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Understanding The Psychological Pathways To Terrorism & Radicalisation:

AN EXPLORATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE NARRATIVES GIVEN BY THOSE IDENTIFIED AS TERRORISTS OR A RADICALISED THREAT WITHIN THE UK.

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Wajid Khan

Understanding the psychological pathways to Terrorism & Radicalisation:

An explorative analysis of the narratives given by those identified as terrorists or a radicalised threat within the UK.

Abstract

The focus of this study is to gain a deeper insight into the subjective and salient belief systems that are held by those individuals who have previously been detained or arrested under the counter terrorism legislation in the UK. Embedded in the theoretical work of Personal Construct Theory, 8 participants completed an extensive life narrative interview alongside a reparatory grid highlighting core constructs and belief systems. A thematic analysis of the corresponding data was undertaken from which a number of themes were identified. The most prominent emerging theme centred around the concept of empathy and empathic anger. i.e. the participants expressed a strong empathy connection towards those in conflict situations who were seen as victims and equally presented with a strong disapproval or empathic anger towards those who were viewed as aggressors and penultimately responsible for the atrocities. Although further research is required the implications of this emerging theme are significant in developing a holistic understanding of the factors which affect motivational drive of individuals who are 'radicalised'.

This study builds upon the theoretical work of Hutson, Long & Page, (2009), Taylor & Horgan, (2006) and Moghaddam, (2005) who respectively identify a series of social and psychological processes which potentially exert an influence on the motivational drive. This study therefore suggests that the modulating factor or the spark which maintains an individual on the path of radicalisation is centred around this notion of empathic anger. This study suggests that individuals who are regarded as a radicalised threat go through a series of subjective experiences and processes are catapulted by this empathic response from merely feeling a grievance to actually rationalising a potential action.

A number of additional themes centring around relationships (particularly the father), racisms and the impact of life changing events or trauma were also identified but would benefit from further investigation. The study also attempts to provide a critical look at the discourses around terrorism and radicalisation particularly the subjective and emotive uses of the terminology and the inevitable effects of political biases. A potential area for further study is suggested in the form of a theoretical model which suggests that depending upon the individual's personal attributes the individual may gravitate towards one of 5 roles i.e. an idealist, soldier, Intellectual-Recruiter, Opportunist-Financier or Patsy. The limitations of the study centre around the relative small sample and the lack of diversity within the sample.

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Introduction:

If there was just one word which could define the beginning of the 21st century it would be 'terrorism'. This uniquely imprecise, politically laden and subjective term has left an unshakable imprint in the psyche of the world. Epitomised and defined in the modern age by the image of those hijacked airplanes being flown into the twin towers on September 11th, the concept of terrorism and its corresponding global fallout have redefined and intrinsically affected the social, political, economical and psychological fabric of modern society. The concept of terrorism and radicalisation is not new but in the last sixteen years has been a fixed feature of conversation from the remotest primary school to the shadowy corridors of power in every nation state. The world is not unaccustomed to acts of terror however, the veracity of global response to these atrocities, as compared to any others was markedly unique and as a result signalled the beginning of the great war of our time.

"Our war on terror begins with Al-Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will

not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and

defeated..... Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists".

(Bush, 2001, p3)

Exemplified in the above words of former United States president George. W Bush Jnr. the war on terror had begun and its rhetoric reverberated across the globe in every news channel and through every social media track. A new albeit vague enemy had risen and the threat of global terrorism was so significant that nation states responded to this new reality by redefining established laws, enabling protectionist policies and pouring vast amounts of financial and political resource into new security and civil structures (Miller, 2006).

In the midst of this discord and the sabre rattling to war an avalanche of questions started to bare down on those who were eager to understand how such atrocities could have occurred in such an enlightened age and what could be done to avoid or ensure this did not happen again. The penultimate

questions reverberating through out the discourses centred around; 'how could somebody do this?' 'What lead these individuals to disregard their humanity and the humanity of those they killed?' and later what could be done to detect, identify and stop this from happening again (Wight 2015, Freeman 2014, Law, 2009). Thus the study of terrorism as an academic and social political phenomenon was reborn and brought in from the fringes of academia (Gordon, 2005). Entrenched already in controversy (the nature of which would be explored later) the study of terrorism prior to September 11th was often regarded as being on the fringes of political and social science with a handful of academics e,g David Rapoport 2002, Walter Lacquer 1977, Martha Crenshaw 1981, Alex P Schmid 1993, attempting to decipher and build a credible base of understanding of this phenomenon (Crenshaw, 2014). Central to the limitations of this field were the over reliance on secondary sources of data, the obvious political and social biases and the dogmatic and often circular issue around what or who is defined as a terrorist. Notwithstanding these limitations the study of terrorism as a social and political phenomena has had a new impetus since the world looked to it to provide answers to those ubiquitous questions. In a review of academic literature focusing upon the use of structured qualitative and quantitative methodologies to investigate terrorism, Miller and Mills, (2009) found less than a hundred citations within this field prior to the events of Sept 11th, however, immediately after the number of citations increased to over five hundred and has since spawned a series of journals and multi-disciplinary teams. Within the immediate fallout of this atrocity the intensity of research enquiry brought with it an exceptional rise in research funding/resources, media and political interest and the consequential rise of the terror expert (Sageman 2014, Plumber & Neumayer 2014, Miller & Mills 2009). The rise of the terror expert i.e. someone who purports to have insight into the key issues of this phenomenon has profoundly affected the way in which elements of this research have been understood and controversially operationalised into policy. The clamour and hyperbole to provide answers has resulted in the development of vast compendiums of literature and resources, providing a combination of insight but also mind debilitating confusion and contradiction within a highly complex and contentious area (Young & Findley, 2001). A contributing factor to the burgeoning articles and information around this phenomenon has been the overwhelming desire of everyman (or

women) and his (her) dog to offer comment or opinion on this issue irrespective of academic field, experience and source of expertise i.e. from all manner of academia including social scientists, psychologists, historians economists, politicians, military experts, journalists, sociologists and so forth (Weinberg & Eubank, 2008). It is important to note that there is a tremendous value and is quintessentially the life source of any discipline for it to encourage discussion, investigation, counter argument and where appropriate the ability to test and refine its arguments and theories. The fact that there is such a huge offering of insight from so many perspectives is an indicator of the complexity and multifaceted nature of this phenomena (Crenshaw, 2014). Over half of the 100 most cited works identified by Silke and Petersen (2015) within this field were collaborative efforts between multi-disciplinary teams.

A crucial challenge however, has not been the need to recognise the multi-disciplinary aspect of this phenomena but the notion that the distinct perspectives being presented by the range of 'terror experts' were being treated as fact or key immutable standpoints from which the research agenda became fixated on and consequently became central to policy (Roberts, 2015). The nature and implications of this and the wider fallout from the war on terror is explored further within this thesis, however, as Silke & Petersen, (2015) and earlier Sageman, (2014) highlight that even after a decade and a half of exceptional research enquiry the answer to those ubiquitous questions still remain elusive and the world remains in a perpetual state of anxiety around the notion of global terrorism (Sageman, 2014. p572). Combined with this perpetual state of anxiety, there are no definitive figures which highlight the financial or human costs of the war on terror. Conservative estimates suggest that within the first ten years of the war, over one and a half million to two million people have died as a result of direct intervention in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq, a further twenty million have been displaced and the cost of the war itself for the United States alone has gone into the trillions (Physicians for Social Responsibility, 2015). These figures do not take into consideration the ongoing conflicts in Central Africa, Libya, Syria or Yemen and the continued rise of political and social instability across vast swathes of the world. In line with the controversial nature of this research area these

figures are also hotly contested and debated upon by respective nation states, academics and social groups (Stampnitzky, 2016, Ismail & Amjad, 2014). What is clear is that terrorism and its consequences have endured and in many cases the policies which were actively designed to fight it have in some form contributed to its proliferation (Hardy. 2015).

The speed in which terrorism studies have affected social and political policy particularly in the United Kingdom is demonstrated through the different iterations of the PREVENT program , a sub project of the CONTEST initiative which underpins the counter terrorism strategy within the UK (Lambert, 2014). The PREVENT agenda and the wider counter terrorism effort in the UK and across the globe were principally informed by what has been referred to as an unholy alliance. between academia, politicians, police-security services and the military (Kaplan, 2011, Gunning, 2007). Although the need to work collaboratively across fields is essential to understand this complex phenomena the scepticism surrounding this relationship exemplified in the development of critical studies into terrorism through the works of Plumper & Neumayer, (2014) and Gunning, (2007) has its roots in the notion that within the initial stages of its reawakening the majority of research in part was propelled by the sentiment of anger, fear, disbelief, political - financial opportunism, and the need for retribution (Miller, 2009). The need to show affirmative action in the face of such horror and to hold someone accountable was a fundamental political and social agenda (Martin, 2016). It was felt that the core bastion principles which academia prides itself upon i.e. impartiality, integrity, critical enquiry and innovation had in some way been stifled by this relationship and the need to provide a theoretical basis to support the war on terror (Pilecki, Muro, Hammack, & Clemons, 2014). With limited or hypothesised understanding of the nature of these issues or the mechanics between the different facets which prompted individuals to undertake said actions the policy initiatives to manage, eradicate and challenge these processes have been fundamentally flawed and garnered limited success (Sageman, 2014).

Regarded as a key protagonist within the field of terrorism studies Marc Sageman (2014) was seen as one of the many academics who was able to bridge the gap between the academic, military and

political worlds however in 2014 Marc Sageman beleagueredley declared that research within this field had now come to a stagnation (pg. 614). Irrespective of the huge resources and collaborative benefits and importantly unfretted access to sensitive real time data Sageman still felt that the world was no clearer in understanding the motivational drivers which prompted individuals to undertake acts of violence or terror let alone be able to deter, detect or eradicate terrorism (Sageman, 2014 p616).

The resulting fervent response from other academics identified by Sageman (2014) e.g. Max Taylor, David Schanzer, Alex Schimid, Clark McCauley & Sophia Moskalenko to name a few questioned this limited return on investment and highlighted that in a relative short space of time vast amounts of information, collaboration and understanding had been developed to encourage a greater appreciation of this challenging phenomena. In essence mainstreaming the area rather than consecrating it to the fringes of social and political science (Wight, 2015, Silke, 2014). The unrelenting impact of terrorism on the social and political spheres of the world and the continued floundering of policies (Criado, 2017) which attempt to 'manage', 'triage', 'rehabilitate', 'deter' and 'eradicate' terrorism make its need to be investigated increasingly relevant. The positive gains made as a result of the influx of resources within this field have undoubtedly helped identify possible factors or issues that may encourage the development of 'radicalised' thoughts, behaviours and actions, but limited understanding of these full constructs, their interplay and expression on individuals who decide to undertake this course of action still remains ambiguous (Quershi 2015, Hener 2015, Sageman, 2014, Richards 2014, Roberts 2015, Simon 2008).

The selective and transient nature of the terminology used within this area i.e. by academics, politicians, military, police to further a particular angle or cause alongside the huge diversity of potential 'radicalised' or 'terrorist' actors (and the lack of agreement on how these individuals are labelled) within this phenomenon make it near impossible to fully provide an all-encompassing model or pathway into terrorism.

This is not to say, that research within this field has been a complete waste of time or failed to provide anything tangible beyond hypothesis or conjecture but to recognise that as a fundamental part of the cyclical nature of research these efforts have provided the initial baseline and impetus for further conceptual models of understanding to be developed (Martin, 2016, Lambert, 2014). Correspondingly what has been shown and demonstrated by the limited gains from policies in the last 16 years particularly in the UK (Qureshi, 2015) is that terrorism and radicalisation cannot solely be understood in abstract form and are not solely caused by psychopathology or an irrational thought process as highlighted by the work of Victoroff & Kruglanski 2009; nor is it solely down to political- social grievances (perceived or actual) (Blain 2015); deprivation in its general sense (Henar 2015); religious -ideological zeal or idealism specific to one religion (Qureshi 2015, Roberts 2015); perceived or actual personal or group grievances (Hutson et al 2009); financial or resource gain (Ismail & Amjad 2014); or the priming and conditioning through media or social networks (Pooja & Bhatia, 2015) and finally the need to achieve status, meaning or fear of death after a trauma or life changing event (Kruglanski, et al 2007). Instead a potential combination of these elements tacitly viewed and nested in the contextual and historical environment of the subjective individual offer the greatest hope of understanding this phenomena (Sageman 2014, Hutson, et al. 2009, Maikovich 2005, Moghaddam 2005).

The frustrations highlighted by Sageman (2014) are endemic of how the study of terrorism has evolved and in particular how the aspirations of this field of research have been developed or is in some instances dictated to i.e. the unrealistic aspirations or aims placed on it as a consequence of the war on terror which have been politically or militarily driven (Wight, 2015). Bearing in mind the chronic limitations of the study of terrorism, its evolution in thought, theory, and practice can be hypothetically seen through distinct phases i.e. prior to September 11th and post World War Two this phase could be referred to as the theoretical and explorative phase where data and information was scant and largely based upon conflicts in Northern Ireland and Palestine – Israel (Lacquer 2001). Post September 11th and the development of the terror expert, greater co-ordination and networking

between governments, security services and academia encouraged the flow of information, resources and access to potential primary sources of information (Crenshaw, 2014). Within this period the war on terror brought with the emotive stage of research, a less critical time where research and activity was highly politicised and often neglected the relationship ror interaction the state plays within this dynamic (Kundnani, 2012). A third phase of research enquiry has developed, which attempted to adjust the imbalance brought by the 'unholy' union i.e. a critical, reflective, consolidatory and responsive stage which currently endures and is developing further. Although there is no clear demarcation for these stages the creation of specialist journals in 2008 (i.e. 'Critical Studies in terrorism') onwards provided an avenue for literature of this nature to be expressed and explored (Herring, 2008). These phases are by no means definitive but help to provide a way of understanding the vast literature produced and provide the context to which this thesis has developed.

The Development of the Thesis:

Grounded within a critical and reflective appreciation of the subject area this thesis recognises that there are three distinct actors within this phenomenon which have a unique and dysfunctional relationship i.e. the state, the public and the antagonist or those defined as terrorists or radicalised threats. In an attempt to understand and further develop areas of research inquiry this thesis attempts to investigate and explore this relationship (between these actors) with particular reference to the subjective narratives of those individuals who have been defined as terrorists or a radicalised threat in the UK. Working directly with these individuals who have either been detained or charged under the UK Terrorism legislation (2000) this study explores the life story and narrative of these individuals to identify salient and non salient factors which may have been influential in the decisions they had taken. Through the use of extensive life narrative interviews and the reparatory grid technique this study attempts to provide a rich and vibrant source of highly subjective, psychologically informative and personally constructed world view that these individuals hold (Horley, 2012, McAdams, 2001, Kelly, 1955). A thematic analysis of this data is then undertaken to identify potential recurring themes that may provide a unique contribution to knowledge by furthering avenues of

research and offering corroborative support to current theoretical works i.e. Moghaddam (2005) in which he proposes a model to conceptualise decision pathways as well as potential motivators and distracters.

The use of life narrative interviews and investigating the personal constructs of those defined as terrorists is a growing area within this field of research (see the works of Speckard, 2012, Horgan, 2008). It offers the opportunity for researcher to become completely immersed in the subjective world of the individual and to explore the intricacies of the value judgements the participant is making and the implications of those judgements which are being thrusted upon the participant i.e. within the sample for this study none of the individuals have classed themselves as radicals thus these judgements have been placed on them through the security and legal frameworks of the UK. The study therefore provides a unique insight into how these terms and labels are internalised by these individuals and where appropriate to further understand the relationship between these judgements and the effectiveness of counter terror polices developed in the UK.

One of the key challenges facing research within this area has been the accessibility to willing participants, in this respect this study has benefitted by the researcher's links and close working relationship with a number of non-governmental organisations (Amnesty International and CAGE UK) and legal representatives of some of those who were detained by the police to gain access to a group of individuals within the UK. In light of the extremely challenging circumstances of this research and the continued implications for those being interviewed as well as those carrying out the interviews, the prospective sample for the study was initially approximately 36 individuals, however only 22 had given consent to participate. Over the course of the next four years while attempting to agree times to meet and undertake the interviews as well as the continued changing environments within the UK and abroad (in particular the civil war in Syria and the rise of Daesh) the number of actual participants who agreed to formal interviewees dropped to 8. The high attrition rate is symptomatic of the dynamic nature of this research area and is discussed further within the thesis. While a large portion of research post September 11th has been preoccupied with 'jihadist' terrorism this studies aspirations was to

identify a sample not just specific to one community or religious group or gender. However this aspiration was limited due to the key inclusion criterion of these individuals being charged or detained under counter terrorism legislation in the UK. As such all of the 8 participants that were able to be interviewed were male, UK citizens and Muslim, their ethnicity on the other hand varied greatly. A comprehensive breakdown of the sample is provided later in the thesis. **Table 1** provides a brief overview of those 8 individuals as well as brief information on the other 14 individuals that withdrew.

Table 1: Overview of those that agreed and those that did not agree to participate in the study:

No	Gender	Religion	Ethnicity	Reason for withdrawal
1	Male	Muslim	British Indian	Confirmed
2	Male	Muslim	British Pakistani	Confirmed
3	Male	Muslim	Mixed White - Pakistani	Confirmed
4	Male	Muslim	Bosnian	Confirmed
5	Male	Muslim	British Black	Confirmed
6	Male	Muslim	British Pakistani	Confirmed
7	Male	Muslim	British White	Confirmed
8	Male	Muslim	British Indian	Confirmed
9	Male	Muslim		Withdrew - Travelled to Syria Died
10	Female	Muslim		Withdrew – no longer wished to participate
11	Female	Muslim		Withdrew – no longer wished to participate
12	Female	Muslim		Withdrew – no longer wished to participate
13	Male	Muslim		Withdrew - Travelled to Syria
14	Male	Muslim		Withdrew - Travelled to Syria Died
15	Male	Muslim		Withdrew - Travelled to Syria Died
1	Male	Muslim		Withdrew - Travelled to Syria Died
17	Male	Muslim		Withdrew - Travelled to Syria Missing
18	Male	Muslim		Withdrew – Legal Issue
19	Male	Muslim		Withdrew - Travelled to Syria
20	Male	Sikh		Withdrew - Legal Issue
21	Male	Atheist		Withdrew -
22	Male	Sikh		Withdrew

Through extensive interviews lasting between two and three hours with the remaining 8 participants the data generated provided a rich contextual illustration of the participant's life as well as key constructs or time points which sequentially affected the individual's decisions. A number of emerging themes were identified the most prominent of which has centred around the concept of empathy and empathetic anger (i.e. the participants expressed a strong empathy connection towards those in

conflict situations, which they saw as victims and equally presented with a strong disapproval or 'empathetic anger' towards those who were viewed as aggressors and penultimately responsible for the atrocities) as a key motivator or element which provided the inertia for individuals to undertake or move through the respective pathways from thought to action. The notion of empathy and empathetic anger is not a new concept and has been referred to as a key component in understanding social group interactions but its application within this area of research has been limited (Weinberg et al. 2008, Braun & Clarke, 2006 Green, 2004).

The depth and duration of these highly emotive reactions internally- externally experienced by the individual as a result of this empathy can be the potential glue which binds certain key factors and elements together to enable the individual to move from one side of the spectrum of radicalisation to the other. Data generated through the reparatory grids has also been influential in identifying key constructs and value systems on the way the individuals perceived themselves before and after their arrests or key time points in their lives. This distinction offers further insight into their salient value systems and those influential in such systems i.e nearly all the respondents identified the relationship between their parents (father in particular) and peers as having a significant impact upon their lives.

As an explorative study and in light of the limited sample within the study this thesis can be seen as an initial stepping stone in understanding the dynamic and evolving processes within radicalisation and terrorism. Empathy and empathetic anger are potentially the key motivators which provide the inertia for individuals to enter this slip stream of radicalisation etc. but once they enter it is proposed that individuals are further carried forward by a combination of factors which require further investigation. In this hypothetical model it is proposed that individuals can depending upon the subjective and contextual environment they are in as well as their personal attributes follow five distinct areas which individuals can migrate towards and through i.e. an individual can become an idealist, a patsy, a soldier, an opportunist and the public face (PR- Politician or recruiter) within an organisation or group (Taylor & Horgan, 2006). This proposition consequently has a range of implications for understanding the mechanics of radicalisation, terrorism, counter-terrorism and de-

radicalisation strategies. It also highlights that this thesis is merely the beginning of a rich and dynamic research area which has the potential to enhance our understanding of this complex phenomena.

The assertions made within this introduction are further explored within the thesis, the structure of which is divided in to 8 chapters, chapters 1-4 predominately deal with the information gathered through literature searches and a wider context of undertaking the research in this area. This section includes a focus on the seminal understanding of the definitional problems plaguing this phenomenon, a review of the context and impact of the war on terror and identification of key theoretical milestones within this research area. Chapters 5-7 of the thesis will explore the challenges and details of the study and the data generated. The final chapter, chapter 8 of the thesis, will explore and discuss the implications of the data, its limitations and will look to develop or suggest possible areas of further research. Within chapter 8 there is also a discussion around the implications and personal impact of undertaking research within this highly complex and contentious area. Reflecting upon the personal challenges and issues faced while undertaking this type of research within the current climate will hopefully enable further research to be undertaken and to avoid potential pit falls.

Chapter 1: Orientation & Grounding of Thesis

Chapter Summary:

Before delving in to the intransient world of terrorism and radicalisation it is important to briefly note some of the key attributes that have informed the development of this thesis's journey. This brief chapter discusses the philosophical nature and grounding of this thesis within a critical analysis framework and attempts to provide a general introduction into the relationship between the key actors (the Nation-state, the public and the antagonist or those defined as terrorists) within this phenomena.. By having an appreciation of the symbolic interaction between these actors and the contextual environment they exist in allows a deeper understanding of the psychological and social mechanics of terrorism and radicalisation (Criado, 2017). With the surge in literature within this field it is a near impossible task to crystallise and quantify the output in a systematic manner. However, by understanding the phenomena through the distinct parameters of its actors, their interaction (Crenshaw, 2014), impact (Butler, 2015) and influence (Brooks, 2009) upon one another provides a point of reference and a way of sifting through the vast material. Using this framework the discussions within this thesis are generally conceptualised or illustrated through the interaction of these respective actor's and their respective influence upon the social, political and psychological facets of this phenomena.

The conceptual understanding of these actors and their subjective worlds and in particular for this thesis those actors who are defined as being radicalised or a terrorist threat in the UK can be understood through recognition that the decisions they take are fundamentally couched in the constructs of their reality. Their personal constructs and the value they attribute to them and how they reach that value judgement is essential in understanding the psychological and social motivators or triggers which have led them to this point in time. This chapter also attempts to recognise the salient and non-salient assumptions that the actors make about one another including a brief discussion around the salient assumptions the researcher also may makes.

General Philosophical Orientation of the Thesis:

The overall question for this thesis and undoubtedly for a vast number of works is that what are the principle decision factors and how do these interact in the processes which lead to individuals carrying out acts of terror. To aide in unpicking these questions this thesis explanatively investigates the narratives of those identified or regarded as a terrorist threat to the UK. Within this context this thesis has grounded itself in the notion that to achieve a holistic and objective understanding of the complexity of these questions and of terrorism a critical and reflexive approach must be undertaken which explores the contextual and constructionist environment of the subject area (terrorism) and its respective actors. The actors being referred to here are the nation-state, the public and the antagonist or those identified as terrorists as well as the researcher himself (within this thesis).

Terrorism and the processes that lead to it are socially and politically constructed in their nature but maintained and exacerbated by these and other complex interactions in the psychological, religious and philosophical realms (Horgan, 2005). Terrorism is not a 'brute fact' (Martin, 2016) nor is humanity predisposed through biological or other immutable factors to solely undertake this course of action (Crenshaw, 2014) and that choices exist in the different facets of the dynamic for each of the respective actors (Altier, et al, 2014). Therefore, to understand the different facets of terrorism an appreciation of the psychological, social and political construction of those realities within an individual's life need to be investigated and understood (Roberts, 2015). The notion of understanding the subjective context and the resulting dynamic and symbolic relationships between the respective actors in this phenomena are central to unpicking its complexity and are grounded in the works of personal construct theory exemplified by George Kelly (1955). Having an awareness of the contextual understanding of a given object or issue provides valuable insight into its assumptions, its precursors as well as its potential consequences (Epting, 1984).

This awareness is then complemented by framing the investigative nature of the phenomena i.e. terrorism within a critical stance which provides an opportunity to reflect upon the salient and non-salient assumptions being made about the actors, by the actors and the nature-consequences of the phenomena itself. This approach has largely been classed under the banner of critical theories of terrorism. Critical theories on terrorism are not new (Wight 2015, Jackson. 2008, Schmid & Crelinsten 1993, Crenshaw 1980) and have particularly gained momentum in recent years to encourage a greater appreciation of the potential biases in understanding terrorism solely through a state centric view (Smyth et al 2008). Undertaking a critical but also reflective stance acknowledges the perspectives of the respective actors without being hyper- sceptical (or entering into a realm of conspiracy theories) and provides an element of objectivity particularly to this research area which is highly emotive, politically driven and socially volatile. Figure 1: is a visual representation of the key actors within this phenomena:

Figure 1: Illustrative relationship between the respective actors in this phenomena
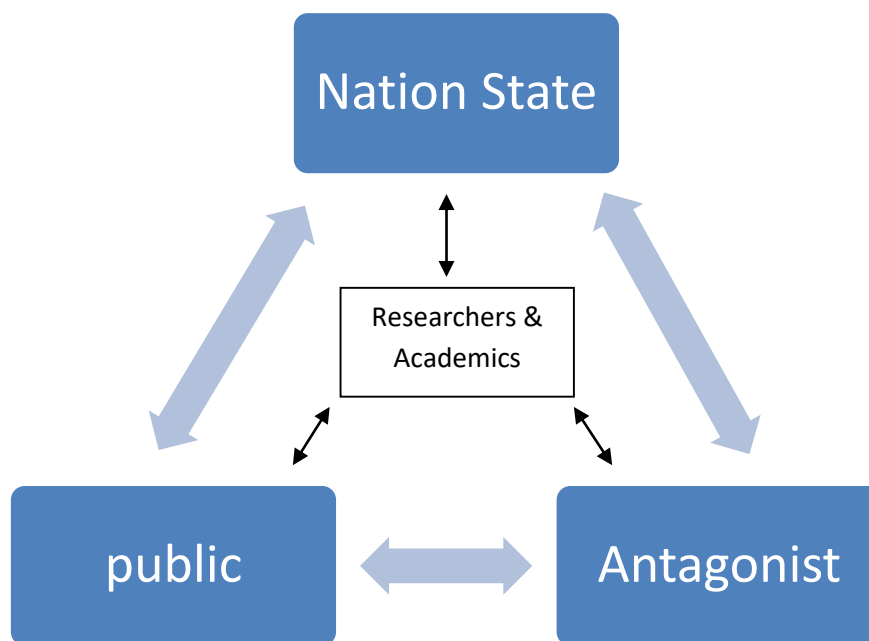
Table 2 is derived from a combination of sources and attempts to illustrate some of the potential value systems or views which the different actors within terrorism have about one another and how they potentially see their roles within that dynamic (Breedon, 2015, Borum, 2014, Armbost, 2010, Aggarwal, 2009, Campos, 2007, Held, et al., 1999, Axford et al., 1997). In summary the state views itself as the legitimate actor to protect and oversee its self and the publics interests, often viewing the public as a source of support but also agitation (Held, et al., 1999). Both the state and the antagonists are vying to engage and maintain a relationship with the public in their efforts to delegitimise and undermine the role of one another (Breedon, 2015). The means by which the respective actors attempt to maintain the value judgements and assumptions is a key factor in the way in which the study of terrorism and radicalisation has evolved and the way in which policy has been developed (Cohen-Louck 2016). Table two is by no means a definitive list of the assumptions but at this stage is merely a way of illustrating some of the variations in the way the different actors may perceive one another. For the purpose of this thesis the term state is used loosely to imply the overall governing structure of a nation state including all its different divisions and faculties. The term antagonist is used to loosely define those that are opposed to or have conflict with the state (discussion around how the label of terrorism and terrorist is defined and applied to antagonists is dealt within the next chapter).

Table 2: Potential value judgements and assumptions of the respective actors about one another

Actors	Views & Value Systems held by each actor		
	STATE	PUBLIC	ANTAGONIST
	• Elected and given the mandate to make decisions on behalf of the public internally and externally[8,9] • Legitimate - democratic in its resolve and its	• The base from which the legitimate authority is proscribed to the state (i.e. through elections)[8] • Need to be governed and organised[9]	• Disruptive threatens the stability of the state and security and protection of its public[1] • Do not have legitimate authority and are not supported by the public or its interests[1,2,3]

STATE Views	implementation of its duties[8,9] • Has the public's interests at the centre of its policies[1] • Carries out the moral obligations of society – public[9]	• Need to be protected[9] • Public can be viewed as supporter but also potential agitators[7] • Source of production revenue and development[8]	• Criminal in nature and activity[7] • Perspectives and goals are Backward and un-progressive[7] • Members are often ill mentally unstable do not share the same value system as us and require rehabilitation incarceration[4] • Cannot be a member of the public which shares a common goal or interests[7]
PUBLIC Views	• Organises and provides security and development within the land[7] • Governs and has the public's interest at the centre of its policies[7,8,9] • Complicated – bureaucratic and potentially Overbearing[7] • Slow to react with issues that are not seen as its priorities[7]	• Independent and self aware[7] • Can change the state[7] • Can be a driving force to change the way in which something is viewed and accepted in society- public[6]	• Extremists wanting to destroy both the state and the public - what we currently have achieved[1,6,7,9] • Not one of us - criminals not sharing the values of enlightened age[8] • Require help to understand where they are going wrong[5] • Individuals who have been wronged and may have legitimate issues to challenge the state[2]
ANTAGONIST	• State is abusing its power, repressive or not looking after the interests of the public[5]	• Public are restricted and given distorted images of reality and truth[1] • Public need to be made aware of the issues and	• Legitimate right and role to free the public from erroneous clutches of the state[1] • to gain freedom and emancipation for oneself and group[3,4]

Views	• State has purposefully neglected or abused its people in the interests of the few[1,5] • Corrupt and ineffective[2,6]	transgression of the state[2] • Public are equally culpable in maintaining the status quos and keeping the elite-state in power[3,7]	• seen as heroes and saviours, true patriots in maintaining the true heritage and knowledge[1] • To challenge those who abide by an encourage the status quo in which the state operates in[2]

[1]Carson & Bartholomew, 2016, [2]Breedon, 2015, [3]Borum, 2014, [4]Armbost, 2010, [5]Brooks, 2009, [6]Aggarwal, 2009, [7]Campos, 2007, [8]Held, et al., 1999, [9]Axford et al., 1997

The recognition that the researcher is also part of this dynamic is important as it frames the thesis in a specific way and allows the subjective assumptions being made by the researcher also to be also drawn out. The researcher is not outside of the symbolic and dynamic processes and nor does he or she exhibit the traits of exceptional rationality and objectivity in its purest form. This self-awareness and reflectiveness is a key component and attribute of personal construct theory in which the researcher or therapist becomes aware of their assumptions about the actors they are viewing and the salient constructs they may be applying to understand the reality of the other (Kelly, 1955). In this respect it is important to recognise the researchers subjective understanding of the actors and the potential biases that the researcher may elicit in relation to this highly emotive area. For instance, as a practising Muslim the conflation between different elements of Islam and this area of investigation (particularly in the aftermath of September 11th) has always been a point of conscious and subconscious critique. Post September 11th the vast generalisations and poor understanding of the different contextual realms of history and Islamic tenets has often been brushed aside in an attempt to provide varying accounts of 'jihadist' terrorism (Carson & Bartholomew, 2016, Choky & Vitchek, 2015). The direct implication of this salient assumption or motivation

has been to encourage broader discussions around the antagonistic relationship between the state and the respective actors. Symptomatic of the war on terror and the second phase of terrorism research Miller, (2009) and later Miller & Mills (2011) found just under two thirds of academic literature post September 11th focused upon jihadist terrorism or middle eastern-pan /Islamic terrorism. The over reliance of a large volume of research in this area (Blain, 2015, Orehek & Vazeou-Nieuwenhuis, 2014, Bhui &Ibrahim 2013, Michelsen, 2009, Loza 2007) which attempts to frame the notions of terrorism and radicalisation in a specific manner based upon the conspirators of September 11th and in recent times those affiliated to Daesh do so without grounding their analysis in the contextual reality of the conflicts these individuals have arisen from. The lack of attention and reference to the historical, political and psychological dynamics at play within the volatile areas of the middle east and other conflict zones weakens and limits the foundation of research in this area (Kenedy-Pipe, Club & Mabon, 2015).

The uncomfortable truth that individuals who share a similar faith as the researcher are capable of such actions is also unpalatable. However, the premise that every human being is unique and capable of great good and great evil and therefore acts of terrorism are not specific to one group or ethnicity, religion or race challenges the divisive notion that a distinct group based on religion, ethnicity, race or gender are more prone to undertake action in this phenomena (Mahan & Griset 2008). Individuals do not suddenly just decide to murder or take a life and that a process of sorts occurs in which the individual's rationale and choice actions are primed and guided in this way (Marazzitti & Stahl, 2017). Although it would be naive to completely rule out the intrinsic value and the purpose the religious, cultural and environmental elements play in the recruitment and justification of actions within this process it is not specific to one religion or group or ethnicity. History is replete with examples

where religious invocations have inspired the most horrific atrocities and culminated in the most barbaric acts against humanity in the name of god or a higher social or political calling (Law, 2009).

The researchers subjective understanding of the state is grounded in the reality that the state is on one level a protector of the people building their hopes and aspirations but on the other hand an equal threat to it. In essence and at the risk of over simplifying complex interactions, there seems to be an innate desire of humanity which is manifested in our ambition to control, to organise, to be master of our land (self-preservation) and to 'encourage' others to follow our way (Law. 2009). How we go about undertaking this innate desire is what separates the different dimensions of governance and rule. In this respect the state which is comprised of individuals who have personal and social aspirations is not infallible and is open to abuse from within and externally. The complex interaction of power dynamics, economics, history, resource utilisation and manipulation coupled with the need to grow are factors which makes the state a saviour and threat. There is a large number of works which detail the power dynamics within a state and the need for the state to have a defined enemy or agitator from which it can legitimise certain actions or the need to take pre-emptive actions to ensure self-preservation (Law. 2009, Byman 2015, Campos 2007). Within this context the state benefits from having a clearly defined enemy from which to save the pubic from. It expedites vast amounts of resources to ensure that a specific narrative is employed to define its enemy and to highlight the consequences of engaging with this enemy, further exacerbating the black and white thinking that is often attributed to those seen as agitators or terrorists (Kennedy-Pipe, et al., 2015).

The public on the other hand are at times akin to passive passengers on a journey who need to be protected and managed by the state in its efforts to get them to a new world. Both the state and the agitators are then attempting to win and coerce the public in their interpretations of the best way to get to this new world or objective. Within the context of an enlightened, rational, morally balanced and democratic society there is a recognition that if the state and its processes become too negatively imbalanced then the public can through these processes legitimately challenge and change the status quo. However, if these process are blocked or inhibited then the potential for agitators to undertake alternative, morally questionable methods grow (Bryan, et al., 2010).

The Importance of Context

At the risk of further embroiling the discussion in a philosophical treatise on constructionism, phenomenology, moral relativism and critical theory this thesis standpoint reflects the key notion that by understanding the subjective and socially constructed worlds of the actors and in particular the antagonist a deeper understanding of the motivations and rationale of the decisions undertaken by these actors can be explored. An awareness of the value judgments being made within these relationships is essential in deconstructing and understanding crucially the nature of terrorism and radicalisation. Thus understanding the context to which these actors operate in is also fundamentally important. The merits of understanding and having an appreciation of context is essential in a range of disciplines for instance, within the legal field the contextual nature of a crime will impact greatly on the way in which that crime is investigated, presented in court and consequently judged (Powers, 2014, Law, 2009). The contextual information and evidence within domestic violence cases for instance where there has been a fatality are often a good example of where the sentencing of the person who has committed the 'murder' can be commuted to 'manslaughter' based on the context of the

incident which affected the person's motivation and actions (Turk, 2003). Similarly, within the medical field developing an understanding of the subjective and contextual environment of the individual can greatly impact on the way in which that person's illness is identified as well as treated (Jensen, 2015).

The context in which the world was entering the 21st century for instance, was fundamental in the way its respective nations responded to the new reality of global terrorism. From one perspective it could be said that there was a collective sigh of relief from the nations of the world as they eagerly awaited the turn of the new century. The great conflicts which defined the twentieth century were now firmly part of the historical narrative and the world driven by great technological revolutions was moving on in anticipation of a new global age of optimism (Law. 2009). It was a time to make a new start and to build upon the ideals of an enlightened society, where the efforts and aspirations of many post world war two had started to materialise i.e. global institutions were starting to have varied success in stopping the world from haemorrhaging and destroying itself.

"The new millennium began with a great global dream. World leaders gathered at the United Nations in 2000 and adopted, among others, a historic goal to reduce poverty by half by 2015. Never in human history had such a bold goal been adopted by the entire world in one voice, one that specified time and size".

Muhammad Yunus, 2010 (p16)

Humanity was aspiring to become its best as nation states in principle (as highlighted by the above quote) were moving towards greater unions across different spheres of trade and politics, managing their conflicts through diplomacy and discussion. A truly global humanity

was now developing and decisive concepts such as peace, science, reason, diplomacy and technology were the vanguards to future development (as opposed to the innate notion of self-preservation). An enlightened age where humanity was working to limit poverty, inequality and a sense of morality had been established which helped govern and provide a sense of direction and purpose in the world (Gosling, 2012).

However, as the world was recovering from its post millennia celebrations it was abruptly reminded of the illusion and frailty of this enlightened era. A recognition that not everyone was sharing these sentiments and that there 'were' and 'are' still tumultuous issues facing humanity. That fateful morning redefined the way in which the world was to further embrace this new millennium. The benign disregard and destruction of human life coupled with the manner in which these atrocities (Sept 11th) occurred temporarily stunted the aspirations of humanity making the world recede and fracturing its nations further, giving rise to suspicion, political mistrust and social discord (Kendal, 2009). This antipathy and affront to the rational-moral indignation of the world was magnified by the visual real time images of the atrocities which were broadcasted instantaneously across the globe.

The sheer shock and powerlessness of those watching and the resulting unfathomable question of how in this enlightened period has such an atrocity been committed lay the foundational way to the unprecedented global movement to investigate, understand and fight the scourge of terrorism. The fight against terrorism had become a central objective across the different realms of society, academia and politics. Although the next chapters of the thesis will expand on this issue, but with no agreed definition of what terrorism is and who constitutes a terrorist the resulting implications of this fight have resulted in fracturing

the world further and entrenching its nations into multi-faceted conflict which has endured till this day.

Chapter conclusion:

The aim of highlighting this context was to illustrate that the shock and momentary pause to the idealism provided the opportunity for the emotional stage of research within this phenomenon to develop and the overriding sense that for many terrorism had suddenly just appeared (Lovelace, et al., 2015). The vigour and veracity of responding to terrorism in the 21st century has been different due to the way in which the process attacked the fundamental values of an enlightened society and this idealism. The context and consequences of these developments on the way in which the phenomena has been understood is discussed further in chapter 3 under the sub title the effects of war on terror. This chapter in essence is about orientating the thesis and recognising the crucial relationship between the respective actors within this dynamic and highlighting the subtle salient assumptions which the actors make as well as the researcher. The context therefore in understanding this phenomenon is fundamental within a critical and reflexive framework.

Chapter 2: Defining terrorism: Search for the Holy Grail:

Chapter Summary:

Defining terrorism or the lack of a consistent definition has implications in the way in which we recognise, record, investigate and respond to 'acts of terror' through legal, security or militaristic terms. This chapter attempts to provide a brief discussion on the range of elements which are indicative of the challenges in developing a conclusive definition to terrorism. It is however, not the full focus of this thesis to attempt to resolve the definitional problems but to summarise a 'working' definition which can be used for the purpose of this thesis. This chapter broadly discusses the different dimensions of a definition and its selective uses by the respective actors within this phenomenon. By attempting to understand the definition through the way in which the different actors utilise it provides an opportunity to disentangle some of convoluted arguments around the term. Without getting too entrenched in the polemic debates around defining this term this chapter attempts to provide an overview of some of the concepts such as morality, extremism and radicalisation and their usage in the legal and political dimensions. It also briefly touches upon the iterative effects of language within the media and its support in maintaining certain framed definitions of terrorism.

What is terrorism?

In world where nearly every dimension of life has a label or a distinction it is somewhat difficult to imagine a term so profusely used but with little agreement on what it actually is and how it actually manifests itself. The implications of terrorism are readily felt across the globe, its impact on the legal, political and social world have redefined the way in which society functions and develops within these and other areas. While attempting to answer the question 'what is terrorism' you by default enter into a realm of political and social construction which attempts to define the term in its subjective, moral, cultural and social context. Terrorism is not a new concept or phenomena but a term or process entrenched in the ever shifting sands of the political and moral world. Superficially framed as a negative and abhorrent process, an apparent attack on our moral sensibility, an affront to the rationality and moral indignation of an enlightened world the term conjures up imagery of acts of murder, genocide and wanton destruction (Setty, 2011). Even though the implications of this term are evident in the historical and current conflicts which grip the world, nation-states are reluctant to agree a definitive definition in which they are bound in legal and practical terms. Instead choosing definitions which are vague open to subjective interpretation and ambiguous at times (Kundnani, 2012). A limited consensus is that terrorism is a form of political violence or violence that has a social and political element or message incorporated within it (Dennis, 2000). It is a strategy in developing a, or communicating a particular message encapsulated in the notion of undermining or creating fear within the general population or administration (Martin 2016, Richardson 2013, Schmid 2004, 1993). Whether it is a legitimate and accepted form of political and social expression or morally accepted way of undertaking political and social change is a point of contention and the source of the variance in definitions (Laqueur 2001). Table 3 highlights the current definitions of terrorism utilised by some nation states and international organisations. The definitions generally gravitate towards key themes such as threat of violence or actual violence and an attempt to influence or convey message.

Table 3: Current definitions of Terrorism used by key nation states

UK Terrorism Act 2000	1 Terrorism: interpretation (1) In this Act "terrorism" means the use or threat of action where— (a) the action falls within subsection (2), (b) the use or threat is designed to influence the government or an international governmental organisation or to intimidate the public or a section of the public, and (c) the use or threat is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause. (2) Action falls within this subsection if it— (a) involves serious violence against a person, (b) involves serious damage to property, (c) endangers a person's life, other than that of the person committing the action, (d) creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public or a section of the public, or (e) is designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system. (3) The use or threat of action falling within subsection (2) which involves the use of firearms or explosives is terrorism whether or not subsection (1)(b) is satisfied. (4) In this section— (a) "action" includes action outside the United Kingdom, (b) a reference to any person or to property is a reference to any person, or to property, wherever situated, (c) a reference to the public includes a reference to the public of a country other than the United Kingdom, and –5– 4 A regularly updated current text of the Terrorism Act 2000 is now provided by the government at www.stautelaw.gov.uk (d) "the government" means the government of the United Kingdom, of a Part of the United Kingdom or of a country other than the United Kingdom. (5) In this Act a reference to action taken for the purposes of terrorism includes a reference to action taken for the benefit of a proscribed organisation.
US	The US Code defines international terrorism as actions that involve violent acts or acts dangerous to human life; intend to intimidate or coerce the civilian population, influence the policy of a government or affect the conduct of a government; and occur primarily outside the US or transcend national boundaries.
EU	Terrorist offences are defined as acts committed with the aim of 'seriously intimidating a population', 'unduly compelling a government or international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act', or 'seriously destabilising or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organisation'.
China	the 2003 Decision on Issues Related to Strengthening Anti-Terrorism Work defines terrorism as 'activities that severely endanger society that have the goal of creating terror in society, endangering public security, or threatening state organs and international organisations and which, by the use of violence, sabotage, intimidation, and other methods, cause or are intended to cause human casualties, great loss to property, damage to public infrastructure, and chaos in the social order, as well as activities that incite, finance, or assist the implementation of the above activities'.
Russia	2006 Federal Law 36-FZ defines terrorism as 'the ideology of violence and the practice of influencing the adoption of a decision by public authorities, local self-government bodies, or international organisations connected with frightening the population and (or) other forms of unlawful violent actions'.

(Adapted from Setty, 2011, pg8-13).

Political dimensions of the definition: The Nation State

"Terrorism is fundamentally and inherently political. It is ineluctably about power: the pursuit of power, the acquisition of power and the use of power to achieve political change"

<div align="right">Bruce Hoffman (in Mahan and Griset. 2008 p:4)</div>

Defining terrorism or searching for a single encompassing definition has perplexed many due to the recognition of the subjective and transient (time context) nature of those in charge of defining it and those being defined by it (Martin 2016, Bhui 2012, Crenshaw 2000). As the words terrorism or terrorist carry a negative connotation i.e. one of illegitimacy, immorality, destruction, death, fear, murder, antipathy of an enlightened society etc. nobody would define themselves as a terrorist or being part of terrorism. In this respect the definition is then placed upon others (often by the state or those at greatest risk from its activities) to distinguish them from one group to another (Mahan and Griset, 2008). The usage of these highly emotive terms are then loaded towards a political and social agenda. As these agendas are uniquely different from state to state the application and consensus of this term is left ambiguous to allow room for political manoeuvrability.

What is then left is a loose recognition of some of the elements which may constitute terrorism but no definitive definition has been agreed upon within a political and legal arena (Goodin, 2006). The definition therefore, will vary depending upon which actor is using it and the context of its usage (Compos 2007). A nation state will have a definition which will be translated into its legal and political arenas that suit its needs, academics depending upon the nature of research will employ a variance of definitions, researchers from think tanks, journalists, other political and social groups, international and non-governmental organisations depending upon the angle from which they orientate themselves from will employ a different definition. Nation-states therefore, selectively apply and adapt the usage

and application of the definition (to whom they seem befitting of this title) as well as the legal framework to charge individuals under this banner.

Essentially the term terrorism and its implications are at the mercy of the ever changing geo-political, economic and social processes relative to that time (Schmid 1993). Those defined as terrorists can in different points in time become allies and vice a versa, for example Nelson Mandela who was famously referred to as a terrorist by Margret Thatcher in the 1980's but in the 1990's was the embodiment of the freedom of rights movement in South Africa and the world over. A further poignant example of this would be the training and support offered by the United States to rebel fighters in Afghanistan in the 1980's to combat soviet expansion at the height of the cold war. The perspectives adopted by the different nation-states within this example reflected their individual political aspirations. The soviets who controlled and instilled a proxy government in Afghanistan were motivated by the notion that they were fighting terrorist insurgencies (US backed militias) while trying to support the humanitarian development of its neighbouring country (Armbost, 2010). Alternatively, the US and its allies grounded their support of the militias (not all of whom were Afghan nationals) as a moral obligation to support their emancipation from an occupying regime which had instilled an 'illegitimate' government who exercised extreme terror to main control.

The utilisation of the word terrorist and terror by the respective actors in this dynamic is specifically linked to the aspirations of the local and foreign policies of those actors at that given time. Conversely the same groups backed by the United States (the Taliban and precursors to Al-Qaida) who were seen as allies at that point, later at the end of the century and as a result of the suspected involvement in the September 11th attacks were now regarded as the terrorists and enemies. A further example of the divergent uses of the definition and subjectivity of application can be illustrated by the manner in which nation states are selective in the way they choose to recognise those they consider allies and those they consider threats. For instance, the Turkish government recognises the Kurdish paramilitary group 'PKK' as a terrorist organisation for its armed conflict with the state internally and externally, yet the UK government does not recognise it as a 'proscribed' or banned group as such individuals

who travel from the UK to join this group and fight against Daesh (Islamic State) are neither recognised by the UK as radicalised nor terrorists but within the Turkish governments eyes these individuals would be recognised as a clear terrorist threat. Incidentally those joining the PKK to fight in Syria against UK government advice are often celebrated as heroes in the media and publics eyes (Freedman & Thussu, 2012).

The diverging use of the word terrorism is uniquely subjective to the goals and aspirations of the individuals (state and non-state actors) defining the concepts and the need to control or deal with those that are being defined by this label. The subjective application of a particular standpoint that a nation-state, group or individual adopts to then define terrorism or terrorist activity is implicitly and explicitly significant in the way in which policy (local, national and international) and actions are justified and undertaken by that actor irrespective of whether those policies contradict or infringe upon agreed international standards. A narrative is then created to reinforce certain preconceptions of terrorism within a defined framework often grounded within concepts which reinforce national sovereignty and escalate the threat to political and national interests locally and abroad. The heightened perception that a terrorist attack is imminent alongside the continuous security measures further reinforce this anxiety provoking situation. Even though you are more likely to be stuck by lightning in certain parts of the United States or get shot in a robbery the perception and the fear of terrorism is such that it was regarded as the most significant security issue facing the population 10 years on from September 11th (Freedman & Thussu, 2012).

History is therefore resonant with examples of this interchanging application of the term by its actors (i.e. nation states, individuals or sub-state groups) who effectively wish to change the geo-political, social and economical prospects potentially into their favour (Richards 2014). This process therefore is indicative of the notion of proxy wars which are often fought by different nation states as sponsors (direct and indirect) who will use a specific rationale to legitimise their claim to support insurgents or governments in different parts of the world even though the tactics and measures used by insurgents and proxy governments clearly contradict the sponsors definition of terrorism or they adopt actions

which can be defined as terroristic in nature. During the cold war era this was an active process adopted by both Russia and the US and its allies (Law 2009).

 In the current context of the world sixteen years on after September 11th the conflicts that rage in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Libya and parts of Africa etc. are symbolic of a greater political and social manoeuvring between different nation states i.e. Saudi Arabia, Iran, Russia, China, Israel, France, United States and the UK. Each nation state has often something to lose and something to gain in this respect this process can also be understood in terms of those in power wanting to maintain or extend their power/influence and those not in power wanting to destabilise, undermine and gain power (Richards 2014). The way in which the different actors in this phenomenon legitimise and moralise an activity is central to which definitions are used (the morality of terrorism and counter terrorism is discussed further on in this chapter).

The implications of understanding the conflicts within a historical and multi faced way is fundamentally important to understand and appreciate the nuances of the political manoeuvring and the connotations this has on the way terrorism is understood, conceptualised and fought. For instance Al-Qaida or Daesh (ISIS) or any other organisations did not just suddenly occur in a political, historical and social vacuum but occurred in a series of contextual environments which have enabled them to grow and to develop. The conflicts in the Middle East which dominate currently and are the subject of vast amounts of literature cannot be seen in an abstract or isolated way but in a historical and political context which will be discussed further on in the thesis in relation to the sample. Couched within these evolving processes is the notion that irrespective of which side you are on there is an ardent rejection of the term terrorist or terrorism exemplified in the adage 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter' i.e. as all sides see their objectives potentially as legitimate and therefore would be able to subjectively moralise, rationalise and justify the need to undertake the said activity.

Morality and legitimacy of Terrorism:

The development of a moral process in which to attack, kill or fight others as a consequence of their actions (or pre-emptively to undertake these actions), often draws upon a number of areas such as religion, philosophy, cultural tradition and the need to protect social norms against a great enemy or an enemy which is so 'evil' that it risks damaging humanity irreparably (Martin. 2015). The type of enemy or justification of which enemy warrants the label 'greatest' threat and its corresponding reaction to control or mange this evil is entirely left to the subjective interpretations and political ambitions of the respective nation-states, sub-state groups and individuals. For instance, the rhetoric prior to the war in Iraq (which has been proved false), was that regime had access to significant weapons of 'mass destruction', and represented a 'great threat' and a 'great evil' (Brenke, 2016, Carson & Bartolomew, 2016). This language therefore placed a moral duty and obligation upon the world to take action.

A key factor in modern times which has some but not all bearing on how this label is appropriated has been the need to obtain consensus amongst either a large majority of the population, nation states or those nation states where a pre-existing relationship or treaty exists. Nation states within the NATO alliance, EU and other transnational organisations will co-operate to a degree for a common interest (Breedon, 2015). This marketing and PR development of gaining and maintaining consensus is essentially where the media and propaganda of the respective actors comes into play. The potential aim in gaining consensus in modern times has been to provide legitimacy (moral and legal) to those actions which could be considered terroristic in nature and where 'innocent' individuals could be caught up in the cross fire. The need to provide legitimacy for an action or pre-emptive action is based upon an extensive narrative of how the greater threat needs dealt with and the number of possible innocent casualties is limited or smaller than those that could suffer if the threat is not managed. Examples of such actions undertaken by nation -states or sub-state groups which are supported by nation states or seen as 'legitimate' morally or legally appear in conflicts throughout history and in the current ongoing conflicts in Afghanistan, Syria, Libya and Iraq (to name a few) where pre-emptive

action has and can continues to rack up the numbers of those killed in the cross fire. Although the propensity for nation states to act without consensus and unilaterally exists it is especially challenging within the globalised context of the current world.

The concept of correct conditions for waging war and a correct behaviour while waging war are moralistic values developed over time and are a sign of humanities rationality in managing its conflicts and disagreements (Martin 2016). In an attempt to understand and to ensure that the barbarity of the world wars was not repeated, and to reflect upon the need for the nations of the world to on some level collectively manage conflicts without imploding the world, the nations accelerated treaties and agreements which attempted to enshrine codes of conduct in war time and peace time (Kennedy-Pipe et al. 2015). This gentrification of war through treaties and agreements was an attempt to morally sanction ways of political violence and expression between states and by limited extension between non-state entities. Therefore, terrorism in principle within this dynamic falls outside of these parameters (thus regarded as a crime) and often is seen as states or non-state actors, groups individuals engaging in political violence 'in peace time' through the back door (Crenshaw 2014). It could be suggested therefore that terrorism is a deviant manifestation of war and like war is politics by another means (Simon 2008).

The idealism and morality of the world in attempting to enshrine codes of conduct in war times and in peace time is noble however, this has not stopped nation states or sub-state actors in engaging in horrific acts of violence and genocide (Breen-Smyth, 2012). Nor has it stopped nation states in supporting other nation states or sub state groups who actively engage in 'acts' of terror. It could therefore be deduced that the individual political, economical, ideological and social ambitions of the respective nation states and sub-state actors trump or reshape the moral 'legitimacy' of undertaking or supporting acts of terror. There is also a proposition that these treaties and processes, from the onset are merely a way in which those in power maintain their power i.e. an elitist theory (Byman 2015, Martin, 2016) as all the definitions and parameters are set in 'their' benefit (Goodin. 2006). The lack of agreed definition therefore creates an environment in which the morality of engagement in

conflicts is fluidic and attenuated to the needs of those in power. This further creates an environment where subjectively all forms of political expression can be considered terroristic in nature. The impact of such wide definitions and variations is that the legal framework in which thus applying the definition of terrorist and terrorism subjectively. The nation states further adopt policies which can become highly prescriptive and threaten social exploration, freedom of speech and other areas of personal privacy and liberty (Martin 2016).

The one hope for the moral vision within the enlightened society is that as the world slowly moves towards an aspiration where global institutions such as the International Criminal Court etc have the authority and the political will to enforce and enact elements of those treaties, it may become difficult therefore to engage in or support acts of terror. But this also assumes that the legal processes are beyond reproach and in themselves independent from the ambitions of the respective actors.

Legal implications of defining terrorism

The lack of an agreed definition internationally has led to a patch work of different legislations within the UN and other nation states as they have attempted to define and adjust their legal frameworks to accommodate the ever changing political and moral landscapes of the world. In this respect, large portions of legislation have often gravitated towards the action of a terrorist or the mode of attack (Wight 2015) which is easier to quantify and can be understood in terms of the subjective and utilitarian usage in line with the needs of the state. The impact of this has often prompted the legal establishments not to dwell upon the motivations or rationale of the individuals, but merely taking the stand that these individuals are inherently opposed to the ideals of 'this' nation state etc. (as further exploration of the motivations may provide legitimisation to their cause or provide avenues of propaganda). Legally therefore terrorism is largely understood in the nature and mode of the actions or the intent to commit action as is the case for UK law (Golder & Williams 2004).

This still remains problematic as the nature and mode of activities are so varied and discerning them from one act to another is extremely subjective and whether they are criminal, legitimate, and terroristic or not are still open to the subjective interpretation of the environment and the political need of the actors at that time. Prior to the war on terror the following acts would have been regarded as abhorrent, potential acts of terror and also contradict the fundamental notion of requiring evidence or proof of guilt etc. but the notion of pre-emptive targeted killing (semantically seen as different from assassinations) via drone strikes or interrogation techniques such as water boarding or rendering in which individuals are taken from a specific country to another area where they are actively tortured or coerced into giving questionable information. These tactics would have been seen as illegitimate and reflecting the modus-operandi of criminals or terrorists (Curtis 2004). However, these and other controversial techniques have been used and legitimised by those nation-states which derive a benefit from them as a way of combating terrorism. Morally questionable but 'legally' accepted tactics such as these are a further examples of the selective usage of terms and processes but worryingly point to the notion that even the legal systems which are designed to foster and encapsulate the notions of an enlightened society are open to abuse and redefinition.

Controversially the fallout of not having a fully independent judiciary or a judiciary which can be swayed has further implications in the way in which particularly for the UK, the manner in which the crown prosecution service chooses to charge individuals and the resulting sentencing parameters that are set. Although this is not a focus for this thesis it is important to highlight an area for further inquiry in respect of understanding the implications of sentencing within this highly emotive area. Historically there have been cases for instance the Guildford Four and Maguire Seven whose charges were quashed in the late 80's and early 90's. A more recent example of the selective charging criteria and the implications it has on wider perceptions in the community is the sentencing of Thomas Mair who brutally shot and murdered of Jo Cox MP in June 2016. Mair who was charged for murder under common law rather than under the counter terrorism legislation where in his preparation, intent, motivations, and penultimately his actions (with the use of a firearm) were clearly politically motivated

i.e. to create fear, to intimidate the public or section of the public, causing direct injury and to send a clear political message. Mair satisfied the main criteria of the legislation and although in his initial hearings it was mentioned that his hate crime was of a terroristic nature it was not deemed in this way. The suggestive notion that this case did not fit the contextual framing of what currently is perceived as a 'terrorist' in the world was highlighted and questioned by the community and academic observers. The impact of the language and media on this case particularly highlighted a fault line in which there was a clear reticence to use the word terrorist or terror suspect. Essentially as the process is human led there will always be to an extent biases and the further political ambiguities will exacerbate these biases but a saving grace is that there are opportunities and processes which enable a correction of injustice. Time will tell if the sentencing regimes of those charged under the current legislation within the UK will 'qualify' or have their charging and sentencing reviewed.

A further legal consideration which inhibits the nation states from defining in absolute terms what is terrorism and what is not is the threat of indictment and legal action (Choky & Vltchek, 2015). Particularly when there are grey areas of dubious actions on the part of nation states in war and in peace time. For instance, the allied bombing of the city of Dresden in 1945 which had no military or strategic value and with victory very much in sight the allies unleashed an onslaught on the city which saw countless thousands die. The aim of this onslaught was to instil fear in the wider populace and to coerce the populace in to further submission, which in this context would be seen as an act of terror. It could be argued that the notion of a full war or total war was in operation and as such this was deemed necessary. In summary both legal and moral terms are subjective to the national interests of those defining terrorism.

The influence of Media in defining terrorism

The visual and literal construction of terrorism particularly for the third actor i.e. the public is fundamentally important for both the state and the antagonist. In the milieu of an ongoing conflict the propaganda of either side is worth its weight in gold, it can make a campaign and break a campaign (Byman 2015). The perception and internalisation of an enemy is essential for both the antagonist and

the state i.e. the state needs to create an enemy which will justify not only the expense but also the intensive security measures and the curtailing of liberties. With the onset of the internet, social media and the smart phone the flow of information, news and propaganda has become global in its reach and instantaneous in its frequency and speed (Coaffe, 2012, Chermak & Greunewald, 2006). The relationship that the media and popular culture play in the visual construction of a definition but also in its maintenance and the psychological priming of the public has become a fundamental battleground (Golder & Williams 2004). The symbolic nature and role that media and popular culture play including the language used in establishing a definition alongside the impact it has on the recruitment and retention of converts to a particular cause has long been established (Pooja & Bhatia 2015).

Seared into the psyche of the world for instance, has been the image of the airplanes hitting the Twin Towers. This along with images of individuals in balaclavas firing weapons in the air, accompanied by black flags with Arabic inscription or individuals shouting god is great in Arabic presents the visual definition for many of what is currently ascribed as terrorism (Kruglanski & Fishman 2006). This construction of the enemy is also subject to the transient needs of the respective actors for example post world war two the enemy or the bogey man in popular culture was often depicted as the communist or socialist movements.

With the notion of a constant threat engrained into the psyche of the public through imagery viewed in popular culture i.e. through the TV, movies and games, reinforced by the language used by the political establishments and the sensationalist media articles the public's perception of a constant threat a dark cloud and shadow over the people is maintained and exacerbated at times of need.

What is clear is that the way we understand something is in relation to the environment and information that we have at that moment in time. While attempting to define terrorism there is gravitation towards defining a behaviour or an action as it is easy for us to contextualise the process

which is then visually represented in our minds and reinforced through the various channels of media and state rhetoric (Freedman & Thussu. 2012).

Defining Terrorism: An Academic or Researcher perspective:

The current focus of discussion within this chapter has mainly attempted to unpick some of the obstacles faced when attempting to define terrorism generally from a nation state perspective or the nations states influence on that perspective. Within the dynamic of the actors the notion of a researcher or academic is someone who is trying to separate him or herself from the public, from the political biases and from the antagonists position as well. The notion of attempting to be objective, rational and scientific, grounded and evidence based are what defines academic studies from the large portions of general commentary which exist in this field.

The Holy Grail to define terrorism from an academic perspective has centred around the notion of trying to accommodate or be sensitive enough so that the range of inconsistencies that are highlighted in this chapter are teased out and a single definition which encapsulates the true dynamics can be identified. With the enormity of this task in mind as Richards (2013) noted highlighting the work of Andrew Silke (2003) that between 1990-1999 of the 490 theoretical articles on this field only 8 attempted to take on the challenge of attempting to highlight the inconsistencies of a definition. Post September 11th within the vast literature over 77% fail to fully define or skirt over the issue of definition, leaving the reader to draw their own conclusion on the parameters of the definition (Richards 2013).

This near impossible task is further exacerbated by the overwhelming cross over between disciplines who have a stake in contributing to the concept of terrorism. Box 3 lists some of the disciplines or sub-disciplines which have produced commentaries on the concept of terrorism. This by no means is a definitive list as the variations of courses, sub-disciplines and research activity across the world has exponentially grown.

Box 1: Intellectual crossover of investigating terrorism: the many fields to the literature:

- International Relations
- Psychology & Social psychology
- Sociology
- History
- Philosophy
- Military and conflict studies
- Political studies & Governance

- Business and Economics
- Peace studies
- Criminology
- Globalisation studies
- Anthropology
- Law
- Investigative Journalism and Media studies

Each discipline will bring to the table a perspective alongside its own ontological and epistemological value system and then accommodate the wider inconsistencies presented to it in the various contextual climates e.g. if the academic is working within the state structures then they would be less likely to encourage a definition which also implicates the state or alternatively if the individual is working within a particular think tank or vested group then their definition will also be slanted towards a particular angle (Wight, 2015). Each of these disciplines has a valid contribution to make in the knowledge base of understanding terrorism and its consequential impacts as the concept transverse all and more of these areas. In this respect Sageman (2014) has argued that due to this diversity the researcher must define terrorism in the constructs and realties of the area that they are wishing to pursue and investigate in and the need for a single all-encompassing definition may not be fully needed. The obvious challenge in this is that it would be near impossible to generalise and conceptualise models when attempting to record, monitor process and evaluate across areas.

Equally a rite of passage within academic literature which is attempting to define terrorism often quote the works of Alex P Schimd (2004, 1993) in which he identifies over 109 variations of definition. These definitions have then been used to identify key recurring core elements which a definition should encompass. Unlike the entrenched position the nation states have in agreeing a definition the academic arena has coalesced around certain core elements which are a best fit in attempting to

encapsulate what terrorism i.e. most academic definitions then revolve around the following key notions:

- A political and social strategy which is consciously adopted by an individual, sub-state group or nation state (Richards 2014, Golder & Williams 2004)

- Which communicates a message or is an attempt to coerce others (individuals or nation-states) through fear to change or adopt a change in regime, policy or action (Kundnani, 2012).

- Which could involve the use of violence or threat of violence

- The targeting of civil, military infrastructure and population to undermine and instil a sense of vulnerability, fear and anxiety (psychological response) in the wider civilian population (Rapin, 2010)

- The target or victims are different from the audience

- Both the action being carried out and the respective response are symbolic and have significant propaganda value for all the different actors involved including the state and the presumed antagonists (Roberts 2014, Richards 2014)

Semantically the above may appear with slight variations but in general the above are seen as a way in which to avoid the entrenched debates around definition (Caruso, 2014, Goodin 2006). For the purpose of this thesis therefore terrorism will be seen as those acts consisting of the above dimensions.

Defining Radicalisation - The thought that leads to the action?

If terrorism is seen as the collective behavioural response of an actor (albeit the state, individual or sub-state group) then radicalisation is defined as the process or processes which an individual undertakes to reach that behavioural response (Schmid & Price 2011). In essence terrorism is the penultimate act of the radicalisation process (Fussey & Richards, 2008). Often viewed as a linear process which is fundamentally grounded in the subjective world of the individual, radicalisation

therefore, is seen as a process or pathway which potentially includes a series of stages where in the individuals conceptual understanding (cognition, belief) of his or her world becomes hardened or extreme Kundnani, (2012), Silber & Bhatt (2007).

Radicalisation is therefore seen as a potential precursor to a terrorist act where sequential extreme views are cognitively embraced and social and politically expressed (Plumper & Neumayer, 2014, Horgan, 2007). Individuals can be radicalised but not proceed on to carrying out 'terroristic acts of violence (Taylor & Horgan 2006). It is the exploration of this subjective process and deconstruction of this assumed pathway that a vast majority of literature (Crenshaw 2014, Speckard, Kendal, 2009, Horgan, 2007, Kruglanski, et al., 2007) and policy particularly in the UK has been produced in an attempt to pre-empt individuals from entering an alleged pathway to a terrorist attack (this will be discussed further in a separate chapter looking at the contextual issues around terrorism and counter terrorism in the UK).

However, this concept is also contentiously debated as the same implications that affect terrorism definitions are reflected in the selective way certain actions are deemed to encourage radicalisation and others are not (Richards 2014). The subjective highlighting of certain concepts, ideals and defining them as extreme, particularly when the evidence base is scant and thus prohibiting or criminalising those individuals who may or may not be affected by those concepts has been an uncomfortable and challenging by-product of the war in terror. The identification of what constitutes as extreme or what can cause radicalisation is at the whim of the subjective and political will of the nation state. With the subjective and relative definitions on what encourages radicalisation the potential to curtail freedom of speech or to restrict movement, access to a range of resources can be and has been increasingly controversial particularly in the UK (Wilner & Douloz, 2010).

It is also important to note that not all radicalisation leads to actual acts of terrorism or social and political disobedience (Jackson & Hall, 2016). An individual could have radical views about a subject but may not necessarily act upon them even when an opportunity and resources are present (Jensen, 2015). There is also a danger where governments in particular may have such a vague definition of

both terrorism and radicalisation which inhibits non-violent protest, civil disobedience, non-violent extremism and other legitimate forms of dissatisfaction. There has been limited work to fully understand the dynamics of radicalisation and the processes that are part of it to complicate matters further the interchanging use of this term with terrorism particularly in the media conflates the issues and limits the ability to discern one concept from the other.

Chapter concluding comments:

This chapter has demonstrated that the definitions for terrorism and radicalisation are increasingly subjective, relative to the time and are intuitively skewed or vague to offer tacit manoeuvrability for the different actors to achieve desired political or social goals. To view terrorism as a utilitarian concept i.e. actors predominately use it as a political or social strategy allows the recognition that every action within this process is symbolic to all the actors. It is also important to recognise that the state as an actor within the dynamic of terrorism includes the range of its different departments and sections e.g. police and military.

The transient nature of all the actors within this phenomenon results in the relative and subjective/ utilitarian usage of the terminology (Kennedy-Pipe, et al., 2015). The separation of the act (actual act of terror) from the process (radicalisation) has helped conceptualise this difficult phenomenon in a manageable way (Crenshaw 2014, Kundnani, 2012). Although politically, academically and legally the debates around what terrorism is will continue however the implicit influence of the media and popular culture greatly shape our salient conceptualisations of these definitions and can impact on the way in which we formulate our opinions on who or what a terrorist is and the corresponding actions which are regarded as terrorism (Jackson & Hall, 2016). The psychological priming of individuals via media and popular culture is a key strategy and mechanism which the different actors adopt to transmit the symbolic messages as a means of recruitment or a means of instilling vulnerability (Horton, 2017).

Chapter 3 The Consequences of the War on Terror

Chapter Summary

This brief chapter highlights the ongoing issues around the war on terror and the implications it has had on the development of theoretical and practical applications within the terrorism field. The clear influence in the way the concept of terrorism has been researched i.e. a constant knee jerk reaction or reactive manner has been a direct consequence of the war on terror. A number of implications are discussed within this chapter with the aim of encouraging a reflective process to move future research away from these implicit implications from the war on terror This chapter is very much an introduction to chapter 4 which will look at the trends in research and the different phases the research has undergone.

The war on terror and it implications:

Before wading through the vast compendiums of literature it is important to reflect upon some of the key issues that have arisen as a consequence of the war on terror and shaped the framing of some of the research within this area.

The surge in literature, commentary and theoretical embellishment of this research area has continued to grow exponentially irrespective of the limited sources of primary data, definitional problems and the politically laden biases that are often evident (Sageman 2014, Coppok & McGovern 2014, Kundnani 2012, Kendal 2009, Hoskins & O'Loughlin 2009, Jackson 2008). A lay person would be forgiven for thinking that the notion of terrorism within the academic field and society on the whole was a new phenomenon post September 11th. This perception in itself is a surface consequence of the war on terror. Although since 2010 the term war on terror has been phased out by the United States as its consequences have destabilised and continue to destabilise vast swathes of land in the world. Fundamentally the atrocities of September 11th became the yard stick by which academia as well as the political and social spheres understood, defined and were motivated in understanding this phenomenon. This narrowing of vision has had profound implications on the way in which terrorism research has been conceptualised and utilised into policy since 2001.

In no direct hierarchical order, the first of these consequences has been a deepening and often controversial partnership between academia, the political, military and social establishments (Roberts 2014, Miller & Mills 2009, Kendal 2009, Smyth et al. 2009). Described as an 'unholy alliance' (Sageman 2015, Richards 2015, Dominic 2010) this partnership has been increasingly divisive as the concepts being investigated are so politically laden that the impact of it impinged upon the credibility, impartiality and critical thinking of the literature as well as dent the reputation of the academic intuitions who have traditionally been seen as bastions of critical independent enquiry (Smyth et al. 2009). This critical view is rooted in the notion that a vast majority of research particularly underplayed the dynamic and symbolic relationship between those committing atrocities and those responding to them i.e. the response of the state and the use of media in depicting the aggressors (Hoskins &

O'loughlin 2009). The veracity and validity of claims and policy decisions put forward by the political establishments many of which directly or indirectly challenged civil liberties were more palatable for the general populace if they were supported by established academic institutions or personalities (Crenshaw 2015, Smyth et al 2009). The pre-disposition in supporting the political status quo and being increasingly selective on the areas of research enquiry has undermined the integrity of researchers but frustratingly not provided the grand insights or light bulb moments that were required to understand or explain the ubiquitous questions.

However, the obvious financial incentives and recognition or exposure that the partnerships bring make it increasingly difficult for institutions to remain outside of this dynamic (Sageman 2015). Combined with the emotionally charged environment after the attacks a natural but uneasy alliance formed which has underpinned a large portion of literature since 2001 (Roberts 2014, Miller & Mills 2009). The consequential outcome of this relationship in its early phase was the rise in publications from a number of individual disciplines (such as psychology, sociology, politics, peace studies, criminology, anthropology, neuroscience, general medicine etc.) who due to the multi-faced nature of terrorism attempted to provide all theoretical models based upon their individual standpoints (Plumber Neumayer 2014). The limitations of primary sources of information along with the emotionally charged rhetoric of the time encouraged the development of 'silo-thinking' between the disciplines which initially all professed to have unique insight into this area of research (Roberts 2015, Rapin 2010). The fragmented, abstract theoretical papers potentially driven by the rewards of the unholy alliance between academia and the establishments in some regard derailed the study from looking at the different constructs and relationships in a holistic and multi-disciplinary manner (Sageman 2014, Richards 2014). As the war on terror has matured the silo-thinking of the respective disciplines has slowly started to diminish and as limited gains were made in this position, Silke (2003) highlighted a growing trend in multi-disciplinary collaborations and output.

A second key consequence has been the rise of the 'terror' expert. Whose insight and investigative knowledge of this area has propelled individual researchers, journalists and investigators into the

heights of social and political fame (Goodin, 2006). The equivalent of the football and movie stars of the academic world in this area has prompted a key challenge where limited evidence based assertions have directly been taken as fact or translated in to active policy which has had disastrous consequence and further undermined credibility of research in this area (Carson & Bartholomew, 2016). Sageman (2014) in his infamous declaration that the research within this area had stagnated goes on to highlights that while straddling both academic and political realms he was no stranger to the fantastically ostentatious claims of fellow academics professing they had made breakthroughs within this field. The rise of funding and support in this area especially in times of austerity and financial cuts has made this area particularly fruitful for individuals to become part of. The relationship between particular think tanks, political and social groups as well as, media and social outlets has further influenced the way in which 'terror experts' advice and information has been taken as gospel but often slanted towards the needs of the respective organisations (Choky & Vltcheck, 2015, Cohen-Louck, 2016). The nature and direction of research in this area has specifically been from a western centric view point due to the numbers of 'terror experts' coming from the United States or Europe (Stampnitzky, 2013). This western centric view point has limited the ability of research to appreciate the nuances of culture, religious tradition and value systems in other parts of the world (Gareeva, et al., 2016, Ranstorp 2007).

A third consequence of this narrowing view of terrorism and the impact of the terror expert was the speed at which researchers felt they needed to provide answers to those key questions (i.e. how can somebody do this, why did somebody want to do this and later how can we stop this from happening). The clamour to provide 'quick' and reactive analysis often with weak or ill-informed information, dubious secondary sources and a skewed outlook towards a particular 'geopolitical' dynamic exacerbated the lines of enquiry and helped fuel salient assumptions and prejudices about this phenomena (Kruglanski & Fishman 2009).

As the flood of researchers and 'terror experts' attempted to deconstruct or provide an analysis solely based on the conspirators, key salient prejudices around their motives, psychological, social and

economic pre-dispositions were perpetuated through ongoing discourses and the relentless media portrayals. The need to provide answers and the need to hold somebody accountable along with the toxic mix of popular media fanned by political rhetoric blurred the lines between legitimate evidence and that of ambiguous generalisations (Roberts 2014, Rapin 2010, Kundnani 2012). Some of these generalisations revolved around the following assumptions i.e. that these terrorists were most likely suffering from mental disorders (and thus vulnerable to abuse or brain washing), came from poor or disadvantaged backgrounds, came from foreign countries, were inherently propelled by a deviant Islamic doctrine which ideologically predisposed them to jihad or violent struggle, were of Arab or Asian descent, who hated western democracy or Christianity, who were envious of American riches and were hell bent on destroying America and Israel (Qureshi 2015, Coppock & McGovern 2014).

Focusing particularly on the latter few assumptions the terror expert would then provide an insight into abstract and de-contextualised analysis of historical and ancient Islamic theological terms and semantic phrases which he or she felt were driving the individuals to commit such atrocities (Sageman 2015, Qureshi 2015). These vast generalisations and emotionally reactive responses gave rise to a whole generation of literature focusing solely on the Islamic faith and also the inexplicably linked conflicts of the Middle East and other Muslim majority countries (Roberts 2014). The abstract understanding of these conflicts and the subtly of these generalisations still permeates through current research and is highly prevalent in popular culture reinforcing this assumed notion of who or what a terrorist is i.e. national surveys conducted in the US still find a high proportion of individuals who define terrorism or a terrorist as a young Asian or Arab male of foreign origin, linked to the religion of Islam and with a deep sense of loathing of the American way of life (Doherty, et al., 2014). This assumption of who and what a terrorist is and the over emphasis on ideological dogma has enviably consumed vast amount of resources and skewed the way in which terrorism has been identified, reported and combated i.e. via de-radicalisation strategies and mechanisms (Wadwa & Bhatia 2015, Hardy 2015, Lum et al 2006).

The inherent reliance on assumptions was not solely down to the fervour of political and social rhetoric but also due to the fact that terrorism as a subject of study has and is an increasingly challenging area and by default has historically limited scholarly evidence base or direct primary sources of information (Horton, 2017, Crenshaw 2014, Sageman 2014, Ranstorp 2007). As highlighted in the last chapter, defining who is a terrorist, what constitutes as terrorism etc. is increasingly subjective and open to so many different interpretations. The contentious nature and the direct political and legal intervention in defining this subject area has confounded many researchers and limited the scope of any systematic analysis of this subject area.

The fourth consequence has focused upon the way in which the subjective definition of terrorism has been used as a catch all to identify and conceptualise a common enemy. Briefly touched upon in the last chapter i.e. the conceptualisation and media propagation and psychological priming of the public in recognising a clear enemy. Historically it has been advantageous for politicians and military to define who they see as the enemy i.e. prior to the war on terror and the rise of Al-Qaeda (and its current manifestation Daesh or ISIL) the great enemy post World War 2 period was from the west's point of view communism and from the east's point of view the greed of capitalism. The social, political and psychological construction of an enemy and its implications are central in understanding how individuals become radicalised and how potential acts of terrorism are sanctioned and actioned. The ambiguousness of which groups, organisations or individuals are labelled as terrorist or carrying out acts of terrorism has been increasingly subjective from one nation state to another. Many regimes around the world including those of significant political and military clout such as the US, UK, EU Turkey, Russia, China and Japan have selectively applied definitions of terrorism to groups which served the long term political and economic aspirations of that country (Byman 2015).

The fifth consequence which leads on from the fourth is the recognition that the arbitrary and transient nature of the labels of extremist, radicalisation and terrorist are used in many forms to potentially stifle, stigmatise and criminalise potential 'legitimate' debates, dissent and political expression in the name of dealing with terrorists (Kundnani 2012). Nation states across the globe as

part of their contribution in fighting the war on terror have used this as an opportunity to increase

the potential enforcement and surveillance of the public, restricting further civil liberties and

targeting a whole array of organisations and groups which may or may not pose a security issue. A

further example of heightened anxiety and restriction of civil liberties is where universities,

previously regarded as bastions of open debate and reflection no matter how controversial the

subject matter was, have found that they can fall foul of new counter terrorism legislation within the

UK. This has prompted the cancellations of debates and discourses up and down the country which

deal with highly political and social issues. The irony of the situation is uniquely epitomised in the

comments by Cory Doctrow (a Canadian journalist) in 2008 on the Five Live programme where he

notes that "(Its) funny, for all surveillance, Osama bin Laden is still free and we're not. Guess who's

winning the "war on terror?" (Doctrow C, 2008, in Greeva, et al., 2016)

The sixth consequence which is intertwined with all the respective consequences is the 'psychological

priming of individuals' or the public (Jensen, 2015). This concept already briefly touched upon in the

previous chapter i.e. the relationship between the media, political establishments and the language

used by each to define, conceptualise and maintain a perception of an enemy is inherently

fundamental in ensuring the psychological and social reactions of the public. The changing dynamics

and platforms of media including social media, computer games etc. are essential in promoting the

'propaganda' and symbolic value system of the respective actors (Greeva, et al., 2016).

The psychological priming of the respective actors is saliently used to ensure resistance to the ever

restricting civil liberties and also the emotional dissonance created as a means of justifying abhorrent

techniques of interrogation and pre-emptive measures is accepted by the public (Goodin 2006, Miller

2009). Potential war crimes and crimes against humanity are then seen as side issues as the need to

deal with the great threat or enemy by any means necessary become justifiable and 'legitimate'. In

essence both the antagonists and the state operate a level of psychological warfare (Leistedt, 2017,

Lambert, 2014). The consequence of this warfare within the academic arena has been that within the

initial phases of the reawakening researchers have placated or even capitulated in challenging some of these inconsistencies. After 16 years on from those fateful events and although the determination to be critical and reflexive in thinking within this area has increased there is still trepidation in the way in which research can and is carried out alongside the notion of challenging government narratives (Roberts, 2015).

A sixth consequence has been an overzealous attempt to couch the phenomena solely as a 21st century problem relegating history as well as the historical understanding of this phenomenon (Kundnanai 2012). Particularly when the 70's 80's and 90's for many countries in the world was a time of heightened 'terrorist' attacks'. The ardent neglect of the historical, social and political narrative of all the characters within the play of an atrocity greatly limits our understanding of some of the key motivators and decision pathways that have led to the situation occurring (Malthaner, 2014). The omission of understanding the geo-political and historical narrative of both the nation states and those individuals deemed as terrorists; their communities, cultures, religious grouping and their subjective interpretation or aspirations has again limited the understanding of what potentially motivates individuals and what they assume they would achieve by this action (Sinclair 2009, Simon 2008). A potential reticent attitude amongst researchers to undertake such an analysis may be based upon the scale of the work required but also a fear that the research may be justifying the acts of violence or legitimising or re-humanising the cause of the group or individual (Plumber & Neumayer 2014, Crenshaw 2000).

It would have been unpalatable within the wider emotional context of the emotive stage of research to start a discussion on the notion of wanting to see issues from the 'terrorists' perspective. Therefore, limited research particularly in the years after the atrocities attempted to 'see things' from the attacker's point of view or use methodologies which involved eliciting 'first hand' qualitative type of information. Although it could be argued that due to the perineal problems of accessing primary sources of data the only manner in which to develop theoretical standpoints was to look at secondary descriptive information. Nonetheless the notion of attempting to see things from the subjective

window of the antagonist was not a popular choice without fear of legitimising or glorifying the message of the antagonist and its corresponding repercussions for the researcher (Qureshi, 2015). This framing of terrorism essentially is a consequence of seeing it as a new phenomenon, not historically linked and seeing it in isolation or as abstract from other micro and macro processes that are occurring in the lives of individuals (Crenshaw, 2014). By clefting apart, the study of terrorism from its historical and social aspects the fallacy of modern research into this field has embarked on a path whereby the parameters for this inquiry are limited, to an extent defined by political ambition, skewed in a direction which negates the symbolic and intrinsic nature of the relationship between those defined as aggressors-terrorists and the respective nation states (Malthaner 2014). The consequent implications on strategy, laws and counterterrorism, radicalisation and de-radicalisation work, as well as the substantial theoretical work becomes fundamentally inhibited in providing insight into those ubiquitous questions.

A final consequence which has invariably fixated the judgement of many academics has been the salient point that:

(a) The concept of terrorism and its expression in some way can become obsolete or eradicated. A key ambition of the proponents of the war on terror was to remove the threat of terrorism completely once and for all (Wight, 2015, Sageman, 2014, Law 2009, Miller 2009).

(b) There is a definitive set of psychological, social or religious criterion by which we can root out individuals who are affected by this horrendous thought process and action (Richards 2014, Kruglanski, 2009, Horgan, 2007).

The endeavour to achieve point (a) seems exceptionally noteworthy and honourable, heavily influenced by the rhetoric of the war on terror and also remnants of the context in which the world was entering the 21st century i.e. a new age of optimism and postmodernism where issues such as this and conflict could have been manged through our reasoned and rational discourses (Leistedt, 2017, Lovelace, et al., 2015). The problem to this endeavour, however is that the lack of a consistent

definition and the issues already discussed above and in the previous chapter, all of which hinder this objective and make it near impossible to achieve (Chadwick 2009). While these inconsistencies exist a concerted effort to manage and eradicate terrorism is not really possible, more over terrorism has existed throughout history and has taken many forms. Some forms have initially started as illegitimate forms of political expression and unrest, only to migrate to become legitimate forms of social movement and action and governance (Law, 2009). A key highlighting facet in this transition has been the view and value judgements that the public have placed upon the respective movement or activity thus highlighting the transient and subjective nature of this area. The psychological aspects highlighted in point (b) of this consequence are discussed within chapter 4.

Chapter 4: Theoretical contributions in understanding Terrorism

Chapter Summary

This chapter provides an overview of the emerging key theories and themes around terrorism and radicalisation. It starts by focusing upon evolution of thought in the theoretical foundations of this area, initially focusing upon the challenges in developing a research platform and the transition from an emotive stage to a more critical and evidence based stage. An overview of some of the key challenges in generating data and primary sources of researching in this area are briefly touched upon alongside a discussion on the uses of the range of international terrorism databases. Although the literature in this field is overwhelming there are number of key recurring academics whose work is reflected upon to discuss the foundational concepts which are used to develop the study arm of this thesis.

"What is it that has prompted these individuals to give up the most precious gift they have and to utilise it to bring down such destruction and devastation, extinguishing their life and the life's of so many others, did they hate themselves so much? did they hate the others so much? or were they the product of something that had happened to them, we will never know but we cannot give in to hate nor give up the dream that the world can and is going to heal and be better".

(Anonymous, 2005)

The above sentences were posted anonymously on the community notice board at a drop in centre in Leeds several days after the incidents in London on the 7th of July 2005 (sometimes referred to as 7/7), where a group of young men (3 from Leeds and 1 from Buckinghamshire) detonated a number of explosives on the London transport system killing 52 people and injuring over 700. Reeling still from the shock of September 11th the world and the UK was reminded of the destruction and barbarity of such actions. The recurring questions which resonated throughout the world were how (and why) could individuals do this, What made them do this and how do we stop this from happening again. What makes an individual give up the most precious gift he or she has i.e. their existence and what factors prompted them to take such an action are the perennial questions that have underpinned the vast majority of research within this field. The above quote succinctly also eludes to the key dimensions of research i.e. the investigation of the individual's motivations, actions and decision processes through the lens of the individual's own psychopathology and their subjective interaction with the world around them. Horgan (2005) notes that "terrorism may be a social and political process but it is essentially psychological factors that drive an individual's motivation, action and decisional process" (p:30). Within this context a vast amount of literature has been produced which has focused upon the different elements of these processes in relation to the respective actors.

General Challenges in Developing a Theoretical Base

The necessity to investigate, understand and to develop a process of conceptualisation within this phenomena, even in light of the above consequences and the symptomatic challenges presented with its definition are ever more relevant now as we emerge from the emotional stages of research into the critical and reflexive stage. The evolution of thought within the field of terrorism aside the challenges already discussed has been inhibited by a number of fundamental processes, the chief one being the inherent reliance on secondary and tertiary forms of data (Crenshaw, 2014, Dolnik 2011). The challenges in gaining primary sources of information aside the fact that nobody would regard themselves as a terrorist is that those who do undertake the penultimate act which demarcates a form of terrorism i.e. suicide, then the only remaining point of investigation is the information they leave behind and or the interaction with their family or associates (Lambert, 2014, Liss, 2013). The information that is left behind i.e. a suicide note or video etc. is often laden with elements of propaganda and provide very little information around the journey or decisions that have led the person to this point. Interaction with the family and associates of those who have committed suicide may yield some understanding of the person's world (and is actively used in field research, Speckard 2012). However, more often than not many individuals often hide or ensure that the family is oblivious to the activities they are undertaking.

The data that is gathered from secondary sources is often from media sources, anecdotal, theoretical or from declassified government and military sources which is often not verifiable (Dolnik, 2011). Generalisability and potential replication of studies within the field is often difficult due to the disparity in the way in which the definitions are construed from one research methodology to the next and often the accessibility to data has been achieved through personal or immediate networking contacts. This combined with the notion that the vast majority of researchers within this area have a western centric view or the researchers predominately are based in western Europe or the US has implications with the way in which the different cultural and religious nuances and contextual information is presented, analysed and potentially misconstrued.

Accessibility to those individuals who failed in their attempts or carried out variant forms of acts of terror is a potential area where insight could be gained, however the process in gaining access and working with the security services is often entrenched in bureaucracy and cumbersome (Donlink 2011). When access has been gained the information garnered can also be laden with propaganda, and may not reflect a true process of the decision pathways the individual underwent. The security vetting alongside the environment may also mean the individual may not be genuine with all the details (Ranstorp 2007). With so many of these challenges it is understandable that this field of research previously was on the fringes of political and social science enquiry.

The rise of Terrorism Databases

To compensate for the lack of primary sources of information and the increase in technological advancement a key part of the analysis for a large number of articles post September 11th has been the reliance on international databases which have been used to collate incidents of national and international acts of terrorism (Mahan & Griest. 2008). The rise of such databases including the open source Global Terrorism Database (GTD) and the closed International Terrorism Attribute of Terrorist Events (ITERATE) database form part of a growing trend in attempting to capture, where, when and how an incident has occurred. Alongside these data sets individual nation states and think tanks also maintain and support various databases including the above in generating information about acts of terror. Drawing on information from public and potential government areas the databases provide a range of information and are potential good sources of identifying general trends. However, the lack of consistent definition (i.e. the criterion by which data is recorded onto the databases is different from one database to the next) as well as the obvious funding and support by political establishments mean that information potentially can be misconstrued.

The rise of Field Research & investigation

The inherent notions that are being investigated in this area are the complex social, political and psychological interactions of the individual couched in the dynamic of the real world. The lack of

primary sources in general means that researchers have to be innovative in the ways they have gained information often relying upon security services to gain access to individuals who are already detained or access to their families or social networks. As noted above the notion of gaining insight into the 'terrorists' world by exploring their natural world is useful but may only present part of a picture. The research area in general lends itself to less quantitative analysis e.g. the databases which are collated provide incidents, etc, and may provide information about method but will provide little insight into the drivers or motivations. As such a phenomenological approach has generally been undertaken (where access has been gained) through interviews and narrative illustrations (Pauwels & Svensson, 2017, Speckard 2012, Perlinger & Pedahzur, 2011).

Field research therefore has been a growing area in which researchers have attempted to gain access to communities and groups across the world to gain an unfiltered insight into the naturalistic settings of individuals and communities. A key proponent of this methodology Adam Dolnik (2011) has noted the benefit of gaining such a rich source of information which plugs the gap between politically filtered information and the often scant or popularist information distributed through the media, which further neglects context and is geared towards a general slant to sensationalise issues. Anne Speckhard (2012, 2005) using this methodology developed her work 'talking to terrorists' which highlighted her experiences of visiting a range of countries including Chechnya and Palestine. Speckhard noted that the process of radicalisation and penultimate action was a process built up over time and identified a number of psychological constructs such as a constant level of trauma and fear within the populace, varying levels of systematic abuse (from those seen as authority figures) and deprivation as factors which prompted individuals to engage in the process of radicalisation. Speckhard (2009) and Dolnik (2011) both note that this methodology is extensively time consuming and can provide limited success when so much time has been invested but no exact contacts or rapport or trust with key people in the communities has been established. The safety and security of those participating as well as the researcher is a constant area of concern and risk. The challenges of building a trusting platform alongside the notion of 'am I speaking to the right person' are central to

gaining a true narrative of the individual experiences and processes. Being ethical and transparent in the aims and objectives of the nature of research enquiry, alongside what the data is going to be used for etc, are further factors in building this trusting rapport. Generalisability on the otherhand is then limited due to the subjective nature of what is being identified. Field studies provide a unique way of gaining information but are reliant on the ability to gain access but once access has been achieved the depth and value of data generated can be influential.

General Trends in Terrorism studies

Andrew Silke in various pieces of work (2007, 2004, 2001) has attempted to illustrate through a review of academic literature spanning from 1990- 2004 the changing and evolving nature of research within this area. This undertaking has involved reviewing the number of citations and data searchers throughout the key academic databases, a methodology which has also been used by Schimd and Jongman, (1988). Silke's work highlighted some of the key trends both pre and post 9/11 i.e. pre 9/11 literature tended to be slightly less collaborative in nature with a higher focus on further literature reviews and limited statistical analysis or methodological use. Unsurprisingly the number of articles post 9/11 has now dwarfed those from pre 9/11. With a higher multi-disciplinary and collaborative focus post 9/11 research was still limited in its methodological and statistical approaches but still was slightly higher then pre-9/11. The spread of research enquiry reflected the contextual environments of the respective times i.e. pre 9/11 up to 28% of articles focused on a myriad of organisations such as the IRA, ETA, far right groups etc. post September 11th has seen a surge in over 20% solely focusing upon the Al-Qaida.

Although research enquiry in the other groups has generally not seen a decline (Blain, 2015), the sheer number of articles produced focusing on al-Qaida or other variant Muslim orientated groups has increased exponentially and skewed the data i.e. over 57.3% of articles post September 11th have focused upon some variances of Muslim extremism (Silke, 2007). Providing support to the notion of a de-contextualised understanding of the phenomena Silke's work highlighted that pre and post 9/11

the number of articles focusing on the historical context were very small i.e. pre 3.9% of articles and post only 1.7%. To complement his findings Silke and Schmidt-Petersen (2014) undertook a further review using a similar methodological criterion to identify the 100 most cited articles within this field. Unsurprisingly a vast majority were published in America of which out of the top 100, 63 were published since 2001 and 12 published after 2006. The recognition that a multi-disciplinary approach was essential in understanding this phenomenon was further echoed by the fact that over 54 of those cited were collaborative works and from the 100, 47 articles provided new forms of data.

The authors take an increasingly optimistic view i.e. that there is limited evidence of stagnation in academic material as highlighted by Sageman (2014) and that the area is undergoing a renaissance of sorts in which over 80-90 percent of those academics who have written or commented on terrorism are still alive and that active debate and processes are still emerging (pg 9). It is in no doubt that the area is still in constant flux and is evolving readily in different directions. Limitations of this type of analysis is that due to ever increasing disciplinary output of this area the articles may be cited frequently but the motivation and context in which they are cited is not really sometimes clear or appropriate to the area that is being investigated. For instance, the most cited article in this list, the work of Fearon & Laitin (2003), largely focuses upon the economic and social factors in state integrity alongside the notion that conflicts and insurgency are historically linked and not just appearing in the vacuum of a post-cold war era. The paper does provide a contextual understanding of the political and social dynamics at play within unstable states wherein the likelihood of unrest, guerrilla warfare and insurgency are increased but does little to explain any of the psychopathology and motivational drivers. The huge diversity of work in this area from the range of disciplines is this areas greatest strength but also one of its limiting factors which slows its ability to coalesce in to a defined research discipline.

Phases of Research: Pre September 11th:

A proposition of this thesis is that academic output within this field can loosely be viewed through distinct stages i.e. post world war two till September 11th can be loosely classed as the initial

theoretical stage, followed by the highly political and emotional stage between September 11th till approximately late 2006 where the seeds of the current critical and reflexive stage have taken shape. There is a recognition that these are just arbitrary distinctions placed on the process as a way to assist in unpicking some of the literature.

Post world war two saw the rise of the social sciences, social and developmental psychology, cognitive psychology, humanistic psychology and the development of political and social discourses. The defeat of the Nazis, the fall of empires and the gradual colonial withdrawal from different countries was creating a time of great uncertainty and political opportunism which pen-ultimately manifested into the cold war i.e. the battle between communism and capitalism. Within this equally volatile context (as compared to the current volatility) the notions of terrorism grounded in the conflicts of Northern Ireland, the Palestinian- Israeli conflict, Vietnam war, separation of India (and creation of the Kashmir problem) and the various uprising in the Americas and Africa were slowly informing developing research within this area. Some of the writers in this area included Walter Laqueur (1977), Martha Crenshaw (1981), David Rapoport (1971), Paul Wilkinson (1976) and Alex Schmid (1988).

A characteristic of this stage as noted before, was the limited accessibility to primary sources of data thus focusing upon large theoretical models (Wight, 2015). Collectively the works of these authors have influenced the conceptual understanding of terrorism and political violence in so far as recognising the multi -faceted nature of it and eluding to its psychological and social complexity in definition and process (Pease, et al., 2016). Walter Liqueur's work a 'History of Terrorism' (1977) has been reprinted several times with various addendums added to it. Laqueur a political historian and a commentator on the ongoing conflicts between the Israeli and Palestinian factions noted that in the 1970's the subjective and blurred use of the terms terrorism and guerrilla warfare as well as the ongoing conflation between left-wing socialist movements and anarchistic forms of political unrest inhibited a clear process of evaluating these aspects of political violence and unrest (Laqueur, 1977, pg. ix).

Nearly all the writers draw distinction on the notion that the manner and mode of political unrest and that which is defined as terroristic in nature evolve over time and reflect the context of that time (Crenshaw 2014, Schmid & Crelinsten 1993). For instance, the modus operandi and tactics of those seen as terrorists changed depending upon what was seen as most effective at that time and the resources available to the respective organisations (Turk, 2003) i.e. the 1980's and 1990's saw a rise in hostage tacking – kidnapping (for ransom), assassinations, indiscriminate bombing, or bombing where notice had been given before detonation to instil a heightened level of panic (a particular tactic of the IRA), sabotage, torture and guerrilla warfare (Schmid & Crelinsten 1993). These types of acts are still seen as pertinent in the post 9/11 age alongside an increase in the use of suicide bombings and with the addition of technological advancement cyber-terrorism. The threat of weapons of any kind and particularly those regarded as weapons of mass destruction are further tactics which may be adopted post September 11th.

David Rapoport (2002) after reflecting upon over 40 years of academic work attempted conceptualise terrorism in a series of waves from which he postulated that terrorism was a response to the contextual social and political processes specific to each era. For instance, between 1880 – 1920 this was the Anarchist wave, between 1920's-1960 this was the anti-colonial wave, from the 1960 to the 1990's the new left wave and the 1990's to 2001 saw the religious wave which arguably endures to this day (Rapoport, 2002, pg.10). The religious wave has further evolved to include a 'new age wave' dominated by the increasing use of technology and a growing internationalisation of the attacks rather than being located to specific geographies (Stump & Dixit 2012). The demarcation between these waves is not exclusive but encapsulates the changes in social and political spheres of the world, recognising the evolution of attacks and processes that have taken place within this phenomena (Zafra -Davis, 2015). The waves provide a further framework and support the evolution of theoretical development pre and post September 11th by acknowledging the wider social and political dimensions within this phenomenon.

Phases of research: Post September 11th

The understanding of the waves provides a social and political framing of some of the motivators and precursors which may prompt individuals to undertake terroristic actions, but the question why certain people undertake acts and not others, even though they may experience the same triggers, frustrations, social, psychological and political pressures still remains elusive (Cohen-Louck, 2016). A discussion on the psychological contribution of research is expanded further but in summary there is general consensus that the complex interactions of terrorism cannot be solely down to just one of the following issues:

- **Psychopathology or narcissistic tendencies,** irrational thought process, cognitive dissonance, or intense emotional instability i.e. poor control of anger, fear and rejection or as a result of trauma and abuse. (Coaffee, 2012, Taylor, 2010, Victoroff & Kruglanski, 2009, Alexander & Klein, 2005)

- **Political and social grievances** - either current, historical / perceived or actual (Blain 2015, Choky & Vitchek, 2015)

- **Personal or Group - Cultural Grievances** - either current, historical / perceived or actual (Caruso & Locatelli, 2014, Hutson, et al., 2009)

- **Depravation - Economical, social, educational** - either current, historical / perceived or actual (Henar 2015, Sageman 2004)

- **Religious or ideological zeal or grievance** - either current, historical / perceived or actual (Qureshi 2015, Roberts 2015, Speckard & Akhmedova, 2005)

- **Financial grievance or resource gain** - either current, historical / perceived or actual (Ismail & Amjad 2014, Armborst, 2010)

Instead a potential combination of these variables may come into play depending upon the relative and subjective world of the individual and the context they are in (Leistedt 2017, Jensen 2015, Breedon, 2015).

Horgan (2007) further summarises the following factors seen as potential root causes of terrorism:

- Lack of democracy, civil Liberties and the rule of law
- Failed or weak states
- Rapid modernisation (or unequal modernisation leading to inequality)
- Extremist ideologies of secular and religious nature
- Historical antecedents of political violence, civil wars, revolutions, dictatorships or occupation
- Hegemony and inequality of power
- Illegitimate or corrupt governments

- Powerful external actors upholding illegitimate governments
- Repression by foreign occupation or by colonial powers
- The experience of discrimination on the basis of ethnic or religious origin
- Failure or unwillingness by state to integrate dissident groups or emerging social classes
- The experience of social injustice and the presence of charismatic ideological leaders

Psychological contributions in understanding Terrorism

The high hopes and aspirations of what psychological research enquiry could offer the field of terrorism is embellished in the following short passage taken from Bongar, et al., (2007);

"From a strategic perspective, psychological research can advance the development of programs to decrease support for terrorist attacks within communities that generate such incidents. More generally, studies in the psychology of terrorism will support efforts by the United States to win ''the war of ideas'' and attack adversary recruitment efforts at the strategic level. It may also be possible to utilize technical means to detect potential terrorists, including suicide bombers, before they strike. Basic and applied research into the psychology of terrorism that examines behavioural patterns and physical characteristics may well lead to methods that directly support attack prediction and prevention"

(Bongar, et al., 2007, pg 9)

Although gains have been made in developing the portfolio of psychological enquiry in this area, they have not achieved anywhere near the aspirations identified by Bongar (Sageman, 2014). In an attempt to reflect upon some of the psychological contributions to this field Randy Borum, et al., (2007) adopted a similar methodology to Andrew Silke (who coincidently was a key collaborator within this project) i.e. a systematic analysis of the literature within this field which enhanced psychological understanding of this area. Key search terms i.e. terrorism, psychology and political violence were used to search recognised publication databases. Their review identified over 300 pieces of work which ranged from conference transcripts to a range of papers discussing the personality dysfunctions of terrorists and effects of trauma and fear on the wider populace.

A central thought that persists or is an easy way to rationalise the barbaric actions of someone is to assume they have some sort of predisposed mental illness in which their faculty of reasoning,

humanity, empathy and mercy have been by passed and thus they are capable of committing such horrendous acts on humanity which outwardly they may also seem to show that they enjoy (McCauley, 2002). Psychological abnormality or to view individuals as insane, crazy, mad and psychopathic have permeated through popular culture, media and some state sources which attempt to clearly distinguish between the antagonist and those of the general public (Maikovich, 2005).

One of the main pieces of work identified by Borum et al (2007) was the culmination of a series of 'professional meetings of experts in the field' in 2003. Under the conference title "fighting Terrorism for humanity".   Within the lengthy conclusions of the conference highlighted by Borum, et al., (2007) it was noted that the psychopathology or personality instability albeit expressed by a very small number of people was not the norm within terror organisations, nor was the cause of terrorism specific to one group or religious following, but an expression of a range of social, psychological, environmental and historical factors. Historically this is further corroborated by extensive personality interviews and focus on the Baader-Meinhof group in Germany who were infamous for a series of bombing post world war two (McCauley, 2002, Maikovich 2005).

The ongoing evidence and experience of researcher's such as Gill & Corner (2017), Criado (2017), Butler, (2015) Crenshaw (2014), Sageman, (2014), Lambert, (2014) has been that individuals who have chosen to undertake such actions do not display any abnormal or heightened states of mental or social distress (Butler, 2015). A good example of this would be the 7/7 bombers who were well adjusted insofar there was no recorded of mental illness issues, they generally had successful relationships, supportive families, careers and were not intellectually challenged in any way (Wight, 2015). Information garnered through exhaustive contact with those that knew the individuals e.g. their families, peer groups, work colleagues and a deconstruction of their social and electronic footprints did not show anything untoward or pre-indicators of such actions (Selim, 2016, Taylor, 2010, Wilner, 2010). In this respect a more complex mix of factors was at play within this dynamic and the notion that it was a gradual process has been recognised within this field (Taylor & Horgan 2006). The notion

that a distinct psychological profile for individuals who are susceptible to carry out such atrocities alongside a defined series of social and political precursors has not materialised (Stump & Dixit, 2012). An appreciation however, of these processes and their idiosyncratic nature has come to the forefront of current studies within this phenomenon, as opposed to just being seen as an issue around the psychopathology of the individual through a psychodynamic perspective (Pease, et al., 2016).

Broadly within the psychological disciplines the rise of humanistic and person centred psychology/social psychology alongside the development of cognitive behavioural approaches reflect alternative ways in which terrorism has been generally conceptualised post 9/11 (Leistedt, 2017, Jensen, 2015, Crenshaw 2014). Both perspectives view the individual undergoing a series of attenuated processes in which there are active and passive choices being made by the individual. Social psychological and cultural process which have already been eluded to through the notion of understanding the contextual environment of the individual thus the interaction of these environmental factors within the subjective realm of the individual create a mix of emotional and physical reactions which subjectively influence the individual's cognition and behaviour. The subjectivity of these processes is unique and as such even though two people may experience the same factors their internal understanding and construction of those factor means they will react differently (Hutson, et al., 2009, Taylor & Page, 2008).

The conceptual understanding of these processes is that terrorism is a tool rather than just a syndrome in which an action or process is undertaken (Kruglanski & Fishman 2006). In this respect the range of actions within the pantheon of terroristic acts will employ a distinctive set of psychological and social process different to the other acts i.e. factors leading to suicide attacks would be different to those involving other forms of bombings, hijackings, sabotage and those acts undertaken in groups may be different to those undertaken individually or sometimes referred to as lone wolf attacks.

Radicalisation & the pathways to Terrorism

The concept of radicalisation instinctively lends itself to the notion of an active social and cognitive process or a series of processes which aid the individual in his or her decision making. Radicalisation is the hardening of values and perceptions within a process which enables an individual to potentially reinforce the assumptions, misinformation, grievances or issues confronting the individual (Kruglanski, et al., 2014, Kundnani, 2012). The individual then develops fixed cognitive structures that underpin and rationalise (for that individual) the emotional and behavioural response they undertake (Tsintsadze-Maas & R. Maass, 2014, Taylor & Horgan 2006). Radicalisation or becoming fixed in your views does not always lead to a terrorist action (Silke, 2014). Therefore, some other cognitive and social processes must further occur for individuals to move from merely having a fixed or radical view about something to actually undertaking practical steps in carrying out the action (Jensen, 2015).

The parameters that define what constitutes as radicalised material or the actual process of radicalisation is increasingly subjective and open to political, cultural and social biases (Lambert, 2014). The recognition that there are key social, psychological and inherently idiosyncratic variables which interplay in this process of radicalisation has allowed researchers to identify and highlight key areas and commonalities between those that have undertaken terroristic actions (Taylor & Horgan 2006). The value of conceptualising the process in a pathway and as a gradual incremental process offers a way of understanding the interaction of various variables identified by different academics (Huston et al. 2009, , Silke 2008).

A foundational example of the range of variables and their corresponding relationship within the radicalisation pathway comes from the work of Hutson et al, (2009). Based on mainly secondary sources the model provides a holistic view of the interaction between key psychological, social, economical and religious constructs that they felt underpinned violent radicalisation. The study is suggestive of the notion that a series of interactions occurs between three distinct dimensions i.e. the personal, religious and socio-economic dimensions. These dimensions are occupied by a range of constructs which influence the individuals psychological, religious and relational factors that exert a

pushing force on the individual in their journey towards radicalisation. Figure 2: illustrates the different constructs identified by Huston et al (2009).

Figure 2: Is an illustration of the different constructs highlighted by Hutson, et al., (2009).
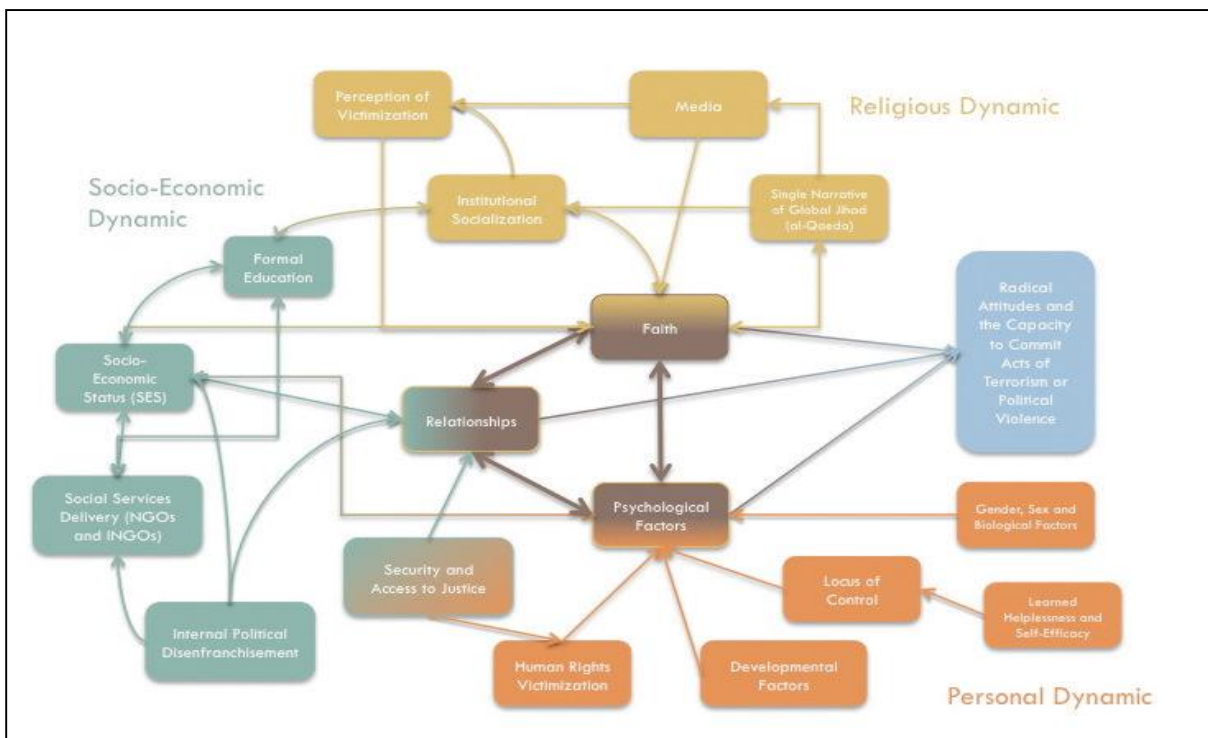
(Hutson, et al., 2009, pg.28)

The information used by Hutson, et al., (2009) to identify the different variables was mainly based on their interactions with the security, military and law enforcement services within the Middle East. The reliance on secondary sources of information alongside the highly volatile and sensitised environment of the middle east limits the veracity and generalisability of the model. The model does not actually identify the exact nature and influence the various variables may exert, nor does it highlight any preference on which variables come into play first. The model does however, provide a stepping stone in understanding the relationship between external stimuli and internal actions.

Taylor & Horgan (2006) have also suggested a similar series of models which encapsulate key environmental and social factors and the corresponding potential cognitive schemas which may come into play as the individual goes through a process of 'radicalisation'. Figure 3 is a representation of

Taylor & Horgan's model. Figure 4 identifies the 3 distinct domains which Taylor and Horgan use to further describe the process individuals go through. Within this diagram the setting events described by the authors are generally the contextual factors which then impact on the personal disposition of the individual. Based on these interactions and depending upon the level of disaffection are key motivators that can result in engagement of terroristic activities. The model provides a conceptual interaction between the psychological and social constructs and the potential roles the individual may undertake as a result of heightened motivation. The model also highlights that the process is not fully fatalistic in the sense that people do disengage and can be de-radicalised. A key distinction that is implied here is that the individual is initially consciously aware of the processes but he or she may at times feel they cannot control these processes thus effectively switching between a passive and active role which may also encompass elements of coercion and compliance. But fundamentally the individual is still actively engaged in and is aware of the dynamics that are occurring as opposed to the notion that they are not consciously aware or have been brainwashed. The actors within this model therefore are seen as rational and actively involved in the processes also regarded as the 'Rational Choice Model' (Kundnani 2012, McCauley & Moskalenko 2008, Horgan. 2005).

Although it has not been explicitly mentioned in the above section it must be noted that individuals who are defined as terrorist are not all the same i.e. not all terrorists are leaders, not all terrorists are foot soldiers. There are a range of roles that can be taken i.e. soldier, leader, recruiter and politician. Depending upon the skill and propensity the individual has will dictate which characteristics will come into play i.e. in relation to Hutson's diagram. Within the same paper Taylor & Horgan, (2006) further attempt to describe a potential process of how the interaction and distribution of roles within an organisation may occur and the spectrum of activity from legal to illegal. Figure 5 illustrates this relationship. The implications of this process are further discussed in section 3 and in the discussion chapters of this thesis wherein a further conceptual model based upon these roles is reflected upon.
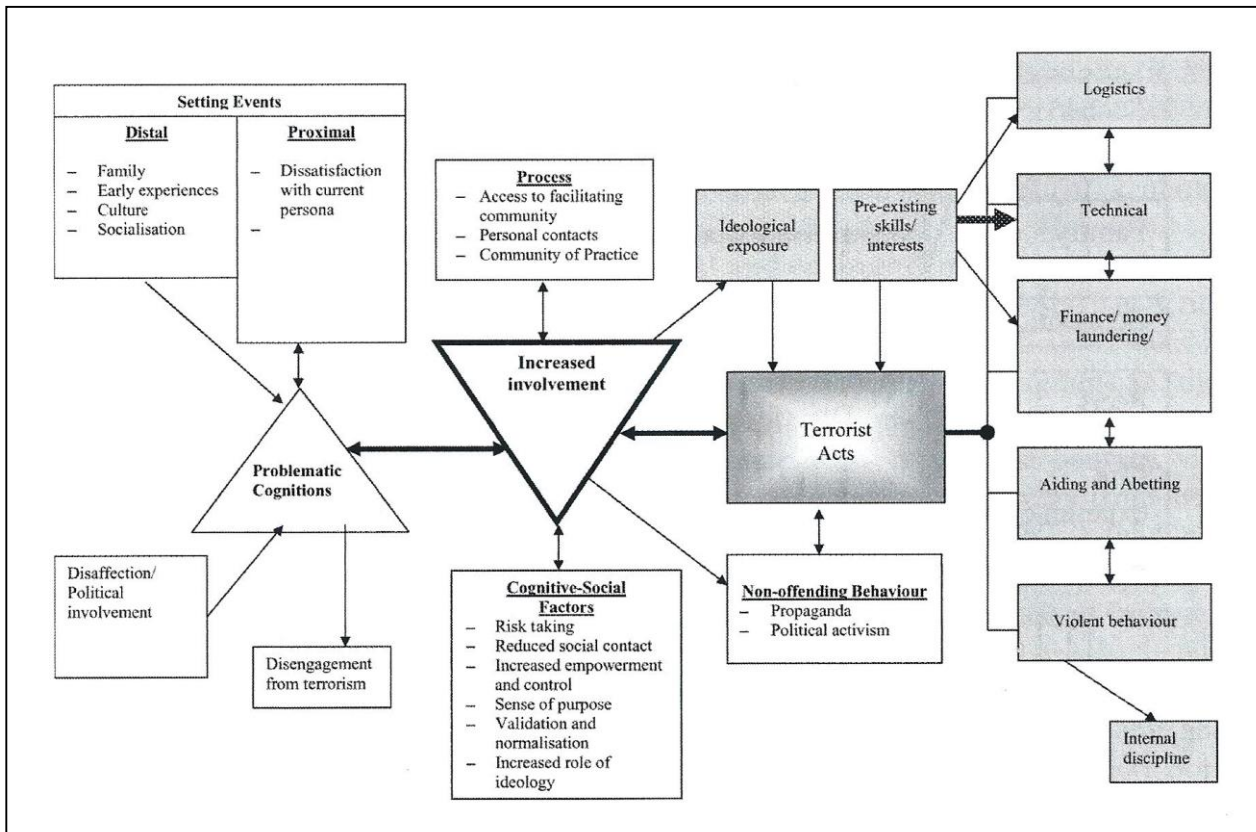
Figure 3: Pictorial representation of Taylor & Horgan, (2006) model

Figure 4: Representation and Interaction of 3 distinct domains within Taylor & Horgan's (2006) Model
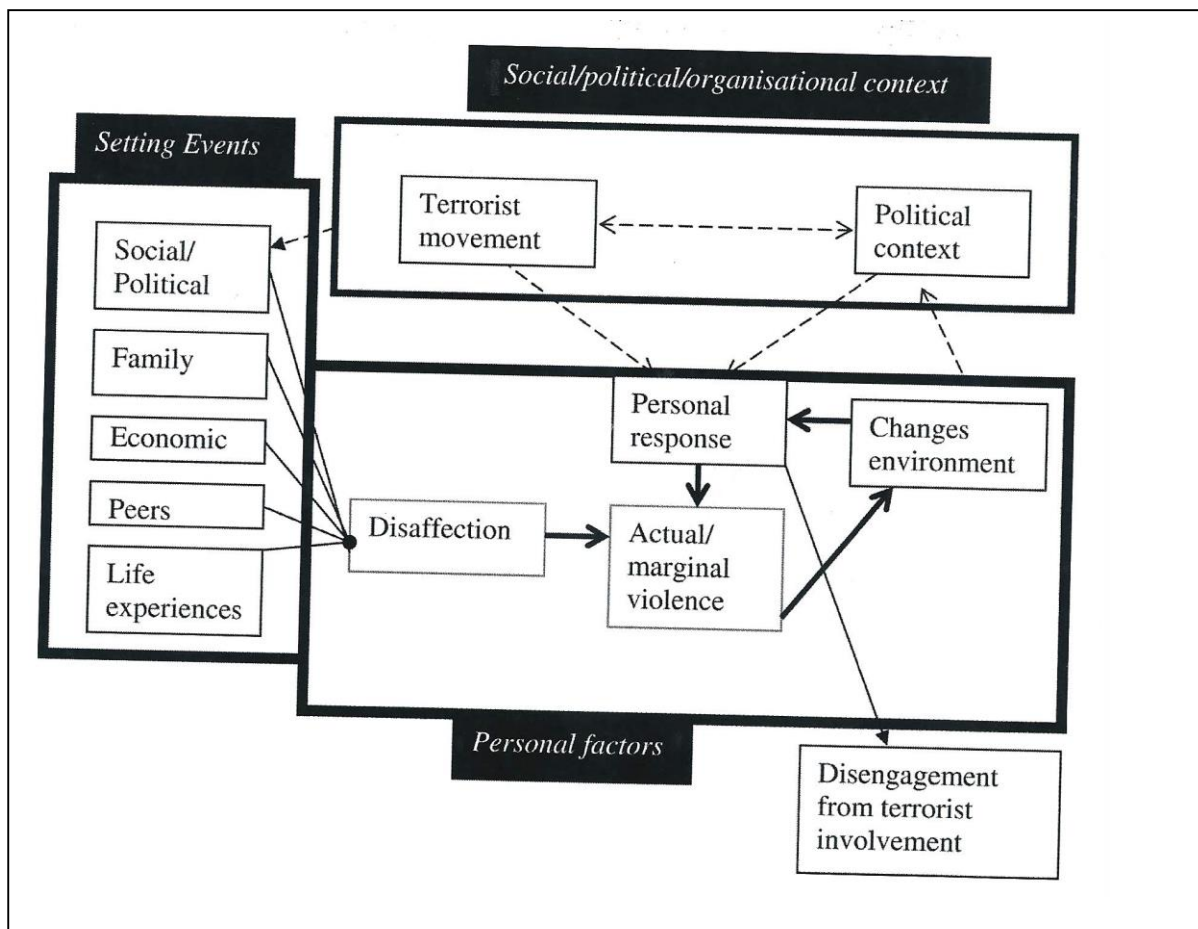
Figure 5: Potential roles and the spectrum of action within Taylor & Horgan's (2006) Model.
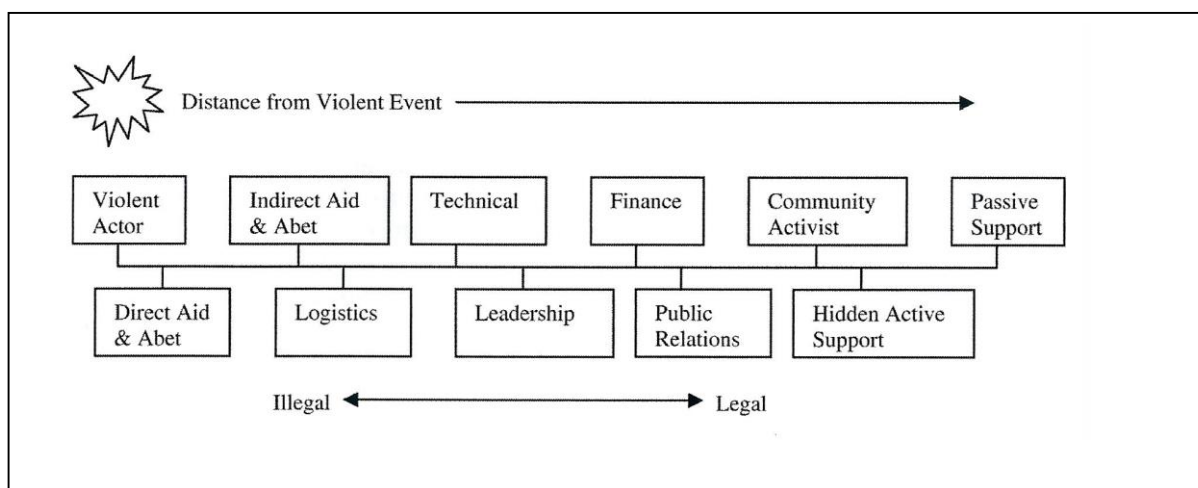
Both Models are intuitively based upon observations and secondary sources of data with limited exposure to primary sources other than in the case of Taylor and Horgan's model which essentially is grounded within criminological studies. Gupta, Horgan & Schmid (2009) further draw a distinction of cross over and the utilitarian nature of terrorist organisation and organised crime i.e. as legitimate transactions are out of the reach of most proscribed or banned groups a level of criminality develops in which resources are gained and sold. A danger with the Taylor & Horgan's model is that essentially nonviolent political activism can be misconstrued and criminalised depending upon the parameters of the definition used.

Both models highlight the nature of the socialisation process and the social psychology of interactions. This is further supported by Sam Mullins (2009) whose work builds up the notion of group networks and their importance and reinforcement of identity and motivational processes. Even within the decentralised world of the internet where information and resources and propaganda is readily available there is still a need and process from which occurs wherein individuals feel associated and linked to a group and cause. Although they may undertake actions independently i.e. as lone wolf attackers, the priming and socialisation - radicalisation process occurs within a group context online or in actual human contact.

A further theoretical model which attempts to bridge the gap between the social and psychological world and attempts to highlight the contextual impacts of internal-states such as fear, anger and frustration is the work of Moghaddam (2005). He provides a convenient analogy of a narrowing staircase in conceptualising the decision pathways confronted by individuals and the resulting psychological dispositions generated when different grievances or concerns are not resolved.

As the individual progresses up the staircase he is confronted by 5 separate floors. Each floor acts as an illustration of a decision point in the individual's life. The opportunity and choices to resolve the grievances at each stage become narrower and the resulting feelings of anger, fear and frustration encourage the propensity towards committing an act of terror

The foundational stage or ground floor in Moghaddam's (2005) model is occupied by the vast majority of people where the perception of injustice and deprivation are seen as the main concerns. The frustration from these concerns and the search for possible solutions encourages individuals to climb to the next floor which is about the perceived options or engagement processes. Where the options do not exist or are blocked the individual experiences anger and frustration and moves to the second floor in which this anger and frustration is levied at a particular 'enemy'. At the second floor any sort of thought towards a practical act is still very much hypothetical. The movement to the third floor is in Moghaddam's view a 'crucial' stage in which the individual uses his displaced anger and frustration to become an active member of the group. At this stage his identification is firmly lodged with the group and he feels a moral obligation to follow through with the group's perceived aims.

As the individual moves to the fourth floor his identification and verbal rhetoric becomes stronger and he is able to classify the world in 'us' versus 'them'. Moghaddam sees this stage as the operational stage where the groups hierarchy select those who they wish to go to the fifth floor in which they are programmed to side step moral and inhibitory mechanism. Therefore, the fifth floor is the floor in which individuals are then programmed to carryout actual acts of terrorism (Moghaddam, 2005).

Moghaddam uses the word 'framework' (p162) rather than model to highlight the limited testability of his work. As the framework is only built on anecdotal evidence no interviews or analysis has taken place with actual respondents therefore it is difficult to ascertain the exact dynamics of how individuals remain on a floor or if they can occupy more than one floor or does the process only operate in a linear manner. Within this framework the root cause of dissatisfaction is the lack of economical equality and the lack of opportunity to get grievances rectified. Although these are key elements in some parts of the pathway it does not however explain the motivational drive of individuals who are economically well adjusted or who have the ability to get grievances answered e.g. Osama Bin Laden, Tiger Memon (member of the Dawood Gang in India) and Mikel Albizu Iriarte

(alleged leader of ETA) to name a few. A key characteristic of these individuals is that they are all leaders or intellectuals of their given groups (Turner 2010, Lawrence 2005).

The framework provides an evolutionary process in understanding how psychologically grounded concepts such as fear, frustration, anger and possibly jealousy are manifested in an individual and how these are affected by perceived injustices, historical/current grievances and the lack of engagement or trust in the political structures i.e. the interaction between the subjective realm of the individual and the social / political realms. These are all key elements which affect the subjective decision pathways of individuals. The limitation of these studies has been that they have often been based upon limited secondary sources or hypothetical scenarios which has limited its testability and generalisability. For the purpose of this study these works provide a foundation to direct and explore the narrative that will be elicited from the participants.

Use of the Pathways & Radicalisation process: For academic and security purposes

From an academic and research perspective the conceptual understanding of radicalisation and the systematic notion of the relationship between triggers, emotions and behaviour (essentially a psycho-social and cognitive behavioural approach) allows a way to ground this subjective process and investigate further through phenomenological methodologies which factors or processes are exerting which force (Ratner, 2004). In this respect the need to gain first-hand accounts and need to gain a deeper narrative of the individual's subjective world are essential to develop and test the validity and veracity of different models.

From the nation-states perspective i.e. the UK for this thesis the focus on the radicalisation process is essentially driven by the notion that

(a) A potential individual who is going to commit the criminal act of terror can be pre-emptively identified and

(b) An assumed series of processes or de-radicalised techniques can be put into place to divert the individual (Borum 2014, Kundnani 2012).

The decoding of the radicalisation process particularly for the security services as highlighted through the work of Jackson & Hall, (2016), Lambert (2014) and Hoskins & O'Loughlin, (2009) identifies a series of assumptions which underpin the respective investigative processes, for example:

(a) it is assumed that the process can be sequentially and empirically mapped and that this mapping could be used to build a specific parameter base of a 'diagnosis'

(b) the process like other criminal activity potentially has distinct re-occurring patterns which again can be collated or mapped

(c) The process in general terms is linear in nature whereby the main end product is a motivation to commit and act of terror

(d) The mapping of elements and constructs that exert an influence can empirically help build a basis for generic typologies of this offending behaviour.

These assumptions are in some form translated into the various legislative processes in the UK and to an extent drive the research and de-radicalisation interventions used by both government and security services (Home Office 2014, Lambert, 2014).

The challenge to these assumptions is the limited information on the extensive variables and their respective interaction on the individual's decision pathway. The uniqueness of human beings and their ability to see and feel different perspectives makes it an increasingly difficult task to develop any direct typologies which may be beneficial.

Chapter 5: UK Context: Counter Terrorism & Its Implications

Chapter Summary:

The main focus of this chapter is to provide the context and rational for the study-arm of this thesis in relation to the counter terrorism strategy adopted in the UK. This includes a brief description on the ongoing counter terrorism strategy within the UK referred to as CONTEST. The highly divisive community facing arm of this strategy referred to as PREVENT has over the years come under various forms of scrutiny (see works by Qureshi, 2015, Kundnani, 2014) and has been regarded as a key factor in generating more social anxiety and destabilising community cohesion (Hardy, 2015). Since its first iteration the program has suffered a series of PR disasters in which allegations of spying on Muslim communities (Home Office, 2014) and an increase in censorship have plagued its development (Lum, et al., 2006). The chapter further looks at the general impact of these strategies have had as well as the ongoing impact of the conflicts in the Middle East. With particular reference to the implications these strategies have had on the wider community and those that are part of the sample for this study.

Counter Terrorism in the United Kingdom

A brief context of the UK environment is given below in respect of the counter terrorism strategies in place in the UK. The UK has a long history of dealing with insurgency and terrorism through the various conflicts in its history and in recent times in Northern Ireland. It has therefore built-up extensive experience alongside one of the most defined processes in Europe for attempting to manage the process of radicalisation and terrorism. The overall counter terrorism strategy for the UK is referred to as **CONTEST** and is underpinned by four distinct sub themes which incorporate the intelligence, civil, police and military arms of the UK government i.e. to **PURSUE:** to stop terrorist attacks, **PREVENT:** to stop people becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism (community facing arm), **PROTECT:** to strengthen our protection against a terrorist attack, **PREPARE:** to mitigate the impact of a terrorist attack.

Controversially the community facing arm of CONTEST i.e. PREVENT and its different community projects or de-radicalisation processes referred to as Channel have come under increasing scrutiny and concern for their divisive impacts. Initially shrouded in mystery the projects in the first few years were not even mentioned in government documentations (Hardy 2015). Developed initially in 2003 the PREVENT program as part of CONTEST was initially referred to as preventing violent extremism and was directly led by police and counter terrorism officers. The PREVENT project saw a range of problems develop in its early manifestations. Central to these problems was the wide variance and subjective interpretations of the definitions for radicalisation, and terrorism which varied from organisation to organisation. The emotive situation post 9/11 and post 7/7 has meant that the vast focus of this program has centred around 'Islamic inspired terrorism' even though a large number of referrals to the Channel program have also included far right groups (Hardy 2015).

The extensive focus upon Muslim communities prior to 7/7 and post 7/7, alongside the controversial stop and search measures and schedule 7 which allowed security personnel at airports to detain without cause any persons they suspected of being involved in terrorism further exacerbated community anxiety and suspicion around the project (Bhui, et al., 2012). In an attempt to challenge

the narratives of 'radical Islam' the PREVENT program supported a range of community think tanks and organisations but this process also failed to garner trust instead resulted in the Muslim communities becoming enraged that the process effectively saw every young Muslim male as a potential threat. A review in 2010 and later in 2014 by the government entitled 'Tackling Extremism in the UK' suggested further legislative changes to support PREVENT and move the process in to a safeguarding role within local authorities remit rather than directly being police led. Assessing the impacts PREVENT has had in managing to change the narrative is difficult to identify and the fact that both far right group extremism as well as those travelling to Syria have increased in recent years this does not reflect well for the strategy. The strategy has attempted to move its focus away from specially looking at Muslim communities and although the recognition of far right extremism has been welcomed by communities the notion that it is specifically targeting Muslims still permeates through different community groups and individuals. This growing distrust of the authorities therefore feeds into the us and them rhetoric.

In its annual review of CONTEST in 2014 the UK government noted that part of its pursue agenda (which is mainly police intelligence led) noted that "There were 280 terrorism- related arrests in Great Britain in 2015. The numbers of women and under-18s arrested for terrorism-related offences both increased compared with the previous year. Of the 280 people arrested in 2015, 83 were charged with a terrorism-related offence, and 13 with other offences. 40 of the 83 people charged with terrorism-related offences have already been prosecuted; 38 of these have been convicted" (Home Office, 2014, pg;10). Within these figures only 30% of the people arrested were charged under terrorism related offences and less than half of those have actually been convicted. The impact however of the 280 figure is highly reported and often misconstrues the true image of actual convictions. As no further details of the nature of crimes are given, the ability to assess effectively whether or not the CONTEST program is achieving its desired aims also remains elusive.

What is clear is that the combination of psychological priming in the media as well as the overt focus of PREVENT on the Muslim communities creates a challenging mix where salient prejudices and salient ideas of who or what terrorists look like are reinforced. The last 2 years have also seen the threat level indicator set by the government stay at 'severe' which indicates an attack is seriously imminent. The perception of an attack alongside the heightened anxiety and perpetual trepidation that is felt in communities reinforces the black and white thinking styles of us vs. them (Jensen, 2015, Qureshi 2015). Within this process prejudices and extreme views start to fester and grow and instead of supporting or managing individuals from being radicalised the very processes seem to be encouraging them (Lambert, 2014).

The current definition of terrorism and radicalisation in the UK falls under the following areas:

Section 1. –
(1) In this Act "terrorism" means the use or threat of action where-
(a) the action falls within subsection (2),
(b) the use or threat is designed to influence the government [or an international governmental organisation][3] or to intimidate the public or a section of the public, and
(c) the use or threat is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious[, racial][4] or ideological cause.
(2) Action falls within this subsection if it-
(a) involves serious violence against a person,
(b) involves serious damage to property,
(c) endangers a person's life, other than that of the person committing the action,
(d) creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public or a section of the public, or
(e) is designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system.
(3) The use or threat of action falling within subsection (2) which involves the use of firearms or explosives is terrorism whether or not subsection (1)(b) is satisfied.

(UK Terrorism Act 2000 in Home Office, 2014)

This definition has been supported by several additional amendments, the latest of which was enacted in early 2015. The latest amendment to PREVENT in 2015 made it a statutory duty for all staff working in civil positions including, doctors, nurses, teachers and council workers to provide a duty of care under safeguarding to identify - feedback to the PREVENT co-ordinators anyone they see as a potential radicalised threat,(Prevent Duty Guidance, 2015). This process has led to a range of people including

children who have been flagged by the system and then processed through the PREVENT and Channel program (Qureshi, 2015). An example which caught the eye of the media was a 10-year-old Pakistani Muslim boy from Lancashire in 2016 who in a spelling lesson accidently wrote that he lived in a terrorist house instead of a terraced house. The school following the guidance reported the child to the PREVENT coordinator which promoted a visit from the police as well as a social worker to his family home. This example highlights the hyper-vigilance and anxiety of society on the whole. To compound matters further guidance on the parameters of what can be seen as 'abnormal' or a potential radicalised threat vary from organisation to organisation. The lack of consistency makes this process again very difficult to assess and evaluate.

The wider implications of PREVENT and CONTEST have seen a growing trend toward monitoring political activity as well as potentially stiffening debate in institutions such as universities (Pilecki, et al., 2014). The ongoing conflicts in the world particularly in Syria and the open access of information on the internet further create a dynamic in which counter terrorism policies seem to be lagging behind but at the same time attempt to restrict areas where potential positive debate and challenge can come from. A further challenge for counter terror policies is managing the fine line between security and maintaining civil liberties. The reduction in civil liberties further exacerbates the us and them thinking and provides opportunity for grievances to manifest. Within these dynamics the rise of the far right and nationalist movements not just in the UK but across Europe reflects the growing resentment towards different communities and cultures which further feeds the 'us and them' narrative which is used to isolate and develop inroads into those who are dissatisfied or facing a grievance. This coupled with ongoing conflicts in the middle east provide a fertile ground for individual who can encourage and utilise the frustration to entice others to engage in the process which may lead on to acts of political violence.

Chapter 6: Study Rationale, Methodology & Sample Information

Chapter Summary:

This chapter provides a description of the methodology used in the study alongside details of the sample and a discussion around the challenges in gaining access to the sample and sample retention. Brief information about the sample is given including those that opted out i.e. out of 22 that originally consented only 8 were able to complete the interviews. This chapter essentially highlights the challenges of undertaking field research and the implication it has in attempting to develop suitable methodological processes that fit the ever changing environment.

Study Rationale:

It is clear from the preceding chapters that although gains have been made in understanding and recognising the intricate processes underpinning potential motivators and inhibitors within this phenomena, the difficulty of gaining first-hand accounts to explore the efficacies of models presented by Kundnani 2012, McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008, Hutson, et al., 2009, Taylor & Horgan 2006 and Moghaddam (2005), are greatly limited and bring in to question the validly and veracity of these models. Even though, these models intuitively and suggestively fit a 'psychological' process or attempt to accommodate a wide variations of possible factors, the actual interplay of these factors and the modulating effects expressed by them is still unknown and thus indicative of the fact that there are some parts of this dynamic process that researchers do not fully understand. .

Therefore, one of the central contributions to knowledge this study and thesis attempts to provide is by gaining access to primary sources of information to gain a greater insight in to the psychological constructs or emerging themes and their interplay on the decisions taken by individuals who have been either detained or arrested under the various terrorism legislative powers in the United Kingdom since 2001. This explorative study's ambition is to gain access to individuals who have previously been charged or detained or serving a community restriction orders under the counter terrorism legislation in the UK. The study is grounding itself in a critical and phenomenological framework and aims to use narrative interviews to gain a rich source of qualitative data alongside the repertory grid elicitation method to gain a level of quantifiable data. the combination of this data source would enable an analysis of salient value systems held by the respondents. The data generated will be analysed through thematic analysis to identify any key themes and factors which can add further insight into the process. By undertaking narrative style interviews it is also hoped that the participants will be able to provide insight into their experiences and affects the counter-terrorism or de-radicalisation processes have had on them and also their understanding of the labels that are being applied to them.

Methodology

Theoretical Grounding & Choice of Framework:

The exploration of broader values and constructs within a person's life are neatly grounded within the framework of personal construct theory (Kelly 1955). Within this framework the individuals value systems and meanings they ascribe to it and the roles they undertake within this dynamic are essentially described by the person themselves through either life narrative interviews or through the repertory grid elicitation method (Green 2004). The information generated is seen as accurate and intuitively linked to the way in which the individual sees him or herself within the different dynamics of their world. A key proponent of life narrative interviews and its diverse application has been McAdams (2001) who noted that:

"identity itself takes the form of a story, complete with setting, character, plot, theme…Life stories are based upon biographical facts but they go considerably beyond the facts as people selectively appropriate aspects of their experiences and imaginatively construe both past and future to construct stories that make sense to them and their audience. (McAdams, 2010, pg. 10)".

Within this model the subjective reality and the subjective fact is important which has traditionally within psychological research been deemed too difficult to generalise from and often seen as too cumbersome and indulging the individual in their subjective fantasy which may not provide a true picture of their reality. However, Young & Canter, (2011) in their paper "Narrative roles in the criminal action: An Integrative framework for Differentiating offenders" highlight the rich and vibrant field of research adopting this methodology to gain further insight in to offending behaviour. To support the conceptual development of this area Canter & Young, (2015) further suggest a generalised structure referred to as 'Life As A Film' or 'LAAF' technique for the interview to assist researchers in developing and processing the rich information: i.e.

The LAAF Elicitation Procedure (Canter & Young, 2015)

The general LAAF technique used to elicit narrative-relevant content is presented below.

General Instructions:

"If your life were to be made into a film, what type of film would that be and what would happen?"

• Tell me more, what would happen?

• Who would the main characters be?

• What would be the main events that might happen in the film?

• How do you think it might end? **(pg. 223)**

The technique is designed to encourage the individual to freely contextualise and identify key points in their life which then can be explored further. Following this general structure key sequences, plots and the interpretation of these events can been explored.

Within this study the LAAF framework is generally adopted in a way to help initiate the conversation and allow the individual to become comfortable/ recognise that they are in control of the process.

The interviews within this study are complemented by the repertory grid elicitation process which is a key component of the personal construct framework where in it is used to elicit firstly key constructs and then the value added to those constructs in relation to other constructs in the individual's life. This process gives a unique insight into how the person may see themselves in relation to significant others or events in their life. To map this process four key questions were inserted into the grid i.e.

- How I was before (the incident or event)
- How I was during the incident or event
- How I was after the event or incident
- How I would like to be

The repertory grids are uploaded on to a software package which graphically illustrates the position of these constructs in relation to the variables providing a series of relative association scales (OpenRepGrid, 2015). The scales provide an illustration of the way the individual conceptualise and values different elements of his life. The scales also highlight the different thinking styles the

individual may adopt in relation to the context he or she has experienced. For example Powers, (2014) notes that a key parameter of being radicalised is that the individuals thinking style or assumptions become fixed and a black and white thinking occurs defining the world in simple terms such as 'us vs them'. The software provides an opportunity to analyse these thinking styles and to compare how the individual perceives him or herself in relation to the key people in the person's life. It is hoped that this illustration of how the individual perceives him or herself in relation to the key people in his or her life would allow a tangible way to observe motivational drives that underpin action in the individuals life.

Ethical Considerations & Challenges

Undertaking research in this area, where the emotional, political and social sentiment is often high exacerbates the existing complex, ethical and practical challenges of the study. As noted in previous chapters a key issue plaguing research in this field is the limited ability to access primary sources of information which are not tainted by security services on one hand and on the other do not serve as a propaganda tool for those seen as antagonists (Speckhard, 2009). A key benefit of this study therefore was its focus in engaging primary sources of information and using a methodology which was non-directive and independent from the security services. The study was processed and approved through the University of Huddersfield research ethics committee which initially commented on the length of the interviews which were estimated to take nearly 2 hours. To manage this query, the researcher provided information to the committee that highlighted the researcher was a clinical practitioner within the Adult Psychology Service, as such was accustomed to undertaking assessments and clinical interviews which were in excess of 2 hours. The use of additional clinical skills to conduct and manage safely the interviews ensuring the participant is safe and aware of their rights to withdraw further helped secure the ethics approval for this study. As part of the ethics process all participants were given an information sheet and actively had to sign a consent form to participate within the study (Appendix 4, 5 and 6 respectively contain the ethics approval, participant information sheet and consent form).

Identification of Sample & General challenges in Field Research:

The qualifying criterion for the sample was any individual, male or female who had been arrested under the Terrorism legislation in the UK since 2001. A key ambition of this study was to attempt to recruit individuals from varying backgrounds from both genders to identify potential variances between different cultures and groups. However, this ambition was drastically limited by the accessibility and retention problems faced while trying to engage participants.

In the early stages of the development of this study it was hoped that the sample could be developed through working and co-ordinating with the probation and police services/security services. However, it became apparent that this process involved a range of protracted delays which involved extensive vetting and security protocols with potential permissions taking anything between 6 months to 24 months depending upon which participant had agreed to participate. Furthermore, the respective services clarified that even when the access and permissions had been achieved there was no guarantee by the Home Office or the Ministry of Justice that participants could be interviewed. Instead a direct route liaising with the legal representatives of those who had been charged or through Non-Governmental Organisations (i.e. Amnesty International and CAGE) who had contact with these participants through their respective support services enabled and facilitated contact to be achieved. The likelihood of gaining access to a sample through Amnesty International and CAGE was greatly increased due to the researcher's historical contact with each of the respective organisations. Prior to the study and between 2006 till 2009 the researcher had actively supported local and national community projects for the respective organisations. The established relationship between the researcher and the respective organisations as well as some of the legal teams working on behalf of these organisations allowed the researcher to avoid lengthy delays in gaining permission and access.

It must be noted that without this prior link to these respective organisations the delay in gaining access and permission through these respective bodies would have also been convoluted. The process of gaining access and disseminating study information to potential participants within these organisations took approximately six to seven months. The willingness of the respective organisations

to support the study was grounded in the notion that this study was an attempt to provide a narrative to the experiences the participants had i.e. to be a means by which their story could be told, without influence from the police or security services.

Amnesty International is a one of the largest grassroots human rights and civil liberties organisation in the world with over fifty years of campaigning experience. Based in London the organisation provides support, advocacy and networking for individuals and families who are seeking legal support in this country and abroad. The organisation has an extensive history of campaigning for human rights legislation and lobbying governments to support and uphold human rights values (Amnesty International, 2017). CAGE on the other hand (formerly known as Caged Prisoners) is a relatively small NGO, which formed as a result of the War on Terror in 2003. Its purpose was to provide support and advocacy to those who had been arrested or detained under counter terrorism legislation in the UK and abroad. The organisation has specifically campaigned to look at the readdress of legal frameworks which came into play as a consequence of the war on terror and in particular, the opening of Guantanamo Bay and the notion of rendition (CAGE, 2017). A large majority of individuals accessing CAGE support systems have been those families and individuals particularly affected by the range of UK counter-terrorism processes.

Using the intermediaries such as the legal representatives and NGO's particularly CAGE provided a base to work from to build rapport and trust between the participants and the researcher. A total of 36 individuals were highlighted through this contact however, only 22 provided initial consent to participate in the study. But during the course of organising the logistics of the interviews etc. only 8 participants were able to undertake the interviews. Table 1: is reproduced here to show the breakdown of those that gave consent:

Table 1: Overview of those that agreed and those that did not agree to participate in the study:

No	Gender	Religion	Ethnicity	Reason for withdrawal
1	Male	Muslim	British Indian	Confirmed
2	Male	Muslim	British Pakistani	Confirmed
3	Male	Muslim	Mixed White - Pakistani	Confirmed
4	Male	Muslim	Bosnian	Confirmed
5	Male	Muslim	British Black	Confirmed
6	Male	Muslim	British Pakistani	Confirmed
7	Male	Muslim	British White	Confirmed
8	Male	Muslim	British Indian	Confirmed
9	Male	Muslim		Withdrew - Travelled to Syria Died
10	Female	Muslim		Withdrew – no longer wished to participate
11	Female	Muslim		Withdrew – no longer wished to participate
12	Female	Muslim		Withdrew – no longer wished to participate
13	Male	Muslim		Withdrew - Travelled to Syria
14	Male	Muslim		Withdrew - Travelled to Syria Died
15	Male	Muslim		Withdrew - Travelled to Syria Died
1	Male	Muslim		Withdrew - Travelled to Syria Died
17	Male	Muslim		Withdrew - Travelled to Syria Missing
18	Male	Muslim		Withdrew – Legal Issue
19	Male	Muslim		Withdrew - Travelled to Syria
20	Male	Sikh		Withdrew - Legal Issue
21	Male	Atheist		Withdrew -
22	Male	Sikh		Withdrew

Approximately two and half years in total, starting from September 2012 till February 2015 was spent in developing the initial contact with the NGO's and then confirming and undertaking the interviews. Part of the reasons for this protracted length of time was that the initial contact and consent relied upon the respective case workers within the NGO's in facilitating the process (thus a regular stream of phone calls to the respective individuals was often made to ensure that they were progressing with the consent process). Further delays centred around the ongoing anxieties and processes the participants were faced by, for instance many were still in contact with the probation services or security services and as such were worried that their involvement may develop issues for them or they may be in breach of some security order which inhibited contact with people and the amount of time individuals were away from their homes.

The logistical processes in organising a suitable, safe confidential venue as all the participants did not wish to be interviewed at their homes (particularly if they were married) was a factor which initially was not considered. This was a partciular issue as no budget was included in the study for venue hire, travel to and from venues. The interviews were undertaken in a number of cities in the UK as such travel expenses and small things such as tea and coffee were not considered an issue until the interviews started. In this respect meeting venues were negotiated with various community organisations that had supported the NGO's. Participants actively chose the venues they would like to meet in and the researcher attempted to facilitate the room hire and bookings often relying upon the organisation to provide the rooms free of charge. This was only made possible as the different venues previously had contact with CAGE and also were supportive of independent research. Between the 22 participants that had given initial consent there was a time period where participants oscillated between giving and withdrawing consent. Hypothetically this perhaps was indicative of the ongoing anxiety they were potentially facing or the lack of trust or confidence they may have had in the purpose of the interviews and what they would achieve. In this respect a lot of time was spent by the researcher in gaining the participants trust and also being transparent about what the research was intending to do.

Actual Study Process:

Prior to the interviews being organised participants were given an opportunity to understand the rationale of the study through an information sheet (appendix, 5) which also highlighted the confidentiality and anonymity processes of the study. In a recognition of being fully transparent with the participants and helping build rapport, participants were reminded of the limitations of the confidentiality process (which is also used in clinical NHS settings) i.e. in which confidentiality is limited in so far as if the individuals were presenting as a risk to themselves and others then guidance would be sought etc. All participants agreed and understood the safety element of this. A central element of gaining access, rapport and trust was the clear demarcation that this was an academic study and that

this had nothing to do with the police or security services. Maintaining this distinction was also another factor in why the police or security services route in gaining access to these individuals was not used.

The actual interview process was initially expected to last between 1 hour to 2 hours was greatly understated as result many of the interviews lasted nearly 3 hours. This had implication on the number of interviews that could be undertaken within a day as well as implications for venue hire, and later data transcription and analysis. As the interviews were long, a natural break was included which was beneficial for the participants to gain a practice or greater understanding of the repertory girds process. The flow of the interviews used the Life as a film process (LAAF) to initiate the conversation and at times prompt the individual when a vague or emotive item possibly has been missed. The process of the interviews drew upon my clinical skill in managing the flow of the interview. All the interviews were audio recorded as none of the participants wished to be filmed. Although the sample was small the data generated has provided a unique window in to the lives of these individual's and the intricate factors that affect their decisions.

Attrition and loss of sample:

From the 22 participants 14 withdrew over the course of the study. Brief details of those that withdrew are highlighted below. Some of the details have been kept scant due to the express wishes of the individuals or the families of the individual's (even if information was available online etc.) A key challenge throughout the study was maintaining the motivation and engagement of these individuals within the study. This was generally attempted through the organisations they had contact with or through their legal representatives. However, the rise of Daesh in Syria and Iraq presented a particular problem in which 7 of those that had consented had travelled to Syria. The details of the individuals is highlighted below.

Female Sample:

The samples only female participants (3) withdrew from the study in its early inception. All 3 were from the south of England, their main charges related to financing or propagating potential acts of

terrorism or having material on their person which encouraged acts of terrorism. All 3 were from Pakistani decent and were members of a banned or proscribed group. Two of the women were married with one having 3 children and the other with only 1. The two that were married their partners had also been charged or detained. Their ages ranged from 20-33. One was a student, one worked in a dental setting and the other working in an education setting. Although not recorded one of the anecdotal reasons given by one female participants was the lack of trust in the systems and that she was unsure what this study would achieve.

Non-Muslim sample

A further set back to the study was the withdrawal of the only 3 individuals who were not Muslim. One of these individuals did not wish to be included in the study due to an ongoing legal review of his case, another did not give any reasons or issues for the withdrawal unfortunately contact with this participant and the third individual who identified himself as an atheist did not materialise effectively, as a result of the challenges in arranging meeting times and venues which resulted in them withdrawing.

Traveling to Syria

Out of the 22 participants that had initially consented, 7 of these individuals travelled to Syria to fight alongside Daesh. Four of these have now been confirmed as having died and one is currently missing.

Chapter 7   Data Presentation, Analysis & Discussion

Chapter Summary

This chapter provides descriptive information about the 8 participants and the presentation of the themes that have emerged from the analysis of data. Although a relatively small sample the depth of information provided allows unique comparisons to be made from which further research could be undertaken. Most diagrams or tables will be accompanied by a small discussion or comment box.

Key profile information all 8 Participants:

Table 4: General profile information on Participants

	Age	Place of Birth	Ethnicity	Academic level	Marital status	Dependents	Family position	Employment Sector
1	44	UK	British Indian	Degree	Married	3	Eldest sibling of 8	Employed IT
2	38	UK	British Pakistani	Masters	Married	4	2nd eldest of 6	Employed Specialist Lab
3	24	UK	White +Pakistani	GNVQ	Single	-	Middle of 3 siblings	Employed Retail
4	46	Bosnia	Bosnian	A-level equivalent	Married	3	Eldest male	Employed Welder
5	31*	UK	Black	GCSE Equivalent	Single	-	Youngest sibling of 4	Employed Retail
6	44	UK	British Pakistani	Degree	Married	4	Eldest of 7	Self Employed
7	22**	UK	White British	BTEC	Single	-	Eldest of 3	Employed Retail
8	36	UK	British Indian	Degree	Divorced	2	Youngest of 5	Employed IT

* = Individual accepted Islam at the age of 16
* * = Accepted Islam at the age of 15

Comment on Table 8:

The table provides a range of comparative information which in a larger sample would have yielded a better comparison measure. The purpose of highlighting this information is to provide further contextual information about the participants which helps build an impression of that person's life. At a glance this data indicates that the individuals on the surface appear to have a functioning life style where upon they are employed some with families, generally of good educational background and come from established extended families. The ethnicity variance of the sample shows that irrespective of ethnic background main contributing factor was that they all shared the same religion. As this data set is limited it would be appropriate to include these field in any future study alongside the need to recruit females, non-Muslims and other ethnicities as the data generated allows a deeper appreciation of the context of the person's life.

Emerging Key Themes:

Using a combination of the grids and the interview transcripts the thematic analysis was undertaken by the researcher and a colleague to identify and corroborate any emerging themes. Themes were then clustered together to identify any key patterns or general meta themes. Table 9 summarise the key themes that were agreed upon and how many participant transcripts were reflective of these themes.

Table 5: Summary of the Key themes within the transcripts:

Meta Theme 1:	**Empathy towards those in conflict situations (flashpoints) and (Victims)** which was on the other hand balanced by an **Empathetic Anger towards those who were viewed as aggressors and pen-ultimately responsible for the atrocities and injustice.**
Theme 2:	**The active distrust of politicians, media, police and military-** (Highlighted by all 8)
Theme 3:	**The recognition that as an individual what role can I take to support people and re-connect with my faith - seen as an adventure (Highlighted by 5)**
Theme 4:	**Rejection of the label islamist, radical, terrorist etc –** (highlighted by all 8)
Theme 5:	**The relationship between the parents in particular - the father and a trauma/change in life circumstances (Highlighted by 6)**
Theme: 6:	**The experience of Racism or prejudice (highlighted by 6)**

Meta Theme:

> The following significant theme was expressed by all the participants within the sample i.e. within the transcripts all the participants eluded to a strong **Empathy towards those in conflict situations (flashpoints) and (Victims)** which was on the other hand balanced by an **Empathetic Anger towards those who were viewed as aggressors and pen-ultimately responsible for the atrocities and injustice.**

These two diametrically opposed emotional and cognitive states were significant elements which were operationalised when the individual's motivation and or desire to undertake an action was being contemplated. Within the sample a greater degree of empathy, emotional attachment and increase in motivational drive was displayed when the participants were discussing or highlighting the injustices or plight of others in the world particularly in Iraq, Palestine and Syria. The connection and recognition

already of the 'in group' e.g. Muslims in Syria and Palestine etc. already paves the way for the internalisation of empathy and feelings of responsibility for those individuals. The notion of grievances and injustice has already been recognised as a key initial factor which provides strong emotive responses in individuals. The notion of empathy further validates this process.

Empathy is the notion of attempting to understand the viewpoint or the subtleties of a situation through an active embedding of oneself in the world of another (Reifen, et al., 2001). This is a well-recognised concept albeit a difficult process or skill to adopt. Therefore, empathetic anger is a process where upon the individual i.e. a person here in the UK internalises the feelings of injustice, pain, anger and frustration felt by those within the conflict zones. This internalisation effectively creates more frustration, annoyance and anger. This then builds the incremental environment internally for the individual resulting in him 'wanting' to do something to change the situation for those who he sees as victims.

Transcript Examples for the meta theme:

> **Participant 4** "(I'm) Angry because there is so much crap and so much happening in the world that it just doesn't make sense. If you look at the Muslim world today just putting Bosnia to aside, you find that nearly every country where there are Muslims there is some issue happening."

> **Participant 1** "it just really annoys you because of the things that are happening .. don't know whether to laugh or cry"

> **Participant 3"**Its very sad shameful and makes me angry the way things are happening"

> > **Participant 2** "when you look at Palestine, Syria Iraq then you just want to cry and shout afterwards."

> > **Participant 3** "every day something is happening to the Muslims the dignity of the Muslims is being trampled upon"

> > **Participant 4** "Akhi (Brother) Any innocent life that is lost cannot be justified but we have to ask why these things are happening".

> > **Participant 2** " One of the key images which I still remember to this day which I think started me thinking about the world around me was an image of the aftermath of the Sabra & Shatila massacre."

Participant 5 "Even before the Iraq war do you know how many children and families died because of the UN Food program"

Participant 6 "When I was in college about 17 I started to read more about the Lebanese conflict and war / issues that were happening then, the wars had been going on since   70's but the Israelis if memory serves me right attacked south Lebanon in early 80's which they occupied for a long time. There was always something going on"

Participant 4 "In Bosnia nearly every village there has been a murder or rape by the Serbs and Croats but nobody has been held to account"

Participant 8 "That's why it hurts a lot when you see the state of the Muslim world"

Theme 2: **The active distrust of politicians, media, police and military-**

Participant 8 "Let me tell you that the British like everybody else in the world of politics and military have got their hands dirty"

Participant 4 "People say they are against torture or against crimes but having been there bro I can tell you now that goes out of the window."

Participant 5 " its hypocrisy by governments who on one hand talk about justice etc but randomly without real information and cause indiscriminate killing often taking out families or Innocent bystanders"

Participant 3 **"**they (politicians) lied do you really think the US & UK went into Iraq for peace"

Theme 3: **The recognition that as an individual what role can I take to support people and re-connect with my faith - seen as an adventure**

Participant 6 "to spread the message - open people's eyes is my role in this madness"

Participant 2 "make people see the truth - help them learn"

Participant 5 "there needs to be more people aware of the double standards"

Participant 8 "I am still alive and Allah has given me the opportunity to do things so I should go out their and do them"

Theme 4: **Rejection of the label islamist, radical, terrorist etc - highlighted by all**

Participant 2 "I don't except the term radicalised all I am doing is saying to people that things are   wrong in the world"

Participant 4 "because I ask difficult question I am a radical"

Participant 8 "if you question the status quos or ask questions you are regarded as a terrorist"

A key message that was coming from the participants was the term radicalisation was being thrusted upon them and thus they rejected it. Individuals clearly did not see themselves as radical and were able to eloquently rationalise with evidence the stance they were taking. Irrespective of what de-radicalisation program they attended they did not see it of any benefit as they did not agree with any of the terminology, nor the actual principles.

Theme 5 : **The relationship between the parents in particular - the father and a trauma/change in life circumstances**

The relationship between the father and participant has been a strong emerging theme which would merit further and more precise investigation. often than not the relationship is distant or sometimes antagonistic but a trauma of some kind forces a change. 6 out of the 8 participants vocalised issues centred around their father.

Transcript Examples:

Participant 1 "A big reason was that my dad died in 97 an I wasn't interested in things anymore... I was close but not that close to my dad, it was a tough time my father died and I would give hell to my mum. shouting and swearing"

Participant 3 " I was never very close to my dad when he was alive I felt he was disappointed in me. Thought I was a dreamer. I didn't help him much around the farm"

Participant 7 "when I was 12 my parents separated. They (parents) were arguing way before then but I remember my dad just walked out in Easter and never came back ... mum was always crying I was just so pissed off id skip school"

Participant 2 "Like any other Asian teenager or any teenager I suppose ... I stayed quite in front of my dad family and uncles most of the time then did the complete opposite of what he said."   Participant 8 "I have to respect my dad as it is islamiclly right but its hard"

Theme 6:   **The experience of Racism or prejudice**

Participants highlighted the impact on them by the pervasive and often unchallenged racism in the 70's and 80's. this emerging theme meant they became quite protectionist and formed gangs or withdrew from certain parts of society.

> **Participant 1** "I mean I grew up with racism as key factor. We were always in the firing line when it came to racism".

> **Participant 2** "In those days being called Paki was normal"

> **Participant 5** "to survive in London we had to form a gang .... you'd just get beat up ...whites against blacks "

> **Participant 6** "a Teacher used to just pick on the Pakistanis'

> **Participant 8**"White guy with big dogs used to let them chase after us all the time"

> **Participant 3** "The amount of abuse and Islamaphobia would be huge"

> Participant 1 "In the 70's 80's you knew you were going to get a racist comment or a slur all Asians were pakis…. (Laughs). You knew where you stood in a strange way.

> **Participant 4** "But now people are more hidden with the prejudice, although you get the racist attack the attacks now are more based on religious grounds rather than anything else."

> **Participant 7** "You go on facebook, bebo and youtube now and you will find so much crap about Muslims and all of it will be saying we are terrorists"

> **Participant 5** "after that black kid got stabbed we had to get into gangs"

Discussion on Meta Theme:

The empathic connection is a powerful construct which has the potential to amplify and motivate

individuals and in terms of the participants binds them together with the other Muslims around the

world i.e. with other members of the in group. The grievances and atrocities experienced by one is

transmitted to all through this link. During the course of the interviews there was a clear emotional

and physical change in many of the participants when they were discussing the issues around the

injustices in Palestine, Bosnia and other war torn countries. Empathic anger is a unique term which

has a potential to support a greater understanding of the potential drivers of motivation in scenarios

where other drivers may not be present e.g. in the UK for instance it may help to widen discussion

where an individual is stable, not suffering any psychological or other issues is married, settled in his work etc but yet due to the empathic anger may suddenly wish to go join ISIS or other groups etc.

The above example is hypothetical and none of the participants although emotionally charged and clearly angry were suggestive of undertaking what they defined as a criminal act therefore it must be noted that empathic anger by default on its own will not lead to a criminal act (Vitaglione & Barnett 2003). But depending upon the environment around the individual may be transferred out in a different way e.g. 4 of the participants actively channel their energies in undertaking charity or other works in the community.

Example:

> **Participant 4** " I'm there now every Saturday helping with the stall"
>
> **Participant 6** "When you see the things happening in the world you just get sad and then angry. and you have to do something"

Reparatory Grid Analysis:

The reparatory grid analysis further supported the above themes identified in the transcripts. The grid process identified key elements and constructs which the individual used to frame his world. The diagrams and tables below highlight the different key individuals and in particular through the plots the relationship of these individuals in relation to the constructs and how the individual sees himself at those four distinct time points. A full listing of elements and construct can be found in appendix 1 and 2. Figure 6 demonstrates how a Meta category of elements was identified and clustered together

Figure 6: Meta Element Category development: 'Family category'

Meta-categories		Actual element:	No of participants highlighting element
		Father	6
	Parents	Mother	4
Family		Parent	1
	Wife	Wife	5
		Uncle	1
		Grandfather	1

Comment: With reference to the actual transcripts the relationship and significance between the father and participant seems to be a key theme which is identified in the majority of the transcripts.

Table 6: Highlights the number of times 'peers' were identified as key individuals

Participant	No of times a peer is highlighted by the participant
1	2
2	3
3	4
4	2
5	2
6	2
7	2
8	3

Comment: As all participants highlighted a peer / friend as significant it was more appropriate to show how many peers or friends were being highlighted by each participant. The peer network is instrumental in maintaining motivation and activity in a given area. Peer networks are also the way in which recruitment to different groups has traditionally occurred (Tsintsadze-maass & Maass, 2014). The peer network acts as a wider family and social support group supporting the individual to manage the different crisis situations that occur (Mullins, 2009). In this respect the peer network and associations can be a significant factor in initialising and maintaining the empathic responses

Transcript examples:

Participant 5 "a good friend of mine Mohammed got me think about religion while he was fasting"

Participant 2 "I don't think I could have carried on doing the stall without Khalid"

Participant 6 "They arrested me and Shakeal for breach of peace"

Participant 8 "I went to the meetings with Br Abdul who introduced me to the rest of the brs... they are like my family now"

Table 11: Shows the categories or individuals highlighted by the participants who are deemed significant in their thought processes (positive and negative significance)

	Politicians	Media	Security Services Police/ CTU	MI5	Army	Significant others I.e. lawyer / probation officer / teacher
No of participants	7	5	6	2	3	6
Positive or negative	Negative impact	Negative Impact	Negative Impact	Negative Impact	Negative Impact	Variation in both negative and positive

Comment: Table 10 using the principal component grids or plots you can see generally whether these individuals are viewed positively or negatively by the individual. With the support of the output from the reparatory grids (Appendix) it can be noted that the relationship or influence often heavily skewed toward the negative end. Figures 9 – 16 highlight the principle grid output from the reparatory grid analysis, within these outputs the participants visually highlight the negative perception these individuals exert in their lives.

Transcript examples:

> **Participant 2** "the politicians are the ones that are two faced, they lie and they say one thing and do another, I went to my MP for help, he didn't even bother get back to me once he found out what was happening"

> **Participant 6** "the media are the ones that destroy and brainwash everyone"

> **Participant 7** "my lawyer tried to help me but, the system is stacked against him"

Thinking styles:

Although the sample is relatively small the data generated has provided indications of different thinking styles. Thinking styles are important as they are one of the suggested mechanisms of an individual becoming radicalised, for instance if the thinking style hardens and the way in which the world is seen becomes distinctively black or white / right or wrong, us vs them then the likelihood of rationalising potential actions of terror increases exponentially (Stump & Dixit, 2012). This style of thinking is often thought to be synonymous with extreme views about other cultures and groups. It is also important to note that it may not necessarily mean the individual is radicalised as the analysis must take into account the subjective values attributed to the elements based on the experiences the participant has had.

Figure 7: Example of a potentially mixed limited fluidic thinking style:
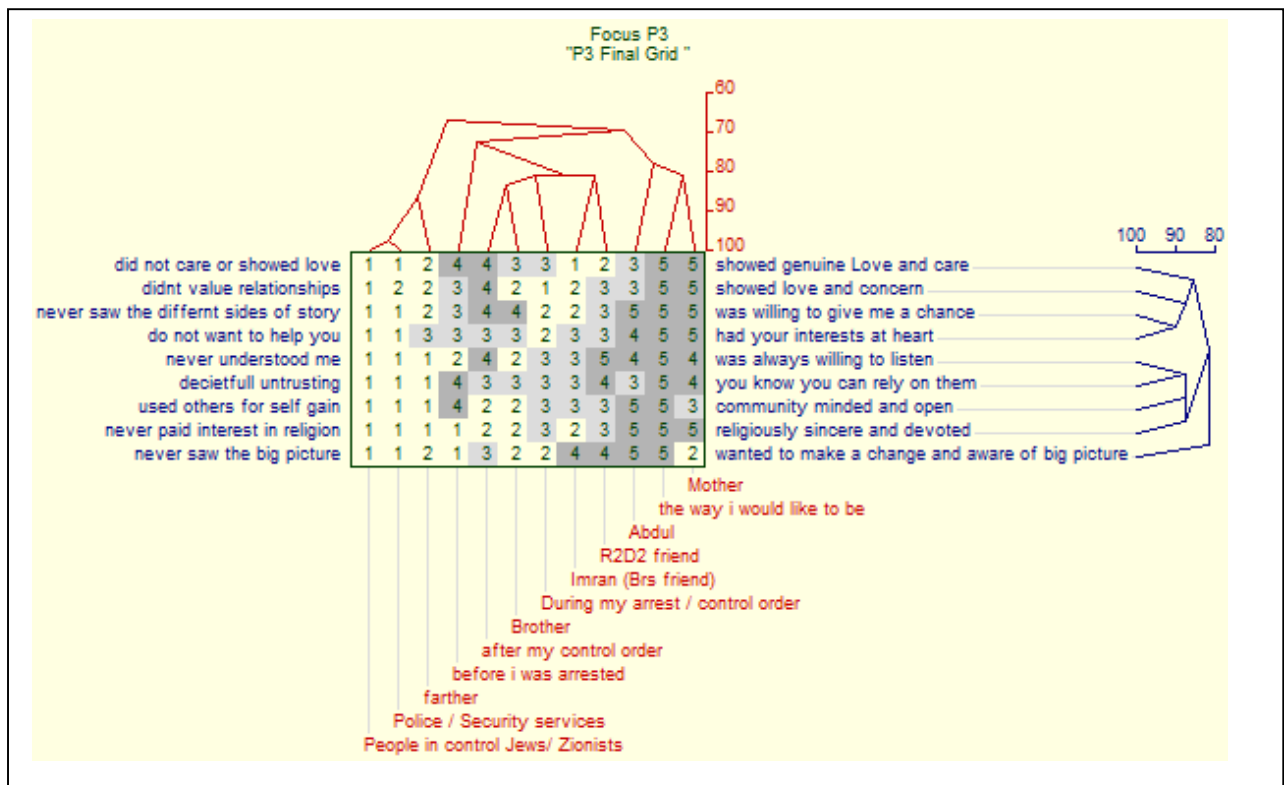
Comment: The above grid shows the distribution scores between 1-5 given by the participant for each element. The elements are identified at the bottom of the grid, while the constructs are identified on the right and left hand side of the grid (left being the negative constructs and the right being the positive constructs). Participants are then asked to rate between 1-5 the respective

elements in line with the constructs they have identified. Constructs that are indicative of a relationship and a thinking style are identified through the line diagrams. In the above example for instance the police and people in control share a relationship and can be linked together with over 95% accuracy. These two elements can be further linked with another element such as the father with a 90% accuracy. The grid allows the researcher to identify elements and constructs that are related as well as showing the actual value system given to these items by the participant.

Figure 8: Is an example of a potentially fixed thinking style:
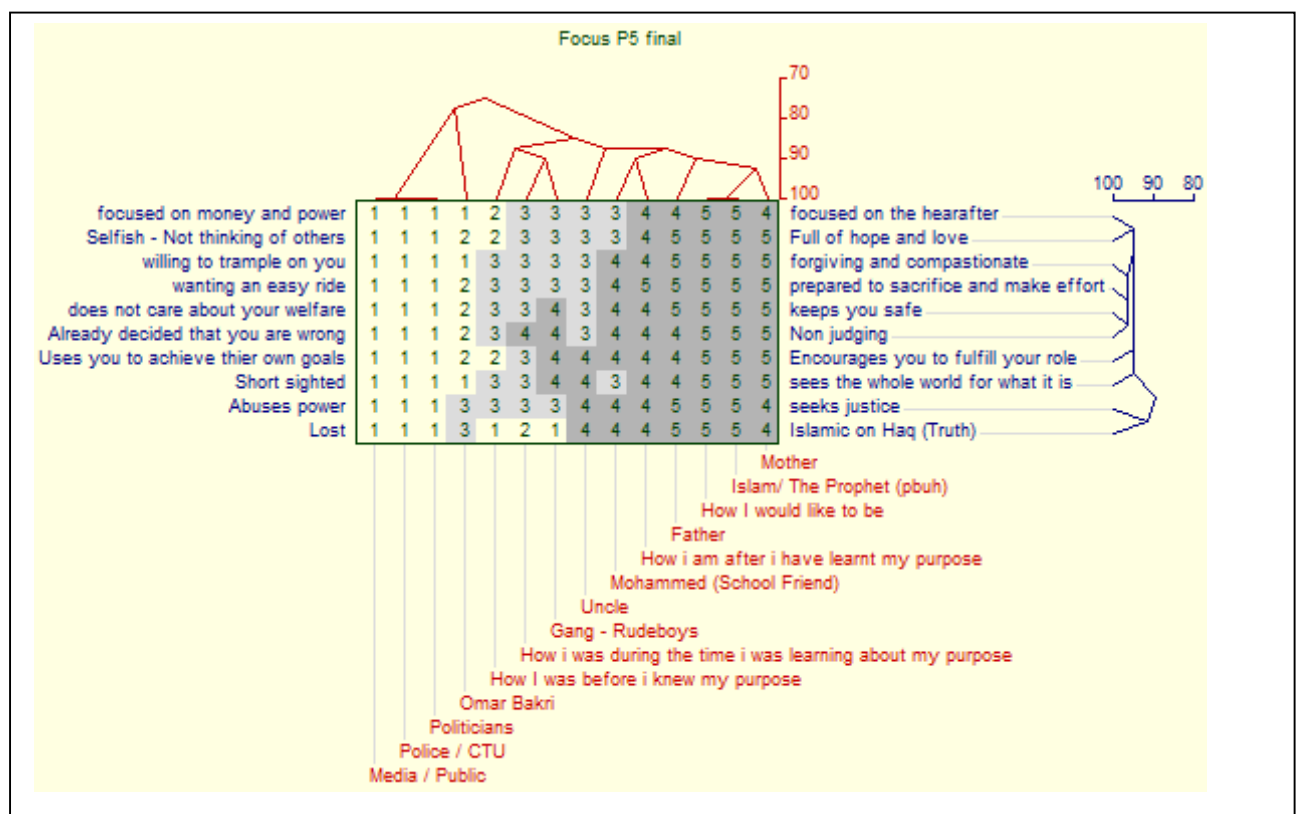
Comment: In this example the participant has divided the elements up into two distinct groups indicated by the grey shaded block. This is a good example of the fixed thinking style which divides the participant's world into distinct polarised categories. In summary from the 8 participants there is generally a fixed level of thinking particularly when it come to the police, media and politicians i.e. in other words these are generally all in the negative strata of the analysis. The focus grids are a further example of how an individual relates to and sees himself in conjunction with the other elements.

Analysis of the Constructs:

Within the output of all 8 participants there seemed to be a level of homogeneity in some of the constructs they were identifying: (full listing of the constructs can be found in appendix, 2 p128)

Three distinct areas can be identified from the positive side of the scale:

- **Spiritually** - Sincere - Islamic minded,- forgiving, guiding

- **personal disposition**- towards - good, loving, honesty self sacrifice, trustworthy, genuine, trusting and with a vision

- **socially minded** and protective of others and values others

Conversely the negative side of the scale:

- spiritually void, lies and deceitful, no morality

- closed minded, corrupt, judgemental and short sighted.

- Abuses the rights and privileges of others Socially bankrupt

Figures 9: as an example shows the relationship and distribution for participant 1 between the constructs and elements and in particular the positioning of the 4 questions i.e

- How I was before,

- How I was during,

- How I was after

- How I would like to be.

The positioning of these four questions on the plot highlights how the individual conceptualises or answers these questions in relation to the constructs and elements in his life. In general you can with all 8 see a pattern of distribution between positive and negative value attribution. An example is furthered explained using Figure 8 which is the plot representation for Participant 1:

Figure 9: Participant 1: Principal Grid:

PrinGrid P1final
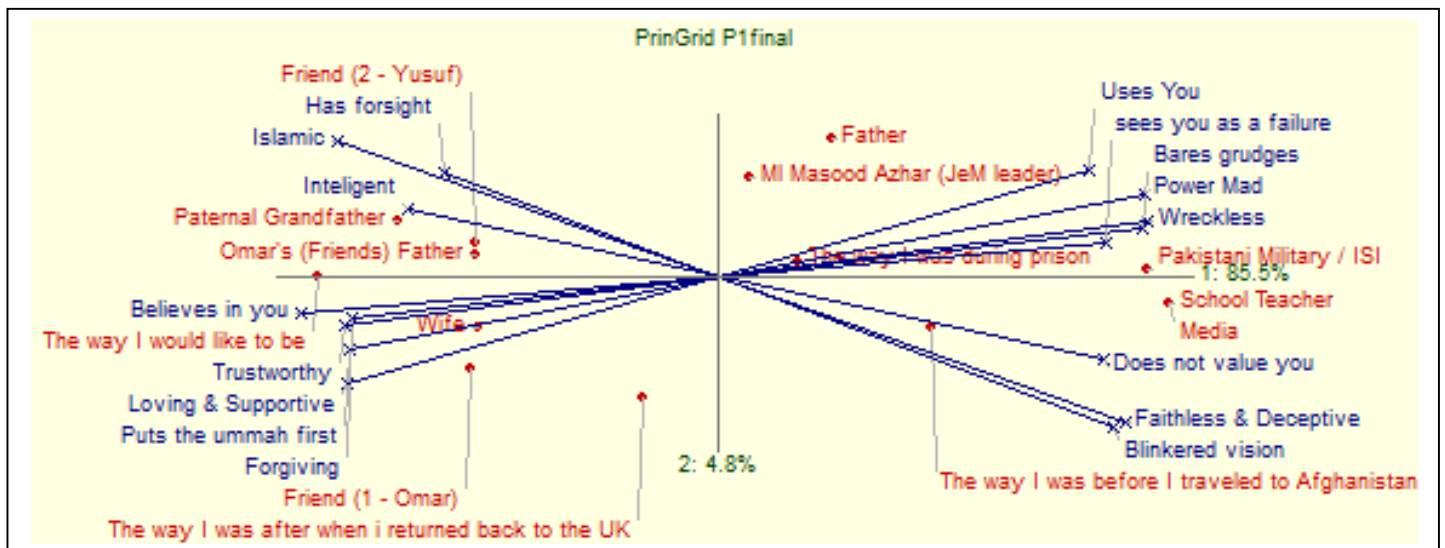
Illustrated example of what the Principle grid is showing for Participant 1:

For instance, within this grid **'The way I would like to be'** is heavily associated with: Trustworthy, Loving Supportive, puts the ummah first, forgiving and believes in you. Examples of which are his friend Omar and his wife. Omar's father and Paternal grandfather who also are within the top positive quadrant highlighting a strong relationship with being intelligent Islamic and having foresight. On the other side there appears to be a negative relationship with the father who may show signs of bearing grudges, power mad and reckless. Using this model, a conceptual understanding of the values attributed to those individual and process can be identified in line with how the individual sees himself. For instance, **before he travelled to Afghanistan** he saw himself potentially blinkered and having element s of faithlessness etc. Consequentially the **'way I was after I came back'** had moved to the other side into a more positive frame. However, the relative position of this toward the centre as opposed to where the wife is can be treated as a notion that she espouses more of the positive virtues then he did. This type of analysis provides a strong conceptual base in understanding how over time the person's values shift.   Figures 10 -16 therefore graphically represent the distribution of the elements and constructs in relation to the 4 questions.

Figure 10: Participant 2: Principle Grid Output

PrinGrid P2 final
"P2 Final"

1: 81.9%

2: 7.4%
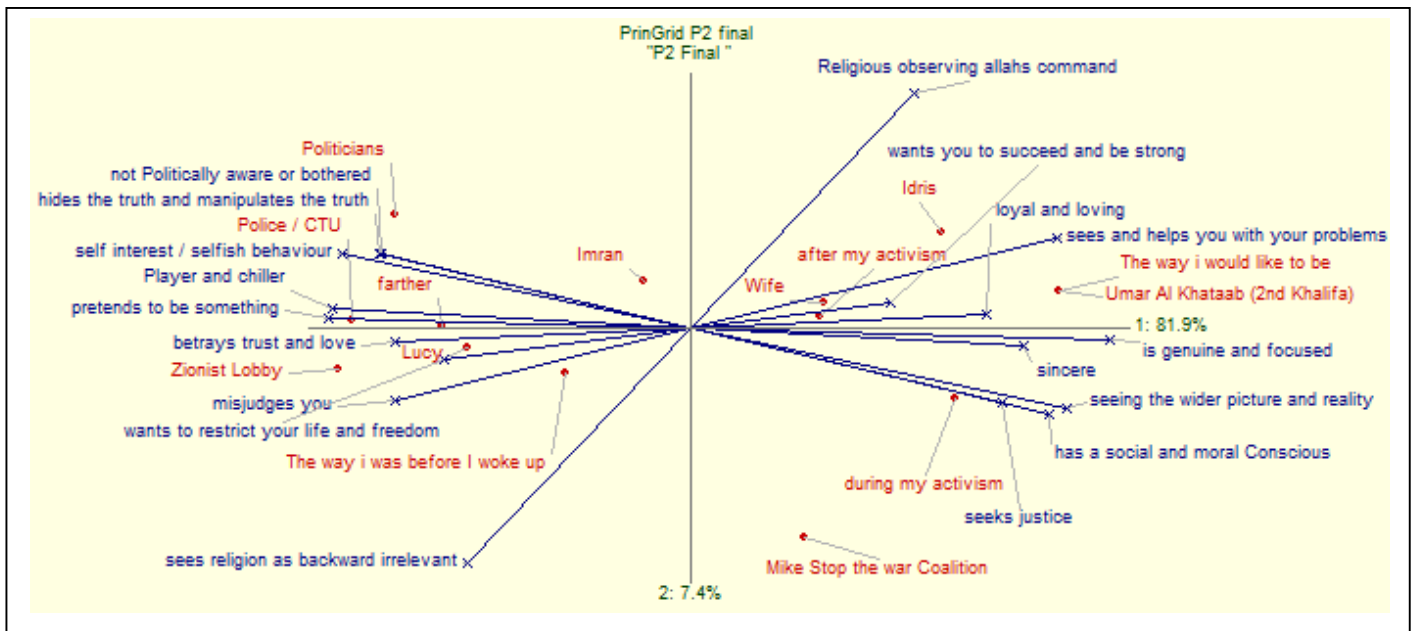
The way I was before: is associated with seeing religion backward, Miss-judges people:

The Way I was during: Seeks Justice, has a social and moral consciousness

The way I was after: sees and helps other and wants you to succeed

The way I would like to be: Sincere and genuine

For this participant his experiences have generally moved him into the positive side, as such the implications of any de-radicalisation techniques or process being applied would not really have any effect. The notion that the participants character has improved, or is moving towards his ideal self means that any attempt to challenge and deconstruct this positive move e.g. in the form of any de-radicalisation process would not be successful. This participant has identified a negative relationship with his father akin to the negativity he feels towards the police etc.

Figure 11: Participant 3: Principle Grid Output

PrinGrid P3
"P3 Final Grid"
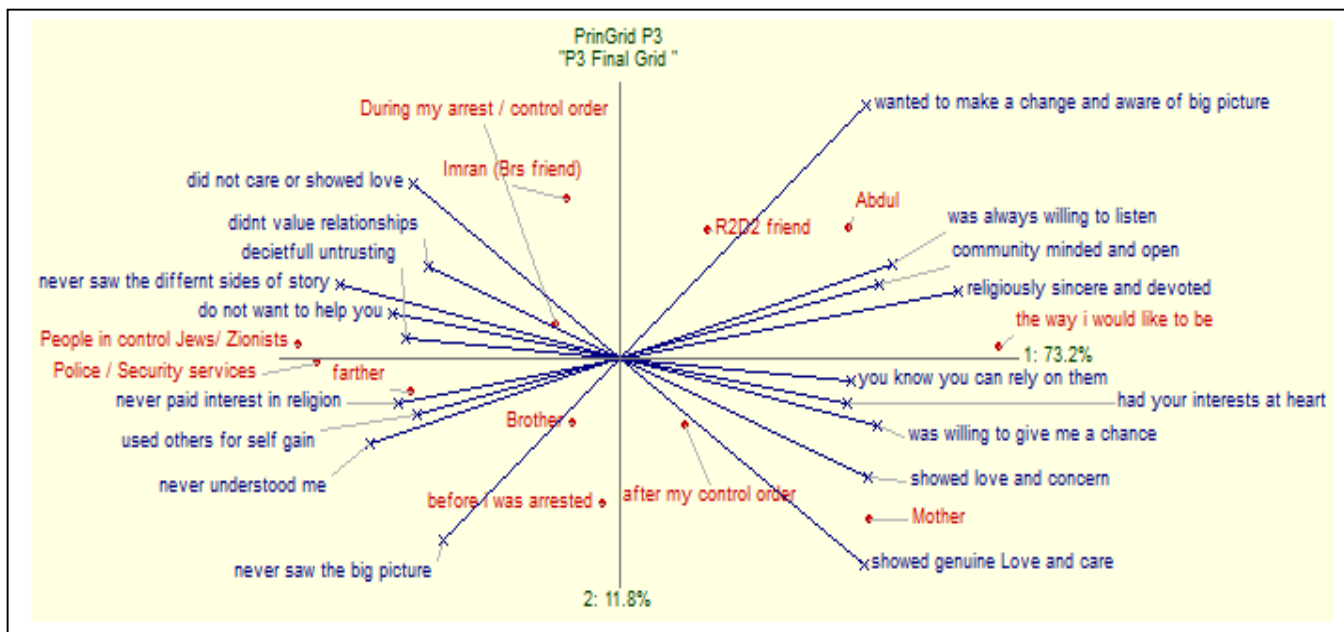
The way I was before: is associated with: never seeing the bigger picture

The Way I was during: is associated with: Didn't value relationships, did not care or showed love

never saw the different sides of the story

The way I was after: is associated with: Showed genuine love showed love and concern

The way I would like to be is associated with: Religiously sincere and devoted

For this participant also the move has been a general positive one as such the notion of de-

radicalisation would not be effective if anything would encourage and polarise the participant

Figure 12: Participant 4: Principle Grid Output

PrinGrid P4 final
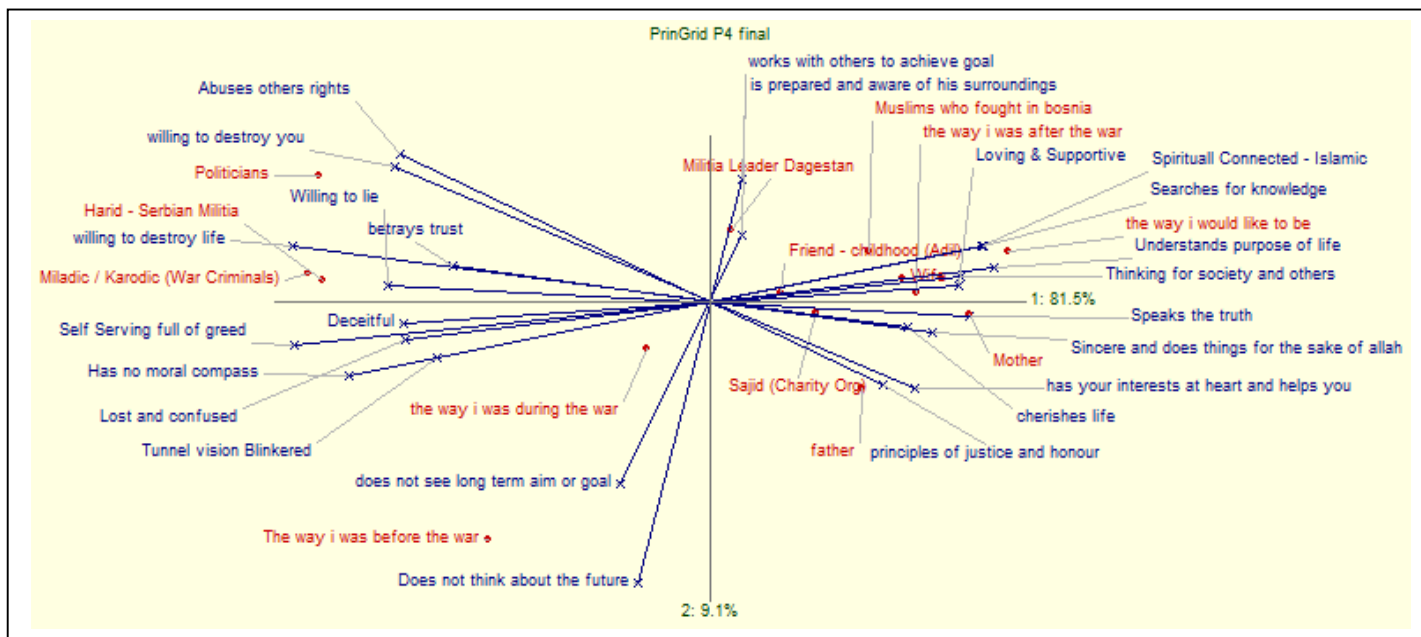
This participant is the only non UK born participant as such the context of his answers are unique and represent the impact the conflict in Bosnia had on him.

The way I was before: is associated with: does not see long term aim or goal, does not think about the future

The Way I was during: is associated with: still did not see long term or think about the future however impact is reduced.

The way I was after: is associated with: loving speaking the truth spiritual and connected

The way I would like to be is associated with**:** spiritual connected thinking for society and others

Figure 13: Participant 5: Principle Grid Output
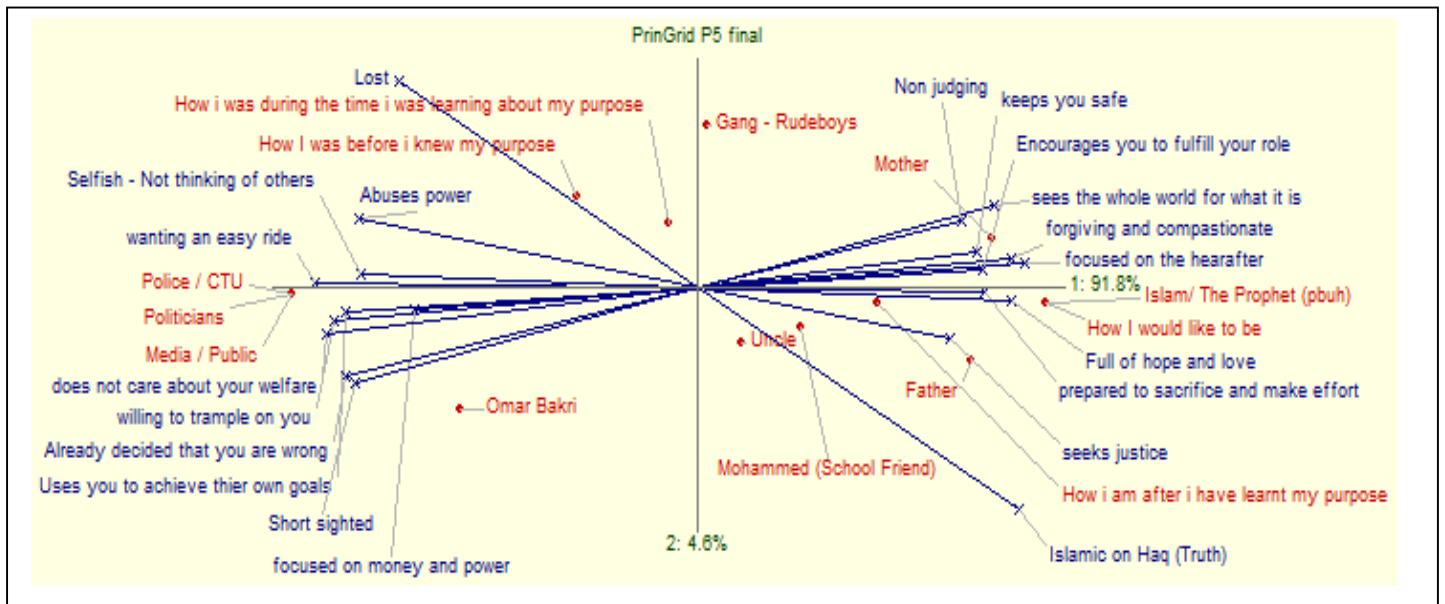
The way I was before: is associated with: Lost

The Way I was during: is associated with: Lost

The way I was after: is associated with: full of hope and love seeks justice

The way I would like to be is associated with: Islamic and like the prophet

For this participant the distribution and movement again has been positive. The identification of Omar Bakri more towards the negative quadrant is indicative of the notion that the individual although part of a group still felt lost.

Figure 14: Participant 6: Principle Grid Output
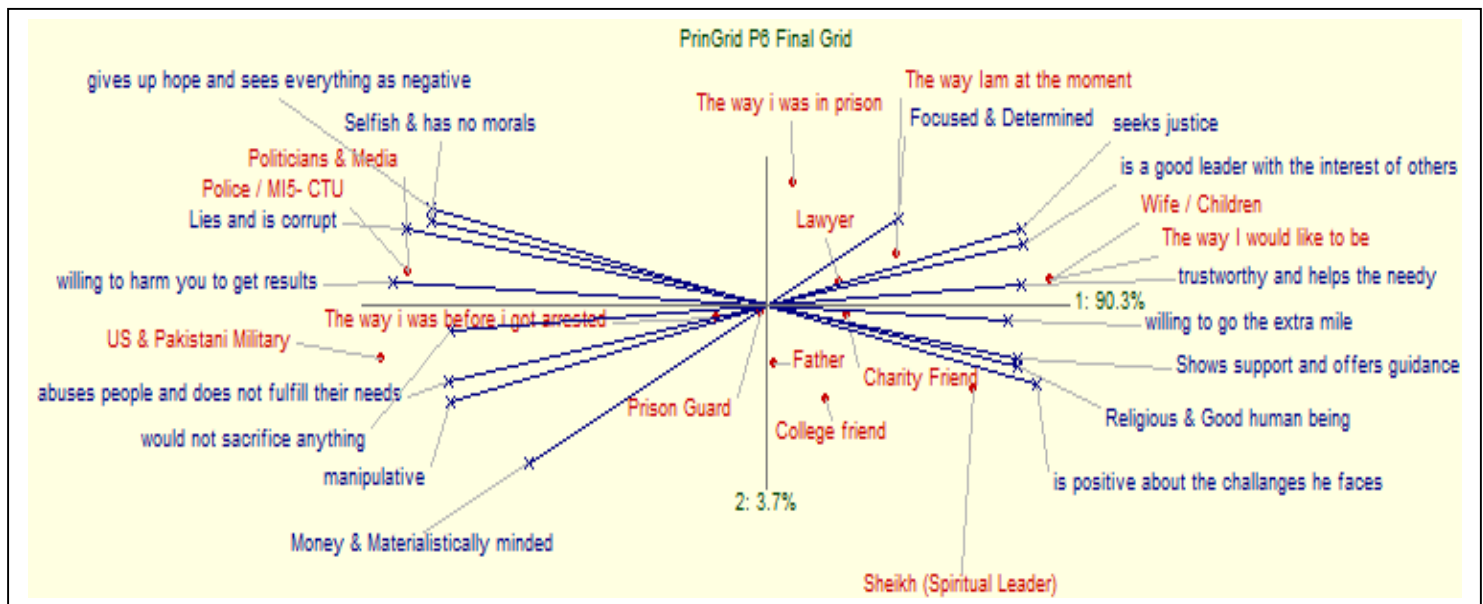
The way I was before: is associated with: Abuses people would not sacrifice anything

The Way I was during: is associated with: slight relation to focused and determined

The way I was after: is associated with: seeks justice focused and determined

The way I would like to be is associated with**:** trustworthy and helps others willing to go the extra mile

For this participant the experience of prison life and those he came into contact with ie the lawyer had a positive influence to enable him to become focused and determined. Again the notion of a de-radicalisation process would not be affective for this individual

Figure 15: Participant 7: Principle Grid Output

PrinGrid P7 final grid

The army / soldiers
So called muslim leaders
Politicians - Bush & Blair
Police / CTU
Scheming & full of betrayal
would trample upon people/abuse their rights
willing to harm you and hurt you
Hungry after power and selfish
leads people by falsehood and manipulates them
Insincere & Corrupt
only sees limited view
focused on this world / base desires
Media
lost and confused
The way i was before i understood my purpose
weak and open to abuse
The way I am trying to fulfill my purpose
2: 2.5%
emotionally strong, thick skinned
Mother
The way I am at the moment
The way I would like to be
sees the bigger picture
focused on the after life
Islam & the Hearafter
Spiritual leader
Focused & determined
1: 95.0% is a true leader focused on good
Sprritual & Enlightended
helpful to others
full of knowledge and trustworthy
Warm and caring
naive
Firend (Br Khalid - stall holder)
Friend (Abdul Haigh - also a Convert)

The way I was before: is associated with: weak and open to abuse

The Way I was during: is associated with: less weak and open to abuse

The way I was after: is associated with: focused and determined

The way I would like to be is associated with**:** focused on the afterlife sees the bigger picture

Figure 16: **Participant 8: Principle Grid Output**

PrinGrid P8 Final grid
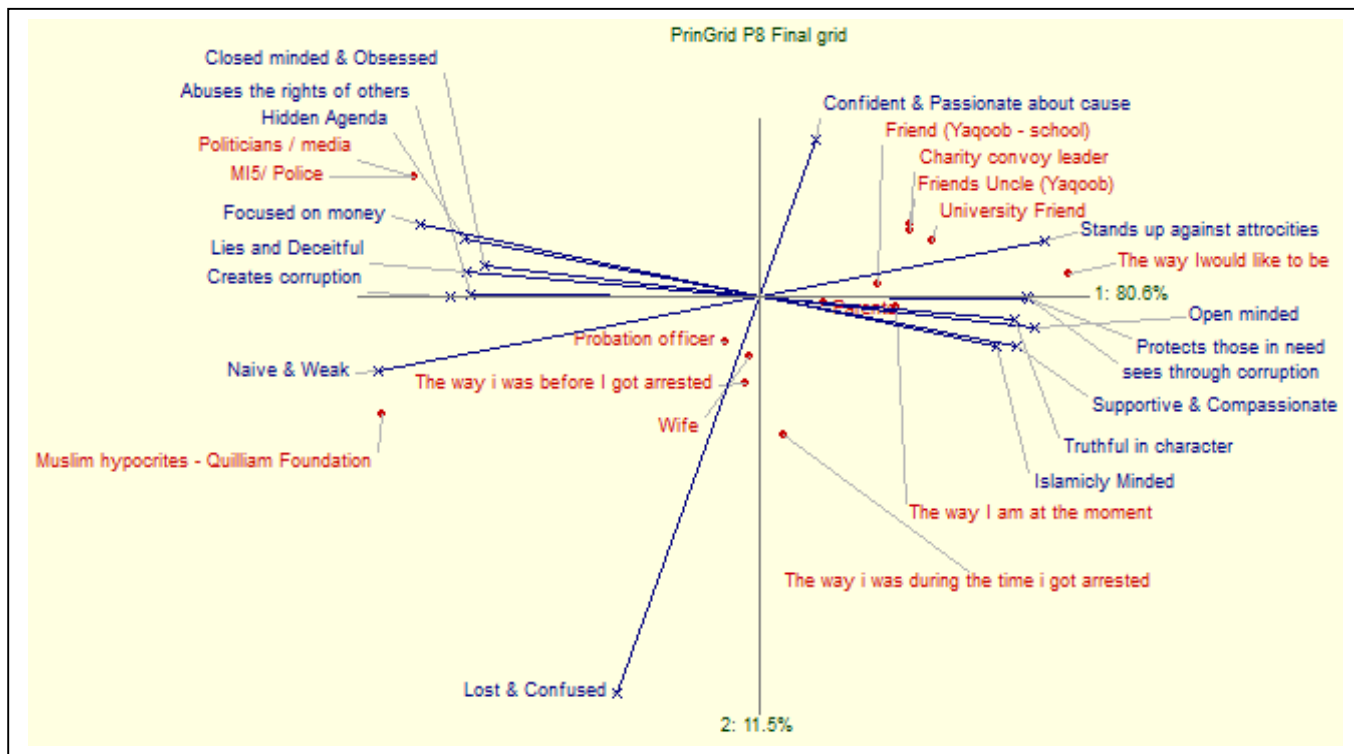
The way I was before: is associated with: Lost and confused

The Way I was during: is associated with: less lost and confused

The way I was after: is associated with: open minded Protects those in need supportive and compassionate

The way I would like to be is associated with**:** stands up against atrocities

Discussion:

The grid distribution generally highlights an increasingly negative relationship between the security services and the individual. The relationship generally with peers is seen as positive and the relationship between the parents and family is generally positive although 3 out of 8 individuals highlighted a negative relationship with the father. However, in the actual interview 6 out of the 8 had highlighted negative relationships with the father. The discrepancy can be potentially attributed to the notion of not wanting to place the father in the same category as those such as the police. Nearly all participants noted that after their experience they generally became more positive or religious or fulfilling their objectives. This brings into question the fact that they do not see themselves as radicalised as such the ability to legitimise and morally accept actions is more palatable.

Chapter 8 Discussion & Conclusions

Study Discussion: Summary of Main Findings

The principle focus of the study and thesis was to develop and enable a greater understanding of the psychological constructs or emerging themes from the subjective and idiosyncratic world of those individuals who had been arrested in the UK under the various terrorism legislation. The study aimed to provide more light in the area of the different dynamics at play that affected the decisions these individuals were making. Through the use of narrative interviews and the repertory grid technique participants were able to provide a rich and contextual illustrations of their worlds to enable key themes to be identified. The initial study sample of 22 that had consented were identified through working with a rage of NGO's and their legal teams. However, due to the unfolding situation in the middle east as well as the changing circumstances in the UK for some individuals a large portion of the sample withdrew thus leaving 8 participants. This high attrition rate was an example of the evolving and often unpredictable nature of carrying out field research within a real world context.   All the remaining participants completed over two-three hours of interviews along with a reparatory grid. Through analysis of the transcripts and the repertory grids the identification of 1 main meta-theme and 5 other sub themes was prominent. (Table 8 is reprinted here to summarise the key themes)

Table 8: Summary of the Key themes within the transcripts:

Meta Theme 1:	**Empathy towards those in conflict situations (flashpoints) and (Victims)** which was on the other hand balanced by an **Empathetic Anger towards those who were viewed as aggressors and pen-ultimately responsible for the atrocities and injustice.**
Theme 2:	**The active distrust of politicians, media, police and military-** (Highlighted by all 8)
Theme 3:	**The recognition that as an individual what role can I take to support people and re-connect with my faith - seen as an adventure**
Theme 4:	**Rejection of the label islamist, radical, terrorist etc –** (highlighted by all)
Theme 5:	**The relationship between the parents in particular - the father and a trauma/change in life circumstances**
Theme: 6:	**The experience of Racism or prejudice**

The repertory grids also illustrated the thinking styles of the participants as well as identification of the value they attributed to the transition that they experienced through 4 time points in their life i.e. before, during, after and how I would like to be. Within these transition points the general trend was that all the individuals regarded themselves within a negative light before the event and a more positive light after the events i.e. often the participants highlighted that they had gained a better reality or insight in to the world around them.

Meta Theme: Empathy & Empathetic Anger as key Drivers of Motivation:

Even though the sample was extensively smaller then what was envisaged the data generated has still provided a unique set of themes and concepts which can provide researchers a base to work from. The following paragraphs are a way of potentially conceptualising the effect and impact of the themes identified and how the empathetic response can be central in understanding how individuals cross the bridge from thought, to actual action. The concept of **empathic anger** is one which intuitively may support a greater understating of potential push and pull factors particularly within the UK dynamic of radicalisation and terrorism i.e. where individuals who are 'seemingly' well adjusted, functioning, with families and generally positive relationships with those around them, but yet undertake an action which puts all that at risk. Empathy is a quintessential characteristic of humanity it is a powerful and emotional construct that has the emotive and cognitive energy to propel an individual from merely feeling dissatisfied about an issue, subject or grievance to actively doing something about it. Even if the grievance is not experienced by the individual, nor is it experienced by his immediate contacts etc.

The empathy expressed by these individuals within the sample prompted them to identify with a greater cause or issue, which goes beyond their subjective life's and enables them to fulfil a sense of humanitarian duty. Nearly all the participants felt it was their humanitarian duty to support those less fortunate than them and to look at all the ways they could assist. The emotional escalation of feelings of frustration with the ongoing situations in the world are a means by which the empathy feelings were getting stronger and are a means by which individuals may potentially legitimatise or morally be willing to accept actions which may escalate into armed struggle. Within this legitimisation process

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the notion of empathic anger, which is not just blind anger but an anger which is constructed in the reality and logic of the world that there are distinct individuals, groups and governments who are responsible for the atrocities and pain.

The consequence of this is that the individual rejects on some level the authority or legitimacy of these governments or organisations that are seen as responsible. This rejection and de-legitimisation of those actors means that they become viable targets or potential targets for any activity. As the construction of these feelings are grounded in some reality i.e. there is suffering in the world and there is abuse of power etc. and the nature of politics makes it such that there are always political games afoot in which case the individual's conceptualisation of these 'political games' is inherently seen as being stacked against those who are suffering. Once the individual has come to that conclusion then there is a process in which he rationalises that these organisations are illegitimate and require affirmative action to remove their influence or oppression, thus enabling him to cross the bridge from seeing and feeling a grievance or an issue to then potentially rationalising it to take a physical and practical form.

Using these concepts and processes it is hypothesised that over a gradual time period (as suggested by Moghaddam's concept of a stair case) the individuals propelled by this empathy as well as the anger go through a process of legitimising and morally sanctioning actions which increase in the risk and nature of activity. The interaction the person has with media, visual imagery of atrocities as well as with the police and security services etc. reinforces preconceived conceptions and the empathy and empathetic anger. Solidified by the individual's personal experiences of prejudice and racism which remain a significant social factor as a result of which the individual seeks or gravitates towards likeminded persons who share and embody similar empathetic responses whether that be online or in physical terms. More time the individual spends within this environment and the continued negative feedback loop which he or she gets from the services continues to reinforce and develop more black and white thinking styles. As these thinking style solidify the individual's commitment and

desire to participate in activities can potentially grow and become the 'only' way in which the problem or justice could be restored.

The notion of empathic anger is a potent mix of emotional and cognitive responses to the environments the individual perceives and is in. It could be suggested that the empathetic responses are a way in which the individual overrides or minimises the effect or emotional stability gained from so called 'safety factors' such as family, friends, work, education etc. This would explain why individuals particularly in the UK would be willing to undertake a range of activities even in light of having these 'safety' factors. A further consideration is that as there is a growing focus now towards lone wolf attacks (Breedon, 2015) instead of groups or cells the implication of an individual's empathic responses seems pertinent and provides a way in which to understand how the individual is motivated without a full structure behind him or her. In saying this, however, my own personal assumption is that although individuals may commit acts on their own there's always some sort of structural support or process particularly in the way they are psychologically primed, this could be achieved through the different realms of social media.

The literature in relation to the usage of empathy as a way of further exploring the processes in terrorism is very limited (Rice, 2009). The above paragraphs briefly illustrate the potential that this process offers in understanding the interplay between factors and motivation. It further provides tentative support to theoretical models such as the staircase to terrorism highlighted by Moghaddam (2005).

Empathy & Utilisation of Skills: Understanding the pathway further

There is a recognition that not all individuals who participate in acts of terror are the same and a myriad of potential roles exist. Taylor and Horgan (2006) identify the roles of key persons such as those involved in logistics, leadership, public relations and those that are hidden or those that actively providing aid. even in a decentralised environment or where no direct structure exists or in the case of Lone wolf attacks the individuals still adopt a role of sorts. In developing this idea further of

differentiating roles and processes it is hypothesised that as the notion of empathic response is a means in which individuals enter the slip stream of radicalisation the means by which they move into their respective roles depend upon the subjective and developed skills set in that person's life. Therefore, a further hypothesis is that there are potential five distinct areas which individuals may migrate to once they enter this process i.e.:

Role 1: **The Idealist:** Individuals may enter the process as idealists, inspired by the empathetic responses their motivation is driven and identified by the notion of restoring an ideal level of justice or social, political and religious reform.

Role 2: The Soldier: Directly linked to the idealist but a more pragmatically functioning individual who is differentiated by potentially more experience within a movement or organisation.

Role 3: The intellectual - Recruiter. This individual can be akin to the leadership role identified by Taylor & Horgan (2006). This person often is the spokesperson or individual directing the philosophy of the group - whether that be in person or online.

Role 4: The opportunist - Financier - this individual is potentially motivated more by self or financial gain at times or alternatively if financing something is motivated potentially by his or her empathic responses. This individual is more likely to be involved in criminal activities and holds less idealist views.

Role5: The Patsy: slightly different from the other roles in which this individual may be motivated by idealism but is often the individual who is separate from the others and may not know or be aware of the nature of operations or activities i.e. is often the one carrying the bomb

The intuitive identification of these roles is based upon earlier work undertaken by Sarangi (2010). who was able to gain access to a sample of individuals who had been arrested or detained for various terroristic activities. Using narrative interviews Sarangi (2010) highlighted some of these distinct roles and processes. A purely theoretical assumption at this stage but would be the next

phase of understanding how the empathetic responses can potentially lead to these roles thus an area for further research enquiry.

Limitations & Weaknesses of the study

The key limitations of this study centre around the reduced sample and the diversity of the sample. The lack of diversity of the sample limits its application beyond this sub group and overall limits the development of the field in recognising the wider groups who are engaging in defined acts of terrorism. A major challenge for this and other studies in this area has been the time consumed in attempting to gain access to individuals, then building the rapport and trust and then working through the logistics of the interviews. The extreme length in this process has meant that while individuals were withdrawing the ability to recruit new individuals was severely hampered. If this study was to be replicated it would be challenging to undertake a larger sample due to the length and resources required.

Although the study attempted to provide a unique and true account of the processes it must be noted that presentation biases from the participants as well as the researcher are an appropriate concern. This was clearly demonstrated through the discrepancy between those highlighting negative issues around the father (6 participants) and the translation of this negative construct into the repertory grids where only 3 identified clear negative relationships.

In relation to the output of the study i.e. the themes and the nature of the themes, these are still speculative (as they are based upon a small and unique sample) as is the proposed model of the 5 roles. There is evidence from the transcripts that support the themes however further investigation is needed with a diverse sample. in hindsight even though the interviews were lengthy there are still potential areas of exploration in the person narrative i.e. the relationship between the father and the participant could have been explored further.

Recommendations: potential areas for further development & Policy:

As noted earlier a key notion would be to explore the process with a more diverse sample particularly looking at elements of how the emotions translate into behaviour and the relationship between the participants and family. The notion of psychological priming through media, popular culture and the relationship between the 3 actors is something which could be explored within future research. Alongside attenuate questions to explore the roles individuals undertake once they enter into that process.

The concept of a lone wolf attack has recently gained prominence, however the attack may be undertaken by an individual and that there may not be a distinct hierarchical structure of a group or organisation such as Daesh or al-Qaida but clearly the implications of the internet and the ability to communicate and network in the digital world provide that process of socialisation and group dynamic. In this respect further work may be undertaken to explore the relationship and influence of the digital world on the reinforcing of the empathetic responses.

The sample data has also highlighted a number of other themes which could also benefit from further research i.e. Racism and prejudice are still key social constructs that were prominent in the narrative story of some of the participants. The relationship between the participant and the parents in particular the father has also been identified as an area of potential exploration and analysis. The unsurprisingly negatively skewed values attributed to the police, politicians, and media and conversely the positive values attributed to the peers are patterns which are in line with other research (Coppock & Mcgovern 2014, Roberts 2014).

A clear implication for policy is that all the participants within the sample rejected being designated as radicalised thus the application of a de-radicalisation process on these individuals would have proved potentially futile. The thesis has also eluded to the fact that counter terrorism measure and de-radicalisation process seem to be having the opposite effect as such a potential area of evaluation

may be necessary to understand what effects the processes are having on the individuals especially when they do not recognise the labels that are being placed upon them.

Reflective Summary: Personal Implications in carrying out research in Terrorism

Undertaking a PhD in its own right is a challenge, however to undertake a PhD within an area such as terrorism, which is politically, socially and personally contentious and emotive raises this complexity and challenge to new heights. The aim of this short reflection is to summarise some of these challenges and to reflect on the way they impacted upon the development of the thesis and personal development. It is also an attempt to provide future researchers an awareness of potential assumptions, pitfalls and ways of managing these while conducting research in this contentious area.

An important starting point is to recognise the researcher's initial motivation for embarking on this journey i.e. the central question of why would someone disregard something so precious as their life and the lives of others in order to prove a point or send a message. Wrapped up in this question was a salient question which was that the I felt parts of the dynamics of this area were not being looked at effectively i.e. the obsessive over indulgence of research which attempted to equate at times the notion of Islam with terrorism and the de-contextualisation of this subject from a historical, social and political context. I attempted to recognise elements of this salient objective within chapter one to ensure that as I worked through the processes of the thesis I was aware of some of my own potential biases and the reflect upon how they are construing my questioning. For a researcher embarking on this type of study it is important to recognise and bring to the surface the potential salient biases and assumptions they are working from.

For instance, it is important to recognise that Jihadist activities and the chaos that embraces the world today did not suddenly emerge in a vacuum but is deep rooted in the history and conflicts of the world, potentially as far back as the 18th and 19th centuries but more pertinently to the fall of the Ottoman empire and the distribution of land and countries to the victors of World War One. The recognition of

context allows a more formative analysis to be undertaken and allows a deeper understanding of the potential push and pull factors which individuals ascribe to justify their actions.

A family member of one of the individuals that travelled to Syria asked him why he had gone and why he had sided with a barbaric group such as Daesh, his response allegedly was that "they are no more barbaric then those who let a million children starve in Iraq as a result of the oil for food programme and no more barbaric then those who after gaining power (Shia elite) in Iraq exacted a revenge on those who supported Saddam". The complexity and the range of 'old scores' that are being settled by the various groups in this area compounded by the interventions of other nation states such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, Russia, US and EU make these conflicts not as straight forward as the lay person would believe. As the world has witnessed in the debacle of intervention both Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya. The reason for mentioning this is that the current trend in terroristic activity as a result of these conflicts is not straight forward and convoluted and the message that is being sent can never be justified or accepted but needs to be assessed and investigated as a means of engaging with the potential issues and resolving them where possible. Therefore, these process have less to do with the tenants of Islam and more to do with the Socio-economical, political and geographical dynamics of these areas.

I embarked upon this journey with a slight naivety assuming that I had a good awareness of the different facets of this area and as such became slightly entrenched and fixated upon the processes I felt were essential to understand. However, part of the learning of the PhD is to recognise that the understanding that you have is merely the tip of the iceberg and that this PhD is not an end but a beginning in understanding the phenomena that is being investigated. This I feel is important to mention as the PhD is not a means to an end i.e. the process is about uncovering different perspectives and creating new questions rather than neatly answering one question and thus seeing the PhD as a success because it provided the unique answer the researcher was looking for. Framing the PhD within this way I feel would maintain the motivation and desire to complete the process, which for this area is often extremely lengthy and convoluted.

It is easy within this subject area to get completely overwhelmed with the literature and conflation of terms and processes. A feeling that there is something I haven't read or something which may improve my understanding only leads to further articles which prompt further questions. I have attempted to understand this phenomena through the distinction of the respective actors which has been a useful way of understanding the angle some of the literature is presented through.

The more immediate challenges within researching this area have been the intense effort required to gain access and to work with individuals to gain their trust. This physically and practically can be draining and requires a lot of determination as Dolnik (2011) highlights in his work in supporting researchers to undertake field research. Baring a year and half the study has taken just over 6 years to complete this stage of it. Thus it is important to reflect upon the practical aim identified in the research but also the salient objectives which the researcher holds to maintain that determination to complete the process.

Working within this area of a highly political and securitised environment further requires a sense of determination and recognition that as a researcher while you are attempting to rationalise the abhorrent actions of those individuals willing to commit atrocities you are also vulnerable to falling foul of those security measures. Particularly in light of current legislation in the UK which makes it a challenge to investigate the narratives or perspectives of those when the material or process is inherently blocked. The security services do not differentiate between those searching the web for offensive material and those searching for information to build a study. In this respect it is important within the ethics form and supported guidance with the institutions which support the study to ensure that researchers are protected or given assistance.

From my personal experience there have been implications for undertaking this research in the form of my work within the NHS, where my security clearance to work within the courts and police stations providing mental health assessments was temporarily revoked without notification or due process and my voluntary work which involved working with a range of charities and organisation came under scrutiny. As a researcher but also as a young Muslim male the recognition that this type of research

would pose some questions in the different security areas was not unexpected. However, this should not mean that this should be an accepted process or an excepted reality if you are carrying out legitimate research in this area. The reactions that I received while undertaking this study is symptomatic of the wider assumptions, prejudices and belief systems that are prevalent within a hyper sensitive society community where in today's context there are elements of policy which view potentially most Muslims as a potential fifth column. This rhetoric often espoused in the media further polarises the us and them dynamic.

Notwithstanding these issues, the importance of researching this area remains significant. It may take a protracted length of time to engage individuals and may take time in fostering a relationship but the need for it to be investigated remains pertinent.

The study overall has attempted to disentangle some of the contentious issues that surround terrorism and radicalisation. It has attempted to develop a greater understanding of the different potential factors which prompt individuals to undertake such actions. Even within its limited exploratory form the study has provide a platform from which further research can be conceptualised and developed further. This thesis therefore is the beginning of a different view of research within this phenomena.

Appendix 1: Full listing of all the elements identified by participants [8] split into corresponding categories:

Categories:	Elements Identified by Participants							
	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8
Parents & Family (including wife)	Father	Farther	Father	Father	Father	Father	Mother	Parents
	Wife	Wife	Mother	Wife	Uncle	Wife / children		Wife
	Paternal Grandfather	Lucy (ex)		Mother	Mother			
Peers & Friends:	Omar (Friend)	Imran (Friend)	Imran (Friend)	Adil (childhood friend)	Mohammed (School Friend)	Br Sajid – college friend	Br Khalid and friends	Yaqoob - School Friend
	Yusuf (Friend)	Idris (Friend)	R2D2 Bot1 (friend on WoW)	Sajid (charity organiser)	Gang - rude boys	Br Shazad (charity friend)	Abdul Haigh-Friend	Br Rafiq (University friend)
		Mike friend (SWP)	Abdul (Friend)	Jamal – (Friend) militia leader				Br Yaser (charity Convey
			Brother x (Friend)					
Islamic or Spiritual guide/ leader	Maulana Masood Azhar	Umar Al Khataab Ra (2nd Rightly guided Khalifa)			Islam the prophet pbuh	Sheikh (Spiritual leader)	Islam and the hereafter	
					Omar Bakri		Sheikh Spiritual leader)	
Significant others	Omars farther	Zionists	Jews /Zionists	Harid – Serbian milita member		Andrew Prison guard		Yaqoobs uncle
	School Teacher			Miladic / Karodic – War Criminals		Lawyer		Muslim Hypocrites -

(subjective participants)								Qulliam foundation
				Muslims fought in Bosnia				John (probation service)
Politicians & Media	Media / Politicians	Politicians		Politicians (Bush/Blair)	Politicians	Politicians & media	Politicians (Bush & Blair)	Politicians / media
					Media / public		Media	
							So called Muslim leaders	
Police/ security or military	Pakistani military/ ISI	Police	Police security services		Police/CTU	Police MI5-CTU	Police - Counter terrorism	MI5 / police
						US & Pakistani military	The Army / soldiers	
Self description elements	The way I was after the event – when I returned back to UK	The way I was before I woke up	Before I Was arrested	The way I was before the event - before the war	How I was before I knew my purpose	The way I was before I got arrested	The way I was before I understood my purpose	The way I was before I got arrested
	The way I was during the event – during prison	The way I was during the time of activism	During my arrest / Control order	The way I was during the war	How I was during the time I was learning about my purpose	The way I was in prison	The way I am trying to fulfil my purpose (during)	The way I was during the time I got arrested
	The way I was before the event - I travelled to Afghanistan	They way I was after	After my control order	The way I was after the war	How I am after I have learnt my purpose	The way I am at the moment	The way I am at the moment	The way I am at the moment
	The way I would like to be	They way I would like to be.	The way I would like to be	The way I would like to be	How I would like to be	The way I would like to be	The way I would like to be	The way I would like to be

Appendix: 2

Full listing of all the Constructs identified by participants [8]:

P1	
Faithless & Deceptive	Islamic
Uses You	Loving & Supportive
Does not value you	Intelligent
Blinkered vision	Has foresight
Power Mad	Puts the ummah first
Wreckless	Trustworthy
sees you as a failure	Believes in you
Bares grudges	Forgiving

P2	
Player and chiller	sincere
self interest / selfish behaviour	seeing the wider picture and reality
not Politically aware or bothered	has a social and moral Conscious
sees religion as backward irrelevant	Religious observing Allah's command
betrays trust and love	loyal and loving
wants to restrict your life and freedom	wants you to succeed and be strong
misjudges you	sees and helps you with your problems
hides the truth and manipulates the truth	seeks justice
pretends to be something	is genuine and focused

P3	
never understood me	was always willing to listen
didn't value relationships	showed love and concern
deceitful untrusting	you know you can rely on them
do not want to help you	had your interests at heart
never saw the different sides of story	was willing to give me a chance
did not care or showed love	showed genuine Love and care
never paid interest in religion	religiously sincere and devoted
never saw the big picture	wanted to make a change and aware of big picture
used others for self gain	community minded and open

P4	
Deceitful	Loving & Supportive
Has no moral compass	Spiritual Connected - Islamic
Self Serving full of greed	Thinking for society and others
Does not think about the future	is prepared and aware of his surroundings
Abuses others rights	principles of justice and honour
betrays trust	Sincere and does things for the sake of allah
does not see long term aim or goal	works with others to achieve goal
Tunnel vision Blinkered	Searches for knowledge
Lost and confused	Understands purpose of life
Willing to lie	Speaks the truth

willing to destroy life	cherishes life
willing to destroy you	has your interests at heart and helps you

P5	
Lost	Islamic on Haq (Truth)
Selfish - Not thinking of others	Full of hope and love
Already decided that you are wrong	Non judging
Abuses power	seeks justice
does not care about your welfare	keeps you safe
Uses you to achieve their own goals	Encourages you to fulfil your role
Short sighted	sees the whole world for what it is
wanting an easy ride	prepared to sacrifice and make effort
focused on money and power	focused on the hereafter
willing to trample on you	forgiving and compassionate

P6	
Selfish & has no morals	Religious & Good human being
Money & Materialistically minded	Focused & Determined
Lies and is corrupt	Shows support and offers guidance
willing to harm you to get results	willing to go the extra mile
would not sacrifice anything	trustworthy and helps the needy
manipulative	seeks justice
abuses people and does not fulfil their needs	is a good leader with the interest of others
gives up hope and sees everything as negative	is positive about the challenges he faces

P7	
Spiritual and enlightened	Hungry after power and selfish
Focused and determined	Insincere and corrupt
Full of knowledge and trustworthy	Scheming and full of betrayal
goal is to be prepared for the after life	Focused on this world and base desires
Warm and caring	Willing to harm you and hurt you
Sees a bigger picture	Only sees limited view
Helpful to others	Would trample upon the people abuse their rights
Is a true leader focused on good	Leads people falsehood and manipulates them
Naïve	Lost and confused
Emotionally strong – thick skinned	Weak and open to abuse

P8	
Lies and Deceitful	Truthful in character
Focused on money	Islamicly Minded
Hidden Agenda	Supportive & Compassionate
Lost & Confused	Confident & Passionate about cause
Naive & Weak	Stands up against atrocities
Closed minded & Obsessed	Open minded
Creates corruption	sees through corruption
Abuses the rights of others	Protects those in need

Appendix 3a

All 8 Participants Repertory Grid Output: (Focus Distribution & Principle Component Grid Output)

Guidance:

The focused distribution grid shows the relative ordering of the constructs and elements in relation to one another and a percentage highlighting a potential relationship. The Principle component grid output is the visual representation of this, allowing the research to look at the constructs and elements that generally form salient subjective principles held by the individual.

Participant 1:

Appendix 3b

All 8 Participants Repertory Grid Output: (Focus Distribution & Principle Grid Output)

Participant 2:

Focus P2 final
"P2 Final "

wants to restrict your life and freedom	2	1	1	3	3	4	4	3	3	3	4	4	5	5	wants you to succeed and be strong
betrays trust and love	1	1	1	2	1	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	5	5	loyal and loving
misjudges you	1	1	1	1	3	3	2	4	3	4	5	5	5	5	sees and helps you with your problems
not Politically aware or bothered	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	5	3	4	4	4	5	5	has a social and moral Conscious
self interest / selfish behaviour	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	5	4	3	5	4	5	5	seeing the wider picture and reality
pretends to be something	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	is genuine and focused
Player and chiller	1	1	1	2	3	2	1	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	sincere
hides the truth and manipulates the truth	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	4	4	4	5	3	5	5	seeks justice
sees religion as backward irrelevant	?	1	2	2	2	3	1	1	4	4	3	5	5	5	Religious observing allahs command

The way i would like to be
Umar Al Khataab (2nd Khalifa)
Idris
during my activism
after my activism
Wife
Mike Stop the war Coalition
The way i was before I woke up
Imran
Lucy
farther
Police / CTU
Zionist Lobby
Politicians

PrinGrid P2 final
"P2 Final "

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All 8 Participants Repertory Grid Output: (Focus Distribution & Principle Grid Output)

Participant 3:

Focus P3
"P3 Final Grid"

did not care or showed love	1	1	2	4	4	3	3	1	2	3	5	5	showed genuine Love and care
didnt value relationships	1	2	2	3	4	2	1	2	3	3	5	5	showed love and concern
never saw the differnt sides of story	1	1	2	3	4	4	2	2	3	5	5	5	was willing to give me a chance
do not want to help you	1	1	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	4	5	5	had your interests at heart
never understood me	1	1	1	2	4	2	3	3	5	4	5	4	was always willing to listen
decietfull untrusting	1	1	1	4	3	3	3	4	3	5	4	you know you can rely on them
used others for self gain	1	1	1	4	2	2	3	3	3	5	5	3	community minded and open
never paid interest in religion	1	1	1	2	2	3	2	3	5	5	5	religiously sincere and devoted
never saw the big picture	1	1	2	1	3	2	2	4	4	5	5	2	wanted to make a change and aware of big picture

Mother
the way i would like to be
Abdul
R2D2 friend
Imran (Brs friend)
During my arrest / control order
Brother
after my control order
before i was arrested
farther
Police / Security services
People in control Jews/ Zionists

PrinGrid P3
"P3 Final Grid"

Appendix 3d

All 8 Participants Repertory Grid Output: (Focus Distribution & Principle Grid Output)

Participant 4:

Focus P4 final

Does not think about the future	5	3	4	1	3	5	4	4	5	4	4	5	3	3	is prepared and aware of his surroundings
does not see long term aim or goal	5	4	3	2	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	4	works with others to achieve goal
Abuses others rights	1	1	2	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	principles of justice and honour
willing to destroy you	1	1	1	4	3	3	4	4	4	4	5	5	4	5	has your interests at heart and helps you
Willing to lie	1	1	1	2	2	3	4	4	4	4	5	5	4	5	Speaks the truth
betrays trust	1	1	1	3	3	3	4	4	4	5	5	4	3		Sincere and does things for the sake of allah
willing to destroy life	1	1	1	3	3	4	5	5	5	5	5	4	5		cherishes life
Self Serving full of greed	1	1	1	1	3	4	5	4	5	5	5	5	5		Thinking for society and others
Has no moral compass	1	1	1	1	3	3	4	4	5	5	5	5	3		Spirituall Connected - Islamic
Tunnel vision Blinkered	1	1	1	1	3	3	4	3	4	4	4	5	3		Searches for knowledge
Lost and confused	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	4	4	5	5	4		Understands purpose of life
Deceitful	1	1	1	2	3	5	2	3	4	5	5	4	4		Loving & Supportive

father
the way i was after the war
the way i would like to be
Mother
Wife
Muslims who fought in bosnia
Sajid (Charity Org)
Friend - childhood (Adil)
Militia Leader Dagestan
the way i was during the war
The way i was before the war
Harid - Serbian Militia
Miladic / Karodic (War Criminals)
Politicians

PrinGrid P4 final

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Appendix 3e

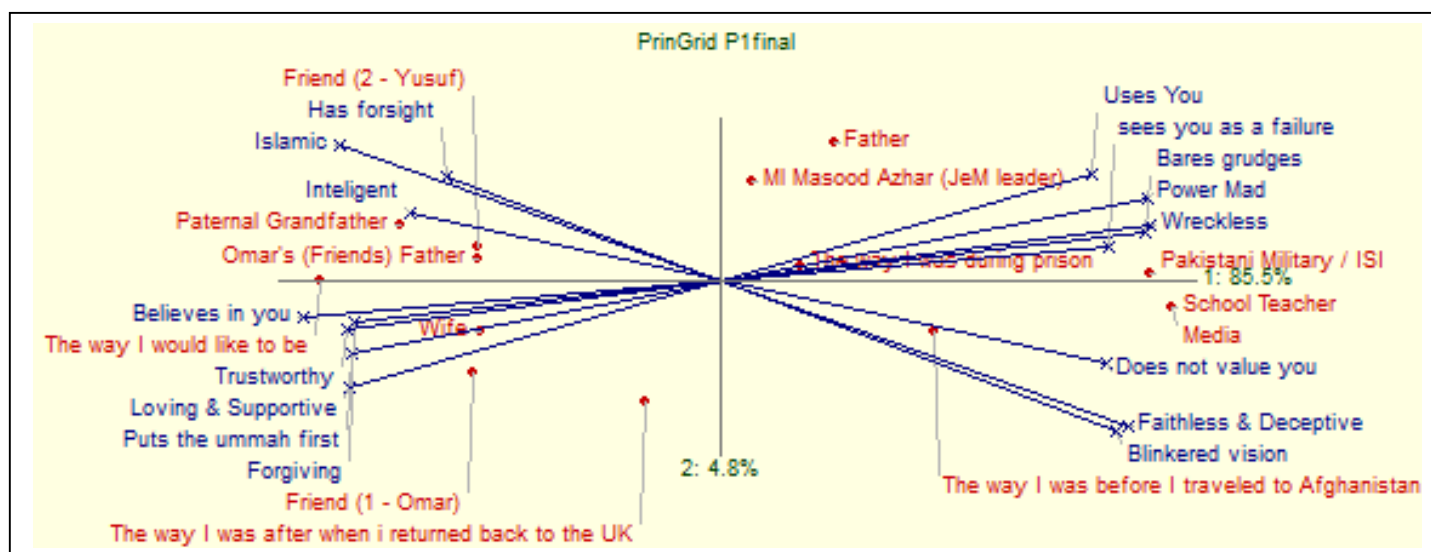**All 8 Participants Repertory Grid Output: (Focus Distribution & Principle Grid Output)**

Participant 5:

Appendix 3f

All 8 Participants Repertory Grid Output: (Focus Distribution & Principle Grid Output)
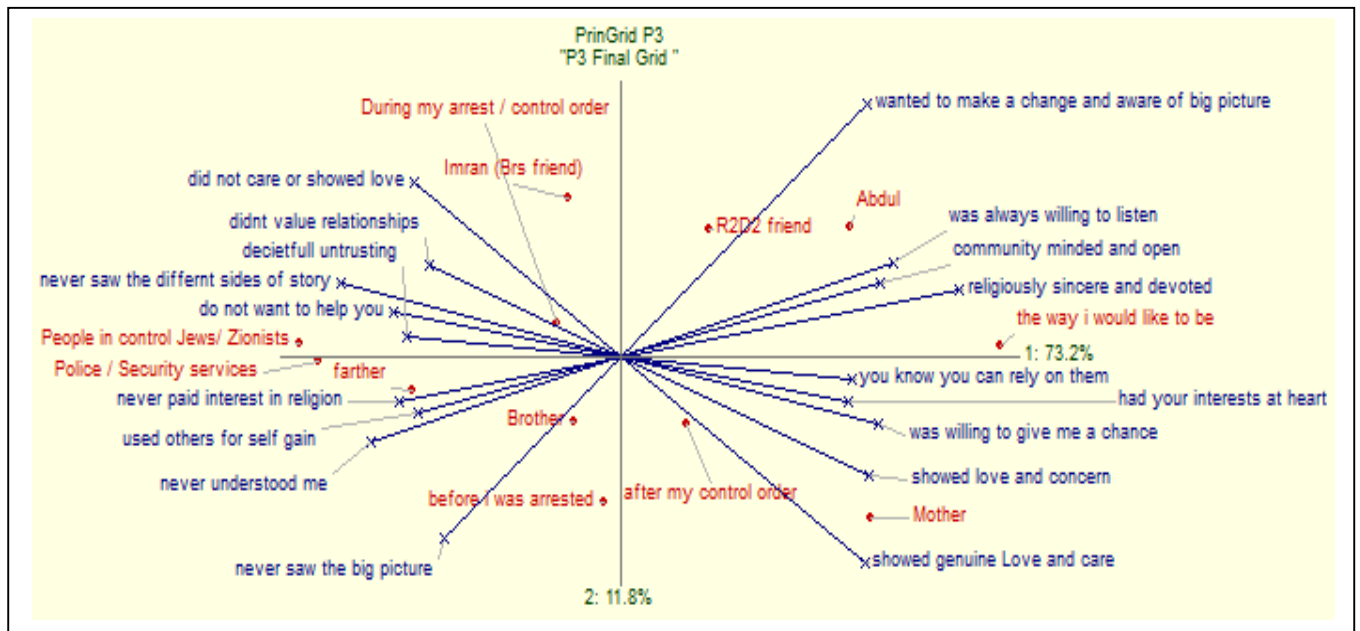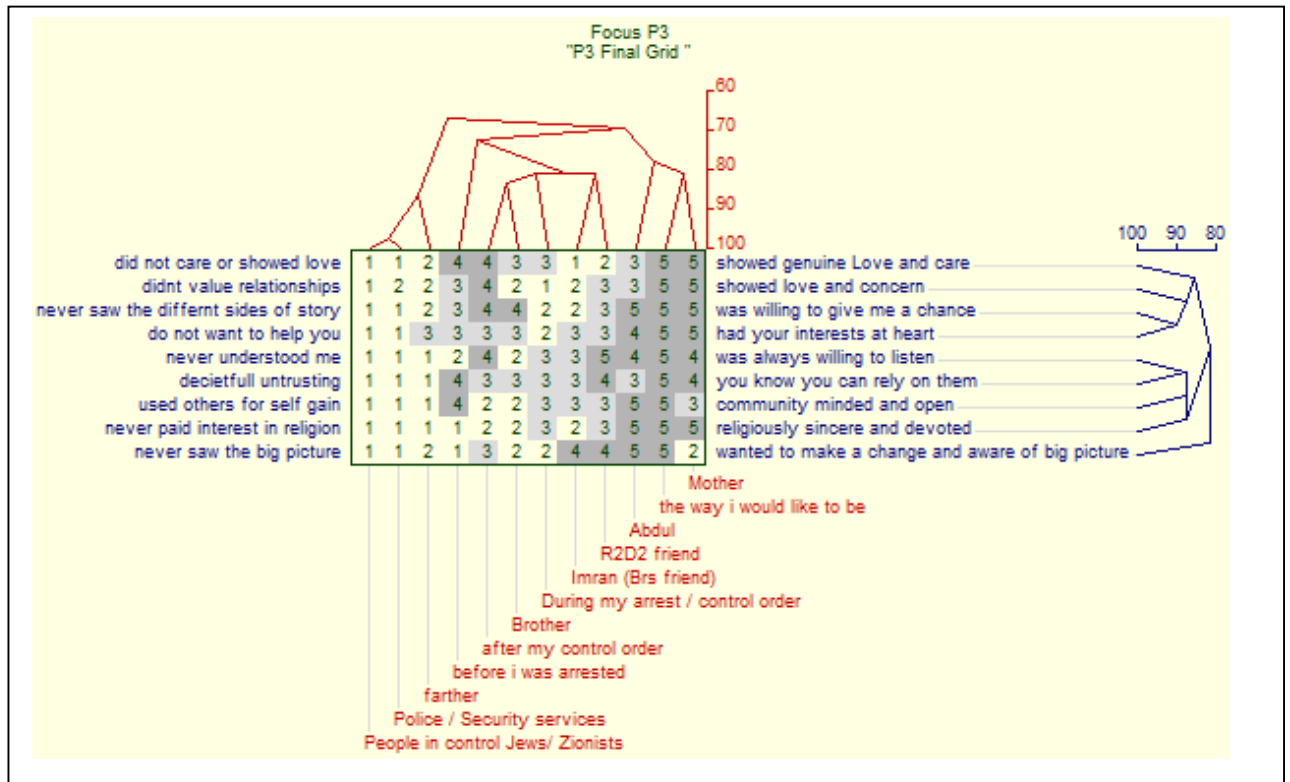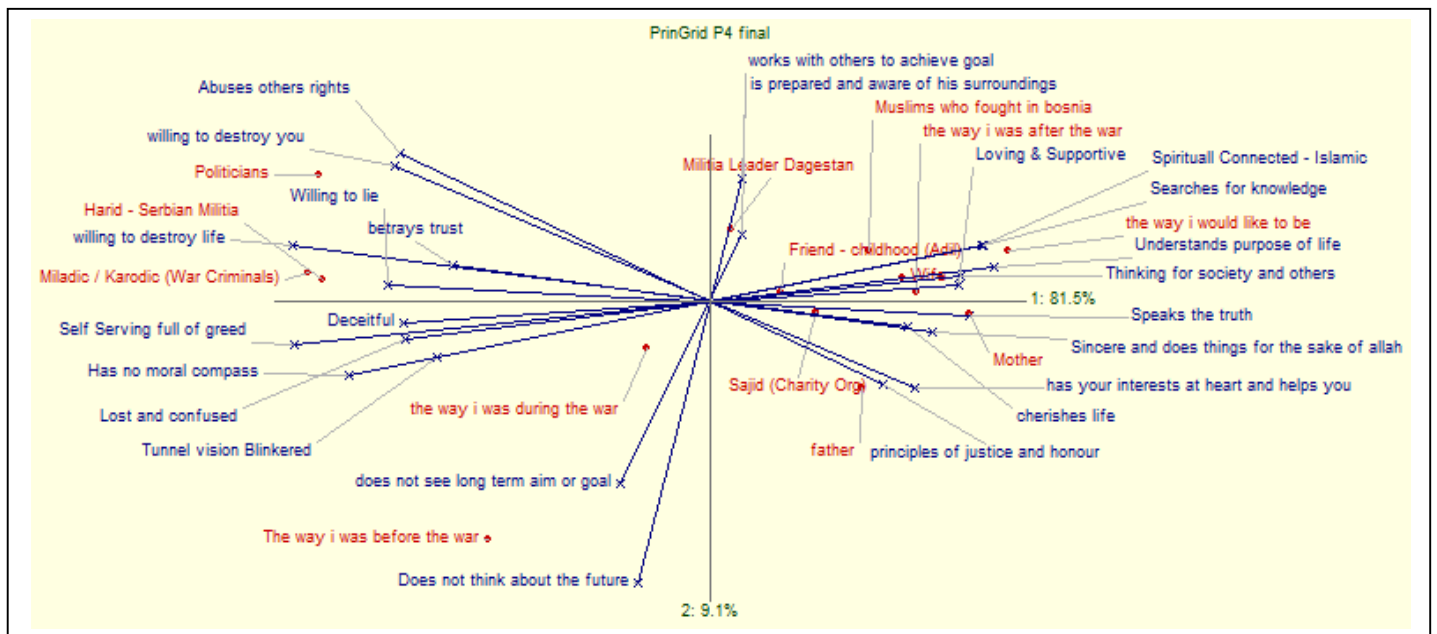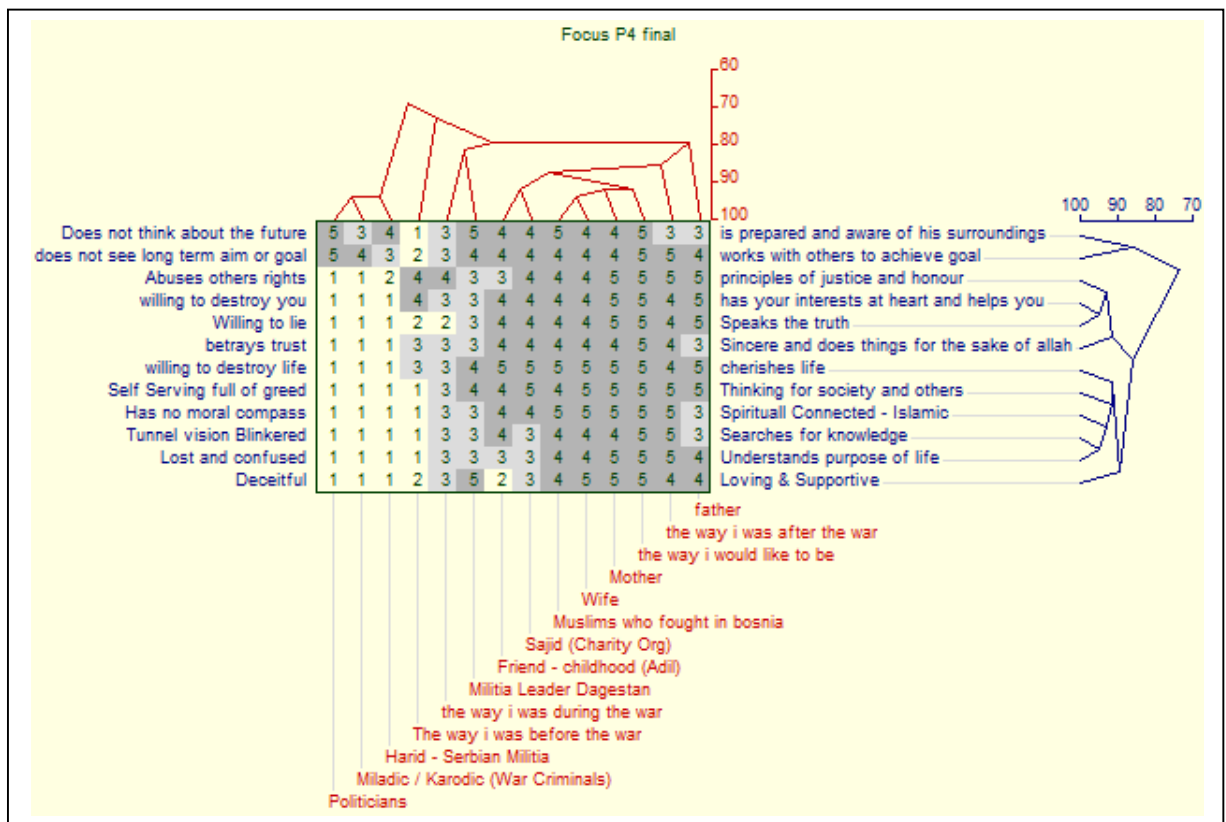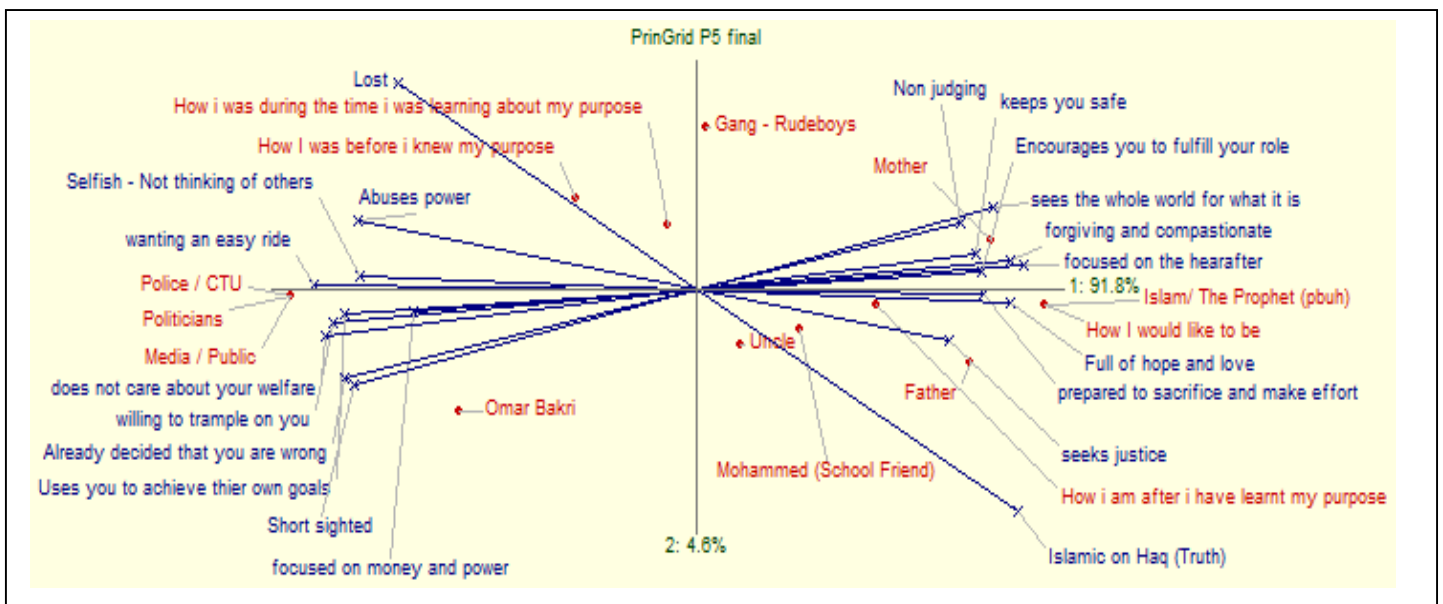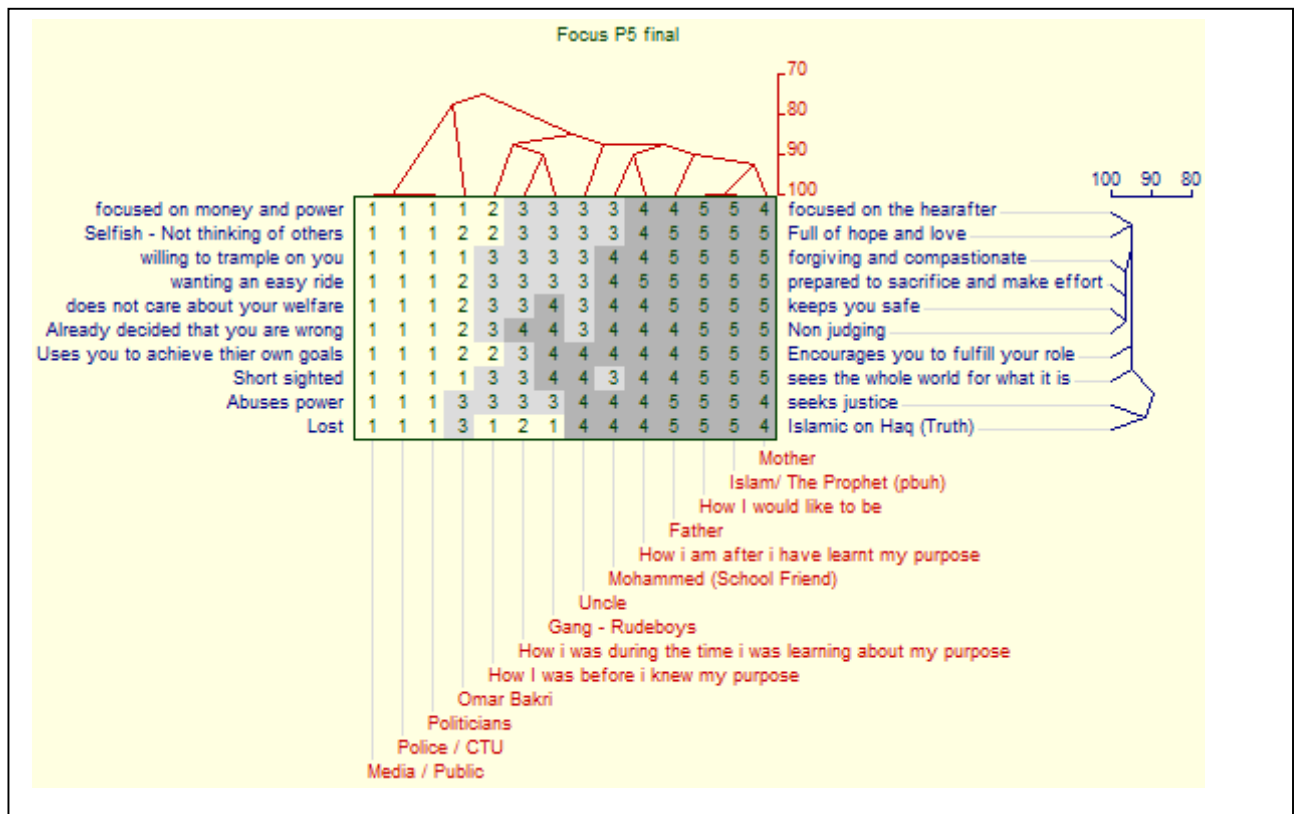
Participant 6:

All 8 Participants Repertory Grid Output: (Focus Distribution & Principle Grid Output)

Participant 7:

Focus P7 final grid

lost and confused	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	4	4	4	4	3	?	naive
focused on this world / base desires	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	4	4	5	5	5	focused on the after life
only sees limited view	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	4	4	4	5	5	5	sees the bigger picture
leads people by falsehood and manipulates them	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	is a true leader focused on good
Insincere & Corrupt	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	Focused & determined
would trample upon people/abuse their rights	1	1	1	1	3	3	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	helpful to others
Scheming & full of betrayal	1	1	1	1	3	3	4	5	4	5	5	5	5	full of knowledge and trustworthy
Hungry after power and selfish	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	4	5	5	5	5	5	Spritual & Enlightended
willing to harm you and hurt you	1	1	1	1	3	3	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	Warm and caring
weak and open to abuse	4	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	emotionally strong - thick skinned

Islam & the Hearafter
The way I would like to be
Spiritual leader
Firend (Br Khalid - stall holder)
Friend (Abdul Haigh - also a Convert)
The way I am at the moment
Mother
The way I am trying to fulfill my purpose
The way i was before i understood my purpose
So called muslim leaders
Politicians - Bush & Blair
Police / CTU
Media
The army / soldiers

PrinGrid P7 final grid

The army / soldiers
So called muslim leaders
Politicians - Bush & Blair
Police / CTU
Scheming & full of betrayal
would trample upon people/abuse their rights
willing to harm you and hurt you
Hungry after power and selfish
leads people by falsehood and manipulates them
Media
lost and confused
Insincere & Corrupt
only sees limited view
focused on this world / base desires
The way i was before i understood my purpose
weak and open to abuse
The way I am trying to fulfill my purpose

The way I am at the moment
The way I would like to be
sees the bigger picture
focused on the after life
Islam & the Hearafter
emotionally strong - thick skinned
Spiritual leader
Focused & determined
1: 95.0% is a true leader focused on good
Spritual & Enlightended
helpful to others
full of knowledge and trustworthy
Warm and caring
naive
Firend (Br Khalid - stall holder)
Friend (Abdul Haigh - also a Convert)
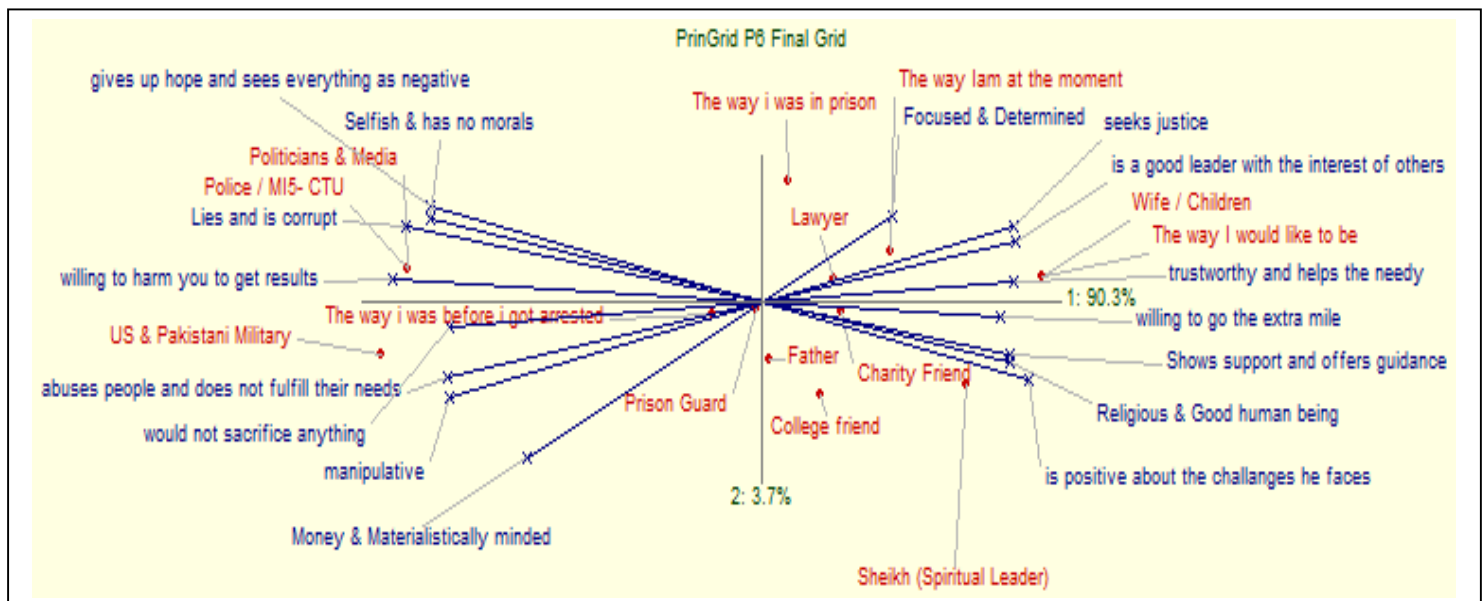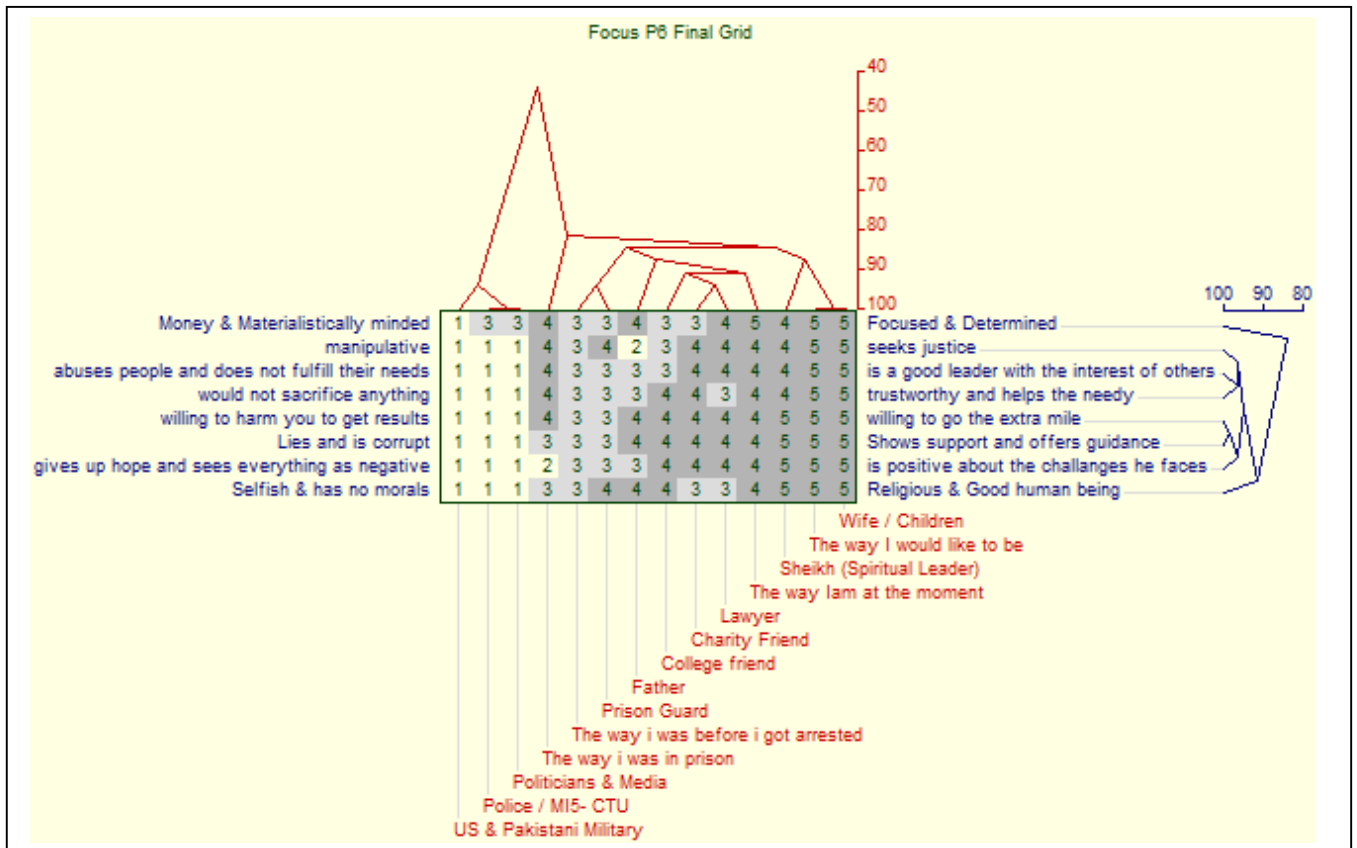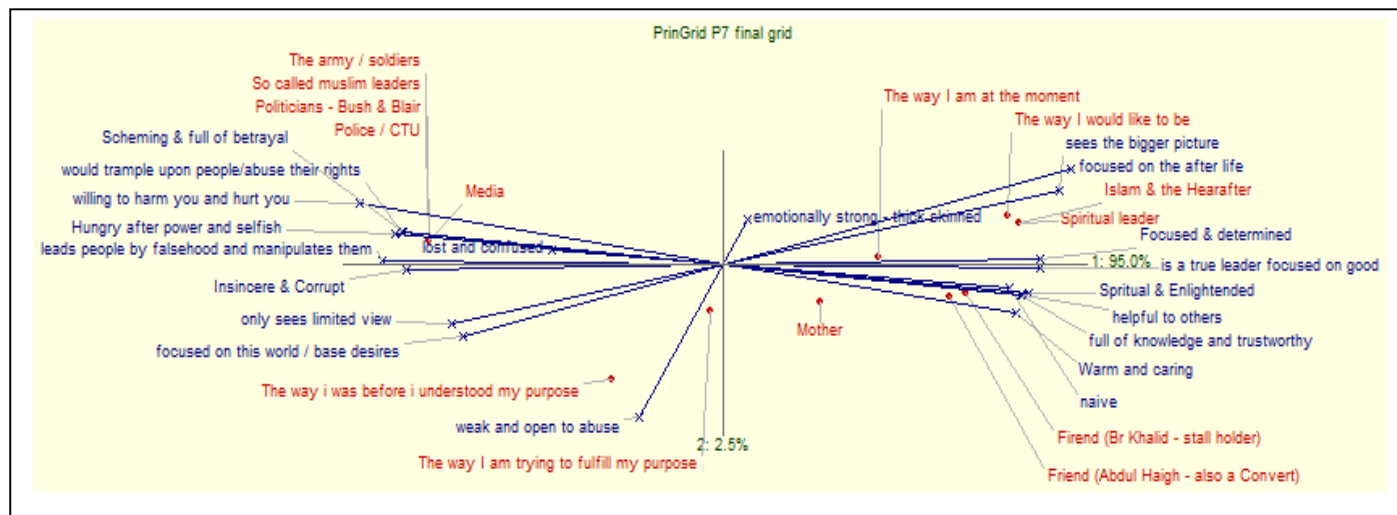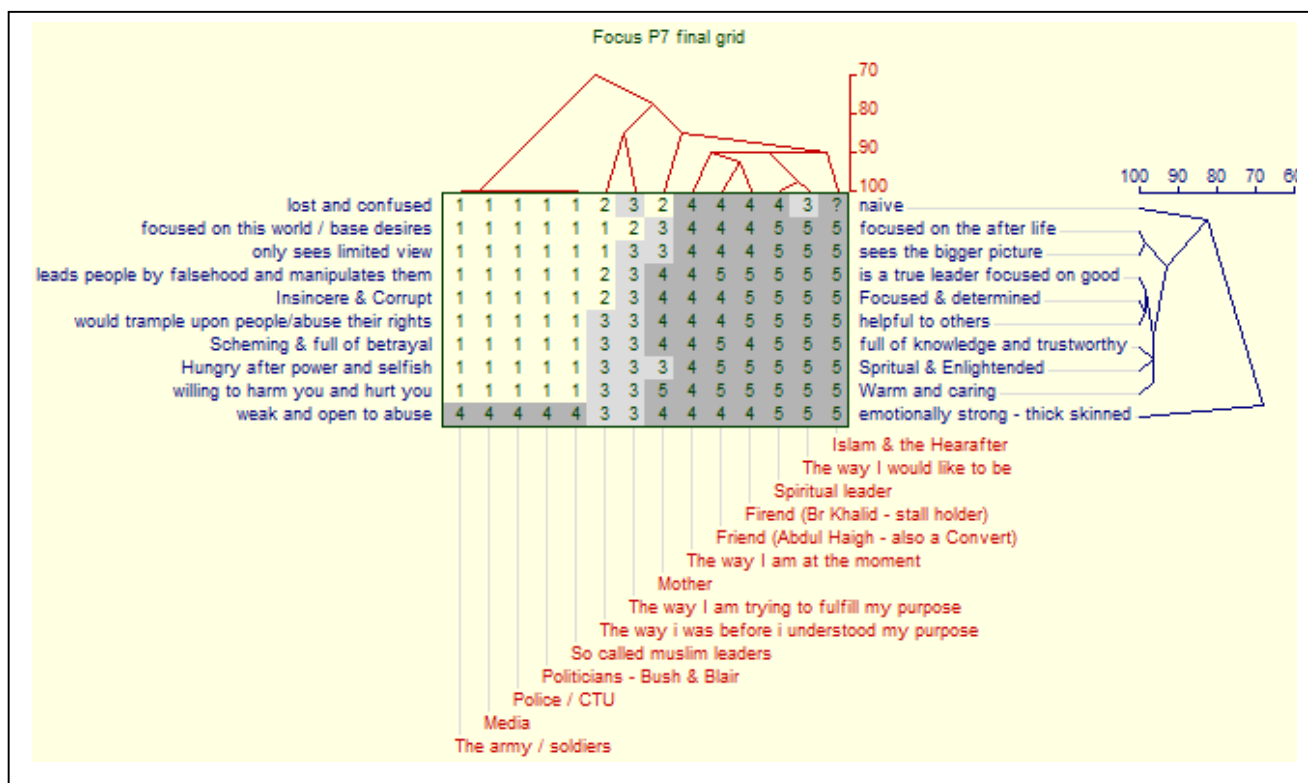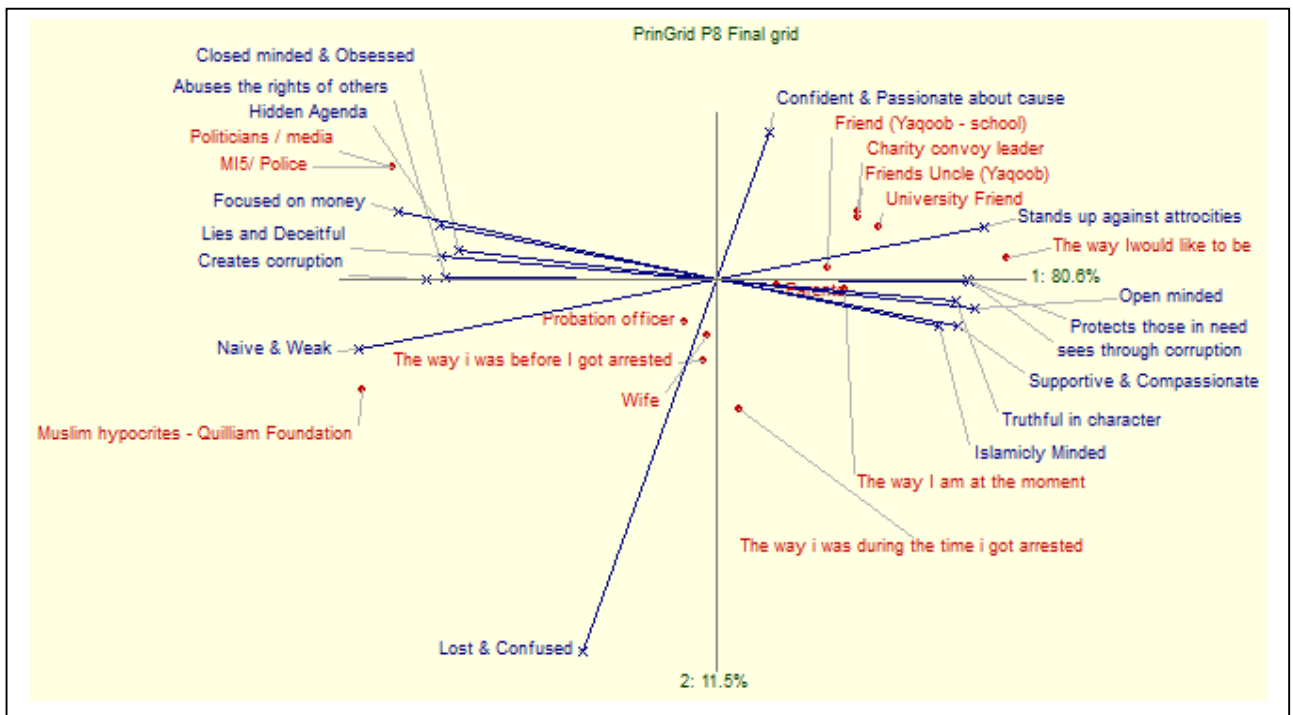
Mother

2: 2.5%

All 8 Participants Repertory Grid Output: (Focus Distribution & Principle Grid Output)

Participant 8:

Focus P8 Final grid

	Open minded
Closed minded & Obsessed	Open minded
Lies and Deceitful	Truthful in character
Creates corruption	sees through corruption
Abuses the rights of others	Protects those in need
Focused on money	Islamicly Minded
Hidden Agenda	Supportive & Compassionate
Naive & Weak	Stands up against attrocities
Lost & Confused	Confident & Passionate about cause

The way I would like to be
University Friend
Friends Uncle (Yaqoob)
Charity convoy leader
Friend (Yaqoob - school)
The way I am at the moment
Parents
Probation officer
The way i was before I got arrested
Wife
The way i was during the time i got arrested
Muslim hypocrites - Quilliam Foundation
MI5/ Police
Politicians / media

PrinGrid P8 Final grid

Appendix 4: Confirmation of University of Huddersfield Research Ethics Approval:

-----Original Message-----
From: Kirsty Thomson [mailto:K.Thomson@hud.ac.uk]
Sent: Wed 9/18/2013 4:39 PM
To: Khan Wajid; Wajid Khan U0972891
Cc: 'David Canter'; 'Wajid Khan'; Donna Youngs; Nigel King; Karen Ousey
Subject: Your Amended SREP Application - Wajid Khan - APPROVED - Understanding the Psychological Pathways to Radicalisation & Terrorism: (SREP/2013/41)

Dear Wajid,

Prof Nigel King, Chair of SREP, has asked me to confirm that you have addressed the issues raised to his satisfaction and full ethical approval has now been granted.

For advice, please proof-read your Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form as there is at least one typo (Participant Information Sheet - In the section 'What will happen to the information?' - line 5 - should be 'withdraw', not 'withdarw'). There is no need however for you to submit any further documents to SREP.

With best wishes for the success of your research project.

Regards,

Kirsty
(on behalf of Prof Nigel King, Chair of SREP)

Kirsty Thomson
Research Administrator

[Description: Description: Description: ico-3]: 01484 471156
[Description: Description: Description: ico-1]: K.Thomson@hud.ac.uk<mailto:K.Thomson@hud.ac.uk>
[Description: Description: Description: ico-4]: www.hud.ac.uk<http://www.hud.ac.uk/>

School of Human and Health Sciences Research Office (HHRG/01)
University of Huddersfield | Queensgate | Huddersfield | HD1 3DH

Understanding the Psychological Pathways to Radicalisation & Terrorism:

Study Name: ***Explorative Analysis of the Narratives given by those identified as terrorists or Radicalised threat within the UK***

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

You are being invited to take part in this study to develop a better understanding of the psychological processes and pathways which can affect or lead individuals to become radicalised. Before you decide to take part it is important that you understand that participation in this study is voluntary and that you can withdraw at any time.

This study is independent from the police or any security services. Information below details why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with the researcher (contact details are at the end of document). Please do not hesitate to ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

What is the study about? & why I have been approached?

The purpose of this study is to look at your experience and understanding of the situations you have encountered which in some cases have meant you have been labelled as an individual who is radicalised or at risk of being radicalised. This study is wanting to look at how these situations and this label have affected you, for example the way you think, feel and do things. This study is about understanding who you are and your view of the world around you and the things and people that are important to you.

The study is about understanding things from your perspective and how these have affected your decision processes. This study is independent from the judicial system and is not about the nature of your detention or any current or historical legal proceedings that you may have been involved in. You have been approached to take part in this study as you have been arrested or detained under the terrorism legislation within the UK.

Do I have to take part?

It is your decision whether or not you take part. If you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form, and you will be free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. A decision to withdraw at any time, or a decision not to take part, will not affect you.

What will I need to do?

By agreeing to participate in the research you will be invited to an informal interveiw with the researcher. The interview will be in two parts and will be audio recored only. Part 1 of the interview will be your opportuntity to talk about your life and the things which have been important to you. In part two of the interview you will be asked to identify key moments or people who are important to you and then give them a score. On average part 1 of the interview will take no more than 1hour 30minutes with part 2 taking 1 hour. There are no right or wrong answers and the interviews can be held in a locations which are comfortable to you.

Will my identity be disclosed?

All information disclosed within the interview will be kept confidential, except where legal obligations would necessitate disclosure by the researchers to appropriate personnel. For instance if you disclose something which will cause you harm or harm to others then this information will be shared with the appropriate personnel.

What will happen to the information?

All information collected from you during this research will be kept secure during and after the completion of the study at the IRCIP archive at the University of Huddersfield. If you do not wish for your data to be kept in the archive you can opt out of this at anytime. You can also withdraw your data at anytime prior to the completion of analysis.

For any concerns or issues with wanting to withdraw data please contact the reseracher at the first instance. It is anticipated that the research may, at some point, be published in a journal or report. However, should this happen, your anonymity will be ensured, although it may be necessary to use your words in the presentation of the findings and your permission for this is included in the consent form.

Who can I contact for further information?

If you require any further information about the research, please contact the researcher on:

Name: Wajid Khan

E-mail: wajid.khan@hud.ac.uk / wajid.khan@swyt.nhs.uk / w.kahn@ntlworld.com

Telephone: 07813923483

CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: *Understanding the Psychological Pathways to Radicalisation & Terrorism: Explorative Analysis of the Narratives given by those identified as terrorists or Radicalised threat within the UK*

It is important that you read, understand and sign the consent form. Your contribution to this research is entirely voluntary and you are not obliged in any way to participate, if you require any further details please contact your researcher.

I have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this research ☐

I consent to taking part in the research ☐

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any time ☐

without giving any reason

I give permission for my words to be quoted (by use of pseudonym) ☐

I understand that the information collected will be kept in secure conditions ☐

for a period of five years at the University of Huddersfield

I understand that no person other than the researcher/s and facilitator/s will ☐

have access to the information provided.

I understand that my identity will be protected by the use of pseudonym in the ☐

report and that no written information that could lead to my being identified will

be included in any report.

If you are satisfied that you understand the information and are happy to take part in this project, please put a tick in the box aligned to each sentence and print and sign below.

Signature of Participant:	Signature of Researcher:
Print:	Print:
Date:	Date:

(one copy to be retained by Participant / one copy to be retained by Researcher)

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