprivation when compared to other groups' (TERRA, 2013, p.11). He also affirms that 'although the vast majority of people, even when feeling deprived and unfairly treated, remain on the ground floor, some individuals climb up and are eventually recruited into terrorist organizations' (Moghaddam, 2005, p.161).

c) Marc Sageman's *Four-Stage Process*

The other theory proposed by Marc Sageman claims that the process of radicalisation consists of four stages, which can be recurrent and follow different orders. The stage of 'resonance with personal experiences' is explained as 'the interpretation of a Western war against Islam that meshes with perceptions in everyday life where anti-Muslim social, political, economic and religious bias and discrimination are perceived' (Christmann, 2012, p.13).

d) The New York Police Department's *Four-Stage Radicalisation Process*

Discrimination is also mentioned in another *Four-Stage Radicalisation Process* model introduced by The New York Police Department. This theory mentions that during the stage of 'self-identification' discrimination is one of the social triggers alongside alienation and racism and can be both real or perceived (Christmann, 2012, p.12).

Identity crisis

The ‘identity crisis’ or ‘identity confusion’, especially when talking about second or third generation Muslims, is a significant reason for individuals (especially in their late teens or early twenties) to become engaged in the process of radicalisation. In reference to the Dutch Muslim youth, AIVD provides the following explanation (the same phenomenon has been noticed among the French and British Muslim youth as well):

These young people are often in search of their identity. They blame Dutch society for not having enough respect for their ethnic and religious community and not in the least for their parents and themselves. Where other foreign youths opt for a more liberal confirmation of their Islamic belief and attach a lot of value to their social development in the Dutch society and others end up in a criminal environment, these youths find something to hold on to in very radical Islamic beliefs. Former Islamistic fighters, who guide them in a recruitment process, give them a sense of self-respect, involvement, brotherhood and identity. (AIVD, 2002, p.11)

Discrimination - real or perceived – is frequently linked to the main causes of the identity crisis. Al Raffie suggests that discrimination, ‘when combined with other factors such as personal crises or religious identity dynamics’, may act as a trigger for self-identity crisis and calls it ‘a source of frustration’ (2013, p.85), while Christmann also discusses discrimination as a cause for identity confusion and affirms that it ‘can be intensified by perceptions or experiences of discrimination, a sense of blocked social mobility, and a lack of confidence in the political system’ (2012, p.24).

4. Governmental policies of France, the UK and the Netherlands in relation to discrimination

4.1. EU anti-discrimination policies

European governments have naturally been aware of the issue of discrimination for a long time. In fact, in 1950 the Council of Europe drafted the European Convention on Human Rights, where Article 14 prohibits discrimination on any grounds. In 2000, the EU implemented Racial Equality Directive 2000/43/EC and Employment Framework Directive 2000/78/EC, which are the main EU directives implementing the principles of anti-discrimination within its Member States. These directives cover discriminatory actions on various grounds and in different situations. The case countries of the report, France, the UK and the Netherlands, are part of the EU and are therefore obliged to conform to the Union's laws.

In addition to the two main directives, Article 10 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) declares: 'in defining and implementing its policies and activities, the Union shall aim to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation' (Art. 10, TFEU). Furthermore, in Article 6a the Treaty of Amsterdam clearly provides measures to combat religious discrimination (European Parliament, 1997).

Reducing the number of people in poverty and social exclusion is one of the five main 'Europe 2020' goals. As discrimination is seen as a main cause of poverty, the European Social Fund supports actions to combat discrimination in recruitment and employment (European Commission, 2010). The European Commission is tackling the issue of discrimination in other areas besides recruitment and employment in various ways: firstly, by improving knowledge of discrimination that, in turn, raises awareness among the population of their rights and obligations and also of the benefits of diversity; secondly, by encouraging intermediary actors such as NGOs, social partners and equality bodies to improve their capacity to combat discrimination; thirdly, by supporting the development of equality policies at national level and encouraging the exchange of good practices between EU countries; fourthly, by achieving real change in this aspect through anti-discrimination training activities; fifthly, by pushing for business-oriented diversity management as part of a strategic response to a more diversified society, customer base, market structure and workforce; and finally, by taking a decision to create a non-discrimination governmental experts group (European Commission, 2015).

All three of the case countries within this report are also part of the Council of Europe, which targets discrimination in its Member States. The media is one of the main domains where the Council of

Europe tries to tackle discrimination as the institution believes that ‘the media can make a positive contribution to the fight against intolerance, especially where they foster a culture of understanding between different ethnic, cultural and religious groups in society’ (Council of Europe, 2009, p.9). As such, the Media & Diversity campaign of the Council of Europe introduced in 2008 ‘wants to encourage the media and their professionals to produce and disseminate high-quality, professional information promoting intercultural dialogue and the fight against discrimination in Europe’ (2009, p.5).

4.2. Anti-discrimination policies in France

Since the beginning of immigration into France, unlike other countries, it has refused to collect data on ethnic groups. This is the reason why, for example, there are no official numbers of French Muslims residing in the country and also why there is no specific official data concerning discrimination against French Muslim minorities. France has held the approach that those immigrants that have gained French citizenship immediately become equal members within French society; as a result there is no need to collect data on their process of integration and other matters regarding ethnic and religious minorities. As presented previously, the reality is different and discrimination against minorities, including French Muslim minorities, does exist. The ‘headscarf affair’, which arose in 1989 and was the first clash of different religious groups within French society to enter the public domain, revealed that there are many cultural differences among groups in the supposedly equal French society. The French government’s approach towards the equal society has encouraged many scholars to doubt the efficacy of anti-discrimination policies despite the current French Constitution’s provision announcing that ‘the nation ensures equality before the law of all citizens, whatever their ethnic origin, race or religion’ (Article 2).

According to Hargreaves (2000) the 1972 law against racism covered only cases of direct discrimination, but it offered no protection against racists that camouflage their motives or against indirect discrimination (p.93). According to the Migration Policy Institute Europe, between 1965 and 2007 integration programmes were the responsibility of the Social Affairs Ministry (Escafre-Dublet, 2014, p.4). Since 1990, the Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de l’Homme (CNCDH) have been publishing annual reports on racism and measures designed to combat it. However, there was ‘almost complete absence of prosecutions’ during the 1990s (Hargreaves, 2000, p.87). In 1990, the government appointed a think-tank to advise on integration policy entitled the Haut Conseil à l’Intégration (HCI). Until the late 1990s, the integration policy had focused on social disadvantages and cultural differences and discriminatory issues were poorly addressed (2000, p.87). In the autumn

of 1998, Martine Aubry, Minister for Employment and Solidarity, announced that she was making the fight against racial discrimination a priority area of integration policy. She established an important anti-discrimination initiative called the Groupe d'Etudes sur les Discriminations (GED) - an observatory on discrimination (with no mandate for action, however) (2000, p.85). In January 1999, the Interior Minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement launched the Commissions d'Accès à la Citoyenneté (CODACs) to monitor and combat cases of racial discrimination (2000, p.85). The idea that the composition of the police force should reflect the composition of the society has been also introduced. However, it was difficult to measure the process due to the absence of an ethnic monitoring system.

In May 2000 a telephone helpline was launched, which can be deemed as a highly successful initiative as it has received a large number of complaints in a very short period and a relatively large number of those cases have reached court (2000, p.97).

As published by Eurofound, 'on 6 November 2001, after 13 months of discussion, the National Assembly passed a bill on combating discrimination at the workplace (FR0011198N), which forms part of the current Socialist-led government's programme of anti-discrimination measures' (Viprey, 2002). Currently, the Haute Autorité de Lutte contre les Discriminations et pour l'Égalité (HALDE) (*en. High Authority for the Fight against Discrimination and for Equality*), created on December 30 2004, has the authority to judge on direct and indirect discrimination against individuals (Le Défenseur des Droits, n.d.). Its primary task is to ensure the efficacy of the legal mechanisms prohibiting discrimination (Lokiec, n.d., p.87).

As announced by the French authorities, at the international level France is party to the International Convention on All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Furthermore, France is also an active and vigilant participant in the follow-up process to the World Conference on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held in Durban in 2001 (France Diplomatie, 2013).

4.3. Anti-discrimination policies in the UK

Until October 2010, there were several pieces of legislation in the UK covering issues related to discrimination: the Sex Discrimination Act (1976), the Race Relations Act (1976), the Disability Discrimination Act (1995) and the Human Rights Act – Article 14 (1998). However, as argued by the European Parliament in 1997, the Race Relations Act - the most relevant to the topic of this report - has not been protecting Muslims against discrimination as Muslims did not constitute an ethnic group: 'in *Tariq v Young*, an industrial tribunal held that Muslims were not capable of being regarded as

constituting an ethnic group, and were only a religious grouping and thus, outside the protection of the Race Relations Act' (European Parliament, 1997). The EU directives introduced in 2000 forced governments to take action and, as Alice Donald outlines, 'in 2003, the Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations 2003 introduced obligations on employers not to discriminate, victimise or tolerate harassment on grounds of religion or belief, in line with European Union law' (Donald, 2011). 2010 saw the release of the Equality Act, which protects individuals against discrimination. Consequently, all the previous anti-discrimination laws were replaced with this single act in order to make the law simpler to understand and apply in practice (Government Equalities Office, 2015). This change is highlighted by A. Donald:

The Equality Act also introduces a new single Public Sector Equality Duty, which applies (unlike the previous equalities duties) to religion or belief. The duty on public authorities is to have due regard to the need to eliminate discrimination, harassment and victimisation on grounds of religion and belief; and advance equality of opportunity and foster good relations between people of different religions or beliefs and none. (2011)

The UK's Labour Government, which led the country from 1997 to 2010, introduced major reforms in the state. Through these reforms, different groups of society have been involved in public sector workplaces by implementing specific recruitment targets (Smiley, 2010, p.7). In addition to these governmental policies, other initiatives have been created to tackle the issue of discrimination. Some of the companies now involve their employees in different training programmes. Moreover, the helplines for those experiencing discriminatory behaviour are available not only through the Internet but also by phone. Furthermore, different NGOs are also involved in the process of anti-discrimination; for example, in 2013 the British Humanist Association launched a Fair Admissions campaign, in order to 'speak out against the selective entry policies of faith schools' (New Humanist, 2013). New Humanist argued that 'they [*religious schools - ed.*] do not build friendships with 'others' and the separation of children within schools reinforces wider divisions, as parents do not meet at the school gate and families are not drawn together through shared sporting and cultural events' (2013).

4.4. Anti-discrimination policies in the Netherlands

The first article of the first chapter entitled 'Fundamental Rights' in the Dutch Constitution declares that: 'all persons in the Netherlands shall be treated equally in equal circumstances. Discrimination on the grounds of religion, belief, political opinion, race or sex or on any other grounds whatsoever shall not be permitted' (The Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands 2008, 2008, p.5). Article 6 of

the Constitution grants every individual the right to profess freely his or her religion or belief, either individually or in the community with others, without prejudice to his or her responsibility under the law (2008, p.5). However, it is worth noting that the Constitution only applies in cases between the state and private individuals (Dierx & Rodrigues, 2003). According to Dierx and Rodrigues, ‘the principle of equality in the Netherlands was not protected by special civil anti-discrimination law until 1994. Before then, special civil law only protected discrimination on the grounds of sex’ (2003). The Dutch Equal Treatment Act (ETA), adopted in 1994, deals with so called ‘horizontal effect’ cases of direct or indirect unequal treatment of one individual against another based on any grounds (2003). Additionally, there are some international agreements protecting Dutch citizens against discrimination, an example of which is the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965) (Government of the Netherlands, n.d.).

Another laudable initiative to be mentioned is the Anti-Discrimination Practices Database, where information on different initiatives to fight discrimination on various grounds in the Netherlands is collected. This database has been implemented by the European Commission and is meant as a source of practical information and inspiration to anyone involved in or wanting to initiate a project or policy to tackle discrimination issues (Antidiscrimination Practices Database, n.d.). At the time of this report, eight initiatives related to the religion and belief have been registered in the database and 27 related to race and ethnic origin. Most of them are educational programmes for school pupils. An example of the above-mentioned initiatives is the ‘Different, yet Unique’ day that has been organised in a secondary school in The Hague. During that day, students learnt communication skills and dialogues between native and Islamic students. Finally, another project named ‘Power Day’ has been initiated to raise pupils’ awareness of bullying and discrimination (Antidiscrimination Practices Database, n.d.).

Discussion

No universally accepted model exists for understanding the causes of radicalisation. There are many theories explaining the process because every individual case is different, although some basic patterns are found among the majority of the theories. The causes of radicalisation vary depending on many factors, for example the social background of the person or his residence. This research examines what causes the radicalisation of Muslims in Western European countries. Muslims living in France, the UK and the Netherlands indicate that they experience discrimination, social exclusion, identity crises and have to deal with the issue of unemployment, all of which contribute to the radicalisation that some Western Muslims face. This research particularly focuses on Muslim discrimination as one of the main triggers in the process.

Religious and belief discrimination is emphasised by many scholars as a cause for radicalisation. Even though it may be difficult to measure the extent of its contribution to extremism among all the other causes, prejudice is an undeniable factor in the process. Critics may argue that there is an overemphasis on the issue of discrimination against Muslim minorities in Western Europe and, of course, there is no mathematical formula to calculate the level of prejudice against Muslim minorities. However, the qualitative findings of this report suggest that discrimination –real or perceived- is the most important contributory factor that encourages some Muslims sympathise with terrorists and leads others to become directly involved in extremism. The way an individual is treated by others might not always be discriminative, but what matters is how they feel about the actions of others. By taking an even closer look at the discussion of discrimination, it even could be argued that other factors involved in radicalisation such as unemployment and identity crisis are actually direct results of religious and belief discrimination. However, the relation between unemployment, identity crisis and discrimination is a topic for further research.

As the findings of this research indicate that discrimination is a trigger for extremism, it is essential to fight religious discrimination against Muslim minorities. Being part of the EU, the case countries of this research are obliged to implement the EU's directives into their national law and there are currently two active EU directives related to discrimination. Discrimination on any grounds is prohibited in the EU. In addition, the Constitutions of France and the Netherlands and also the 'unwritten' Constitution of the UK declare the principle of equality and advocate against prejudice. However, the findings of this report indicate that despite all these policies discrimination against Muslim minorities in France, the UK and the Netherlands still exists, implying that further efforts are necessary in the fight against discrimination.

Introducing more governmental policies speaking out against discrimination would be unlikely to make a difference because there is already a sufficient number of them; the fight against discrimination has to be promoted in real life rather than law books. The European Commission has announced that it will take actions in order to tackle discrimination by implementing different practices. The latter is very commendable and more of such practices should be encouraged in the Member States, including France, the UK and the Netherlands.

In many cases, discrimination is invisible and hard to identify on the surface. In terms of addressing the hidden discrimination and perceived discrimination that Western Muslims experience, it is advisable to foster the ‘emotional intelligence’ of society. Emotional intelligence is defined as ‘the ability to identify and manage your own emotions and the emotions of others’ (Psychology Today, n.d.) (see Appendix 5). As a result, individuals become emotionally stronger and their vulnerability is reduced.

One of the most significant environments in which to foster the fight against discrimination is schools. Discrimination has to be tackled from its roots, and the easiest way to achieve this is starting from an early age; children have to be taught how to respect each other regardless of their religious or ethnic background. Such initiatives like those practised in the Netherlands should be implemented in ordinary school routines. Furthermore, schools are the best places to strengthen the emotional intelligence of children.

It is worth noting that the fight against discrimination is not equally successful in all the three case countries. For example, according to a former French politician, Rachida Dati, the UK seems more successful than France. In an interview with Telegraph journalists, she explained that ‘in the UK you have a lot of NGOs and organisations working against radicalisation. That’s a lot more advanced than in France. We have more associations for integration’ (Alexander, 2015). Consequently, countries should be encouraged to share knowledge and activities regarding anti-discrimination. To do so, databases such as the one introduced in the Netherlands to record anti-discrimination practices and share new ideas of such activities could be helpful.

Conclusion

This paper concludes that the myopia of Western European societies and governments, wherein the prevalent discrimination actually creates an environment for individuals within Muslim communities to turn to radicalisation, has led to the terror attacks that Europe has recently faced.

After examining discrimination from different perspectives, such as media, politics and the general society, the report finds that Muslims in France, the UK and the Netherlands do experience some forms of prejudice. Discrimination is prevailing in all three countries and examples of every day prejudice are found among different social environments, such as schools and work places. This can be direct or indirect religious or ethnic discrimination, or even perceived discrimination. Since discrimination is a practice that is hard to be identified not always what people call discrimination is necessarily that, however the way a person feels about discrimination matters when examining the causes for radicalisation. Second and third generation Muslims that face discrimination -real or perceived- and are prone to extremism in the end turn to the commitment of violent acts.

The number of radicalised European Muslims has significantly increased since the start of the Syrian Civil war in 2013. All three case countries of the report have seen their citizens leaving to fight in Syria and Iraq. The highest portion of these individuals in Europe came from France. Terrorist networks widely operating in Europe, such as al-Muhajiroun, also indicate the high level of terrorist threat in Western European countries. These networks recruit vulnerable individuals and involve them into support or even commitment of violent acts.

In this research, the correlation between discrimination and radicalisation in the countries of interest was studied, demonstrating that discrimination, among other factors, does contribute to extremism. This has been suggested by multiple theories that look into the process of radicalisation, such as F. Moghaddam's *Staircase to Terrorism*, Marc Sageman's *Four Stages of Radicalisation* and The New York Police Department's *Four-Stage Radicalisation Process*. Furthermore, prejudice is also one of the causes of the 'identity crisis', another factor involved in radicalisation. In addition, the research by Victoroff and Adelman was another very significant source for the report. Their findings that unemployment and perceived discrimination are key influencers for the support of terrorism among some Muslims have helped contribute to this paper's conclusion that perceived discrimination is one of the main psychological triggers for radicalisation in the West.

Of course, this cannot be applied to every Muslim and there are many that are well integrated. This is because different groups can be distinguished among Muslims themselves: those who hold strong beliefs and practice Islam firmly and those that are not that strict about their religion. The results of this research can also be interpreted to conclude that those Muslims that feel themselves to be less aligned with Islam are considered to be better integrated than those practicing Islam firmly.

In addition to counter-terrorism strategies applied to protect countries from radicalisation, it is crucial that governments take actions to fight discrimination. The unequal treatment of Muslim minorities has many negative aspects, and fostering radicalisation is one of them. In spite of a lot of initiatives and EU laws that fight and prohibit discrimination, there is still room for improvement. In order to address the issue of Western Europe's Muslim radicalisation, the report lists recommendations for governments to fight against religious discrimination.

First, the proclaimed actions of the European Commission to tackle discrimination should be highly encouraged and actively performed by the Member States. These actions include:

- Improve knowledge of discrimination;
- Support intermediary actors such as NGOs;
- Support the development of equality policies at national level and encourage the exchange of good practices between EU countries;
- Promote anti-discrimination training activities;
- Push for business-oriented diversity management.

In addition, the emotional intelligence of society should be strengthened by including it in school programmes. Secondly, there should be more initiatives in schools related to education about discrimination. Thirdly, Muslim communities should be stimulated to become more engaged into social activities where they can express opinions, suggestions and complaints related to various subjects, including discrimination. Finally, countries should share their practices, experiences and knowledge with each other in the fight against religious discrimination, and public online databases could be used for that purpose.

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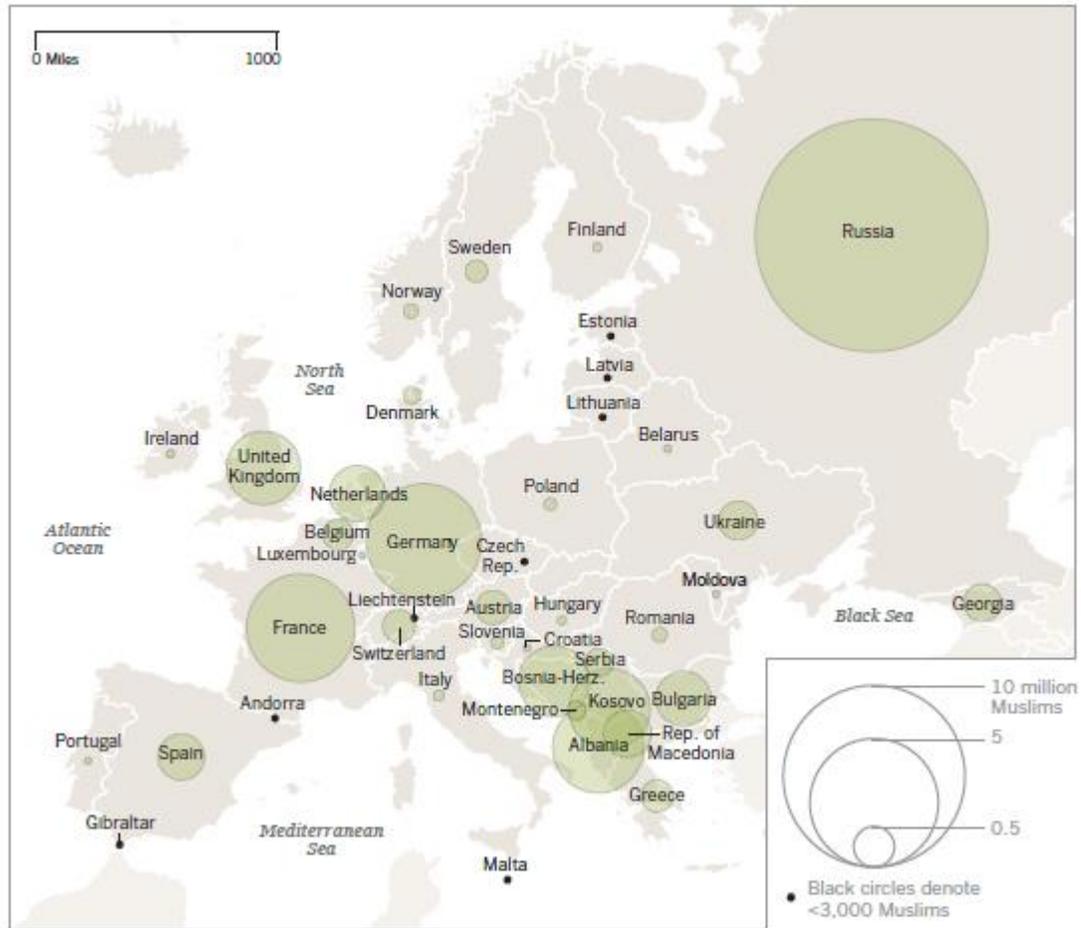
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Appendices

Appendix 1 - Distribution of Muslim Population in Europe

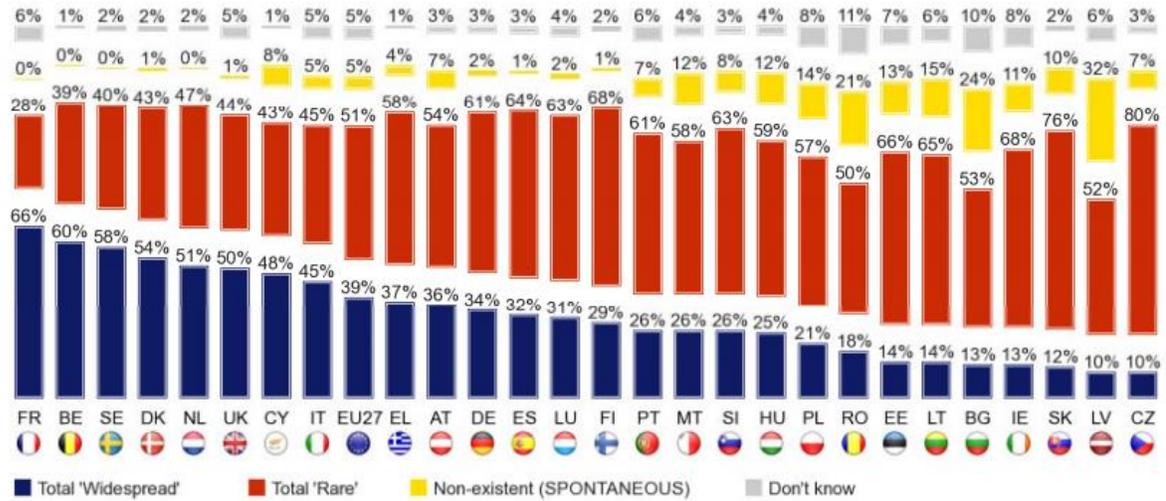


Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life. (2009): Mapping the Global Muslim Population.

Appendix 2 - Discrimination in the EU in 2012

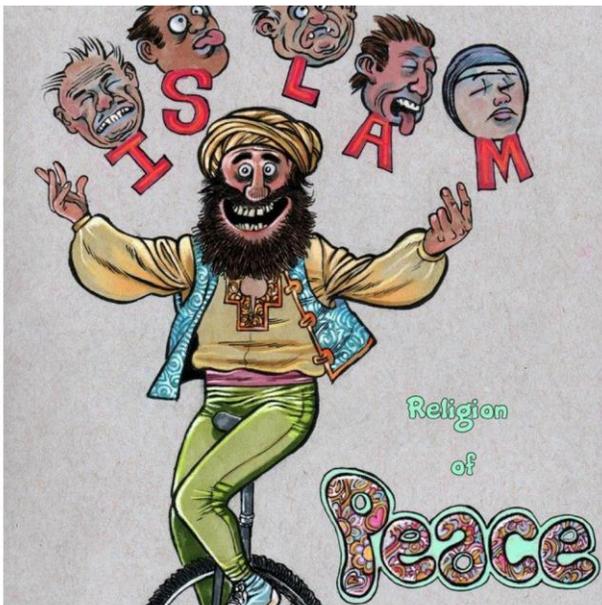
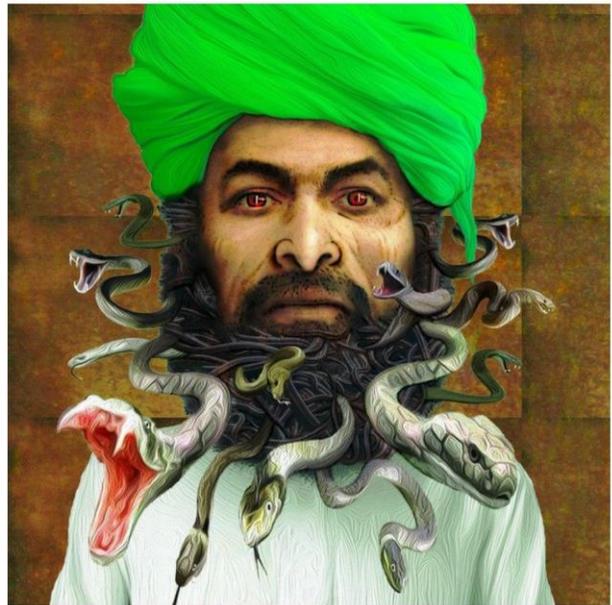
QC1.5. For each of the following types of discrimination, could you please tell me whether, in your opinion, it is very widespread, fairly widespread, fairly rare or very rare in (OUR COUNTRY)? Discrimination on the basis of...

Religion or beliefs



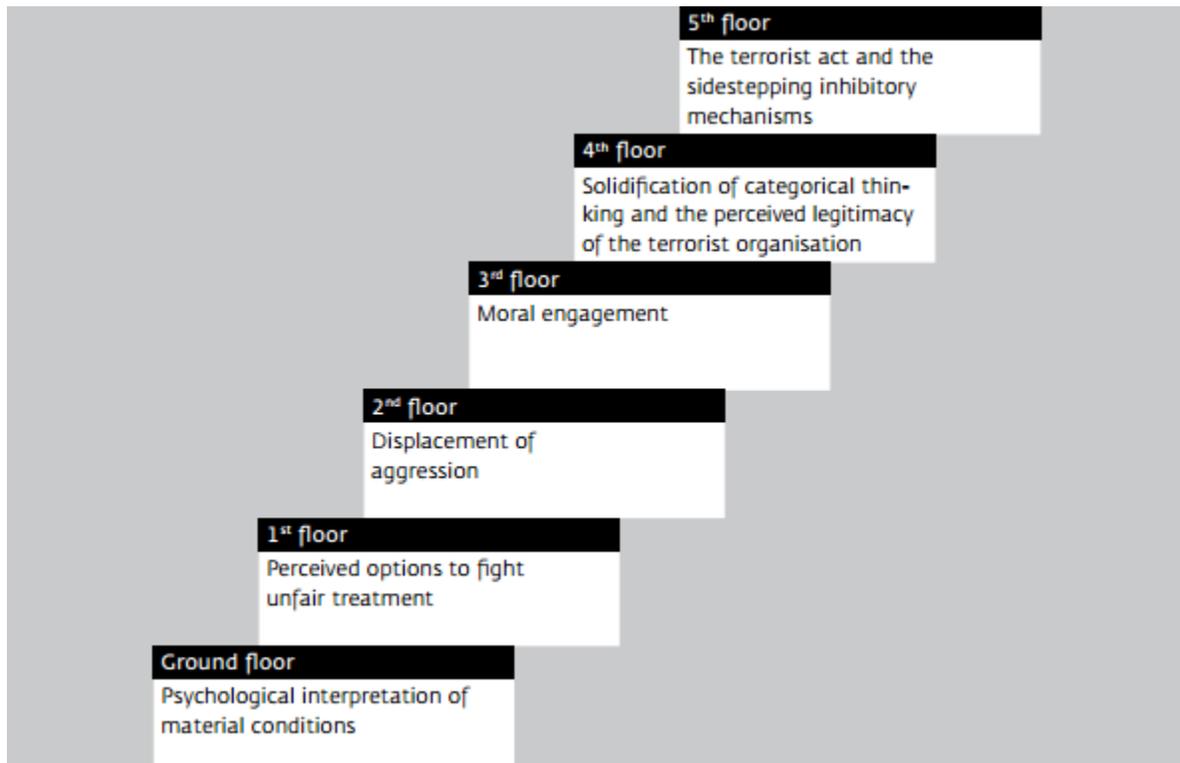
European Commission, Discrimination in the EU in 2012.

Appendix 3 – Muhammed Cartoons



Price, 2015. Sold Out: May 3rd Muhammad Art Exhibit and Contest in Garland, Texas (Photos).

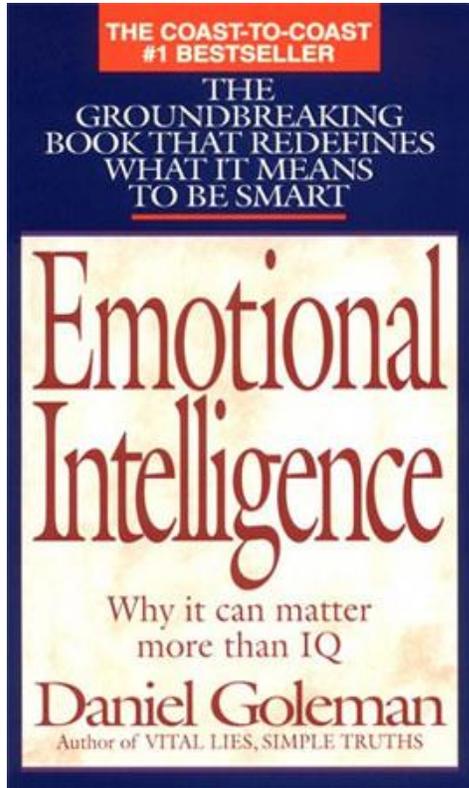
Appendix 4 - Moghaddam's Staircase to Terrorism



Based upon the Staircase to Terrorism (Moghaddam 2005).

Appendix 5 – Emotional Intelligence

Daniel Goleman's book, *Emotional Intelligence: Why It Can Matter More Than IQ* (1996).



‘Our emotions play a much greater role in thought, decision making and individual success than is commonly acknowledged. Goleman defines ‘emotional intelligence’ as a trait not measured by IQ tests as a set of skills, including control of one’s impulses, self-motivation, empathy and social competence in interpersonal relationships. Although his highly accessible survey of research into cognitive and emotional development may not convince readers that this grab bag of faculties comprise a clearly recognizable, well-defined aptitude, his report is nevertheless an intriguing and practical guide to emotional mastery. In marriage, emotional intelligence means listening well and being able to calm down. In the workplace, it manifests when bosses give subordinates constructive feedback regarding their performance. Goleman also looks at pilot programs in schools from New York City to Oakland, Calif., where kids are taught conflict resolution, impulse control and social skills’ (Daniel Goleman, n.d.).

Appendix 6 – Student Ethics Form

**European Studies
Student Ethics Form**

Your name: GABIYA DAMALAKAITE

Supervisor: A. NOORDAM

Instructions/checklist

Before completing this form you should read the APA Ethics Code (<http://www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx>). If you are planning research with human subjects you should also look at the sample consent form available in the Final Project and Dissertation Guide.

- a. Read section 3 that your supervisor will have to sign. Make sure that you cover all these issues in section 1.
- b. Complete sections 1 and, if you are using human subjects, section 2, of this form, and sign it.
- c. Ask your project supervisor to read these sections (and the draft consent form if you have one) and sign the form.
- d. Append this signed form as an appendix to your dissertation.

Section 1. Project Outline (to be completed by student)

- (i) Title of Project: BACHELOR DEGREE DISSERTATION
- (ii) Aims of project: "CONTRIBUTION OF MUSLIM DISCRIMINATION TO RADICALISATION IN WESTERN EUROPE"
TO WRITE DISSERTATION BASED ON THE RESEARCH INVESTIGATING REASONS FOR MUSLIM RADICALISATION
- (iii) Will you involve other people in your project – e.g. via formal or informal interviews, group discussions, questionnaires, internet surveys etc. (Note: if you are using data that has already been collected by another researcher – e.g. recordings or transcripts of conversations given to you by your supervisor, you should answer 'NO' to this question.)

YES / NO

If no: you should now sign the statement below and return the form to your supervisor. You have completed this form.

This project is not designed to include research with human subjects. I understand that I do not have ethical clearance to interview people (formally or informally) about the topic of my research, to carry out internet research (e.g. on chat rooms or discussion boards) or in any other way to use people as subjects in my research.

Student's signature Gabija Damalakaite date 04 January 2016