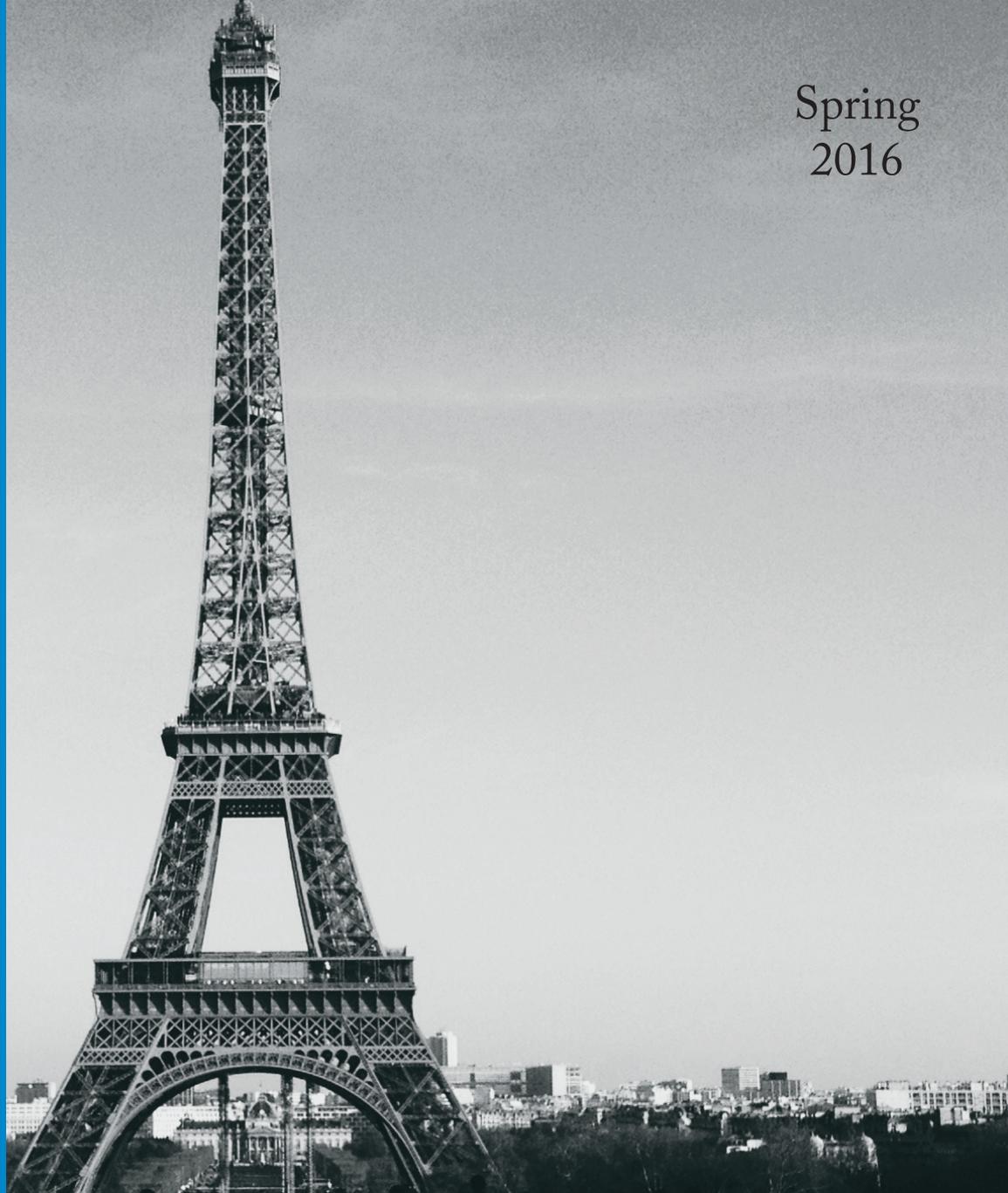




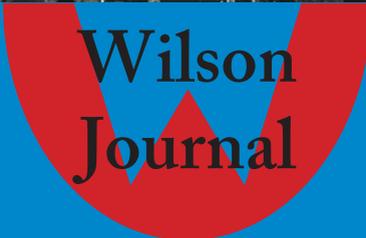
The Wilson Journal of International Affairs



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About the Wilson Journal

The Wilson Journal of International Affairs is the University of Virginia's preeminent publication for undergraduate research in international relations. The Wilson Journal is developed and distributed by the student-run International Relations Organization of the University of Virginia. The Wilson Journal is one of the only undergraduate research journals for international relations in the country, and aims both to showcase the impressive research conducted by the students at UVA and to spark productive conversation within the University community. The Wilson Journal seeks to foster interest in international issues and promote high quality undergraduate research in foreign affairs. The Journal is available online at wilsonjournal.org

Submissions

Interested in submitting to the Wilson Journal? The Journal seeks research papers on current topics in international affairs that are at least ten pages in length. Only undergraduates or recent graduates are eligible to submit. Submissions should be sent to thewilsonjournal@gmail.com.

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From the Editor

Dear Reader,

We face today a series of increasingly global challenges, none of which is of greater relevance than the growth of terrorism across the world. After a devastating series of attacks in France, Belgium, Turkey, and elsewhere, leaders now face a set of important decisions. Indeed, we as global citizens must decide not only how we can combat terrorist threats abroad, but also how we will react when our security is threatened at home. We must decide what changes to executive authority, if any, are justified in the face of highly complex terror networks. We must grapple with how much individual liberty we are willing to sacrifice in return for greater collective security. And we must also decide in what way we direct national political discourse in the face of increasing cultural and ethnic polarization. It is topics like these which have profound relevance across the world, which offer insights into the undercurrents of change within the broader political processes of Western democracies, and which we hope to explore in this edition of the Wilson Journal.

For over a decade, The Wilson Journal of International Affairs has presented some of the finest research completed by undergraduates at the University of Virginia. This edition of the Wilson Journal seeks to explore terrorism through multiple lenses, both foreign and domestic. The articles included in the spring 2016 edition offer glimpses into a variety of nuanced policy arenas, including radicalization among westerners, the threat of lone wolf terrorism, youth recruitment efforts by ISIS, Israeli counterterrorism efforts, and CIA measures to combat al-Qaeda. Though these are but a small sample of topics surrounding terrorism, it is my hope that they represent a collection of potential avenues for further study for the academic community both here at the University of Virginia and beyond.

As much as the journal has changed over the years, its mission remains unchanged: the Wilson Journal seeks to actively promote the discussion of foreign policy issues by harnessing the research expertise available on grounds. We seek to bring together students, professors, alumni, and others in an

engaging conversation. While the journal stands mainly as a repository for undergraduate scholarship in foreign affairs on Grounds, its audience includes anyone who has a stake or interest in international relations.

The Wilson Journal would not be possible without the ongoing support of the University community. I would like to recognize and thank the International Relations Organization for its invaluable support. I must also thank the faculty and staff of the College of Arts and Sciences, especially those in the Politics and History departments, not only for their promotion of the journal, but also for their dedication as mentors to the undergraduate student body here at U.Va. Additionally, I wholeheartedly thank the members of the editorial staff, who work tirelessly to make this journal possible, and the senior editorial board, without whom this publication could not exist. Finally, I want to express my utmost gratitude to you, the reader. Indeed, at the end of the day, it is your commitment to intellectual curiosity and spirited academic discourse that makes this journal possible and helps the leaders of tomorrow envision and shape a safer, freer, and better world.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "C Benos". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "C" and a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

Christopher J. Benos
Editor-in-Chief

Cubs of the Caliphate

The Systematic Recruitment, Training, and Use of Children in the Islamic State

BY KARA ANDERSON

EDITED BY VICTORIA FARRIS, MICHAEL LY, DEREK ZEIGLER

The evolution of terrorism throughout the 20th and 21st centuries has led to the increasing involvement of children in terrorism. Traditionally, children have been treated as expendables and symbols of desperation on behalf of the terrorist organization, thereby commonly participating in suicide operations. The Islamic State, while reinforcing this practice, has begun to change the nature of child participation in terrorism. Now, children play an active role in ISIS's strategies and the fulfillment of their long-term and short-term goals. The perspective of longevity that ISIS has adopted in equipping a future generation of fighters is unparalleled by terror organizations. ISIS has thus acquired--via psychological and material means--a cadre of fighters. The terror organization seeks to indoctrinate children at young ages, expose them to violence and isolate them from unacceptable values, in order to create the devoted fighters battling for the sake of building the Islamic State and seeing violence as a way of life. In creating this future generation of fighters, ISIS seeks to solidify and expand the Caliphate. ISIS also uses its brutality against children to gain worldwide attention and to display its extensive power and influence beyond the Middle East. The terrorist group will likely expand its recruitment and use of children, paving a path towards a future in which ISIS becomes an interminable force.

BACKGROUND

A child soldier or terrorist is defined as any person below 18 years of age who is, or who has been, recruited or used by an armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to children--boys and girls--used as fighters, cooks, porters, messengers, spies or for sexual purposes. The initial discussion surrounding the use of children in conflict revolved primarily around their presence in African conflicts, most notably in Sierra Leone. However, the presence of children in conflict is rampant throughout the world and was introduced to the Middle East during the Iraq-Iran War in the 1980s. Nevertheless, as the nature of conflict and conventional warfare changed, child recruitment became a common phenomenon of modern conflict. As civilians have become more involved in war and conflict in the latter half of the 20th century and 21st century, the standard laws of war have been abandoned and children have become more vulnerable to the new tactics of warfare. Although many humanitarian agencies have ceased to keep track of the total number of child soldiers in the world, authorities estimate that 300,000 children, most of them under 15, are involved in conflicts worldwide.

The average age for a child soldier or terrorist is 12 years old, but children as young as 5 years old have been involved in conflict, as seen in Uganda. The Secretary General of the United Nations Security Council on Children and Armed Conflict has listed 127 different parties that recruited or used children in situations of armed conflict in 17 countries or territories from 2002 to 2007. Of these, 16 parties have been persistent violators and have appeared on the list four consecutive times. 40% of the world's armed forces, rebel groups, and terrorist organizations have used children. Government forces are likewise not innocent: the *2004 Global Report*, published by the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Force, documented ten situations of armed conflict in which governments deployed children. The *2008 Global Report* documented nine situations. Although the number of states that has deployed children as part of national armies has declined, children are deeply entrenched in warfare where states are involved in armed conflict. Children have participated in almost every major conflict in the world, in at least 75% of the world's conflicts on every continent, and most commonly in the Middle East and Africa. These areas have witnessed an increasing number of children joining

terrorism efforts and carrying out violence. In 2013 alone, the United Nations documented 4,000 cases of child recruitment, with thousands more likely undocumented. Children and terrorism have long intermixed throughout modern history. This trend is prevalent in Syria. Numerous parties have been involved in child recruitment in Syria: The Syrian government, Free Syrian Army (FSA)-affiliated groups, the Kurdish People Protection Units (YPG), Ahrar Al-Sham, Jabhat al-Nusra, and the Islamic State in Iraq and Sham (ISIS). In 2015, at least 1,100 Syrian children under the age of 16 joined the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS). 52 children have been killed, with 8 acting as suicide bombers. The United Nations Committee of the Rights of the Child reported that as of January 22nd, 2015, ISIS has abducted 858 children since June 2014.

THE EVOLUTION OF CHILDREN IN TERRORISM

Children have historically been involved in terrorism and other situations of armed conflict. There are several reasons for this phenomenon. Firstly, terrorism adapts according to the counter-terrorist measures taken against it. This principle explains the evolution of terrorism throughout the 21st century. Post 9/11, for ex-

ample, terrorist groups became less hierarchical and more decentralized in order to avoid detection. Similarly, terrorist attacks committed in the West have increasingly taken the form of lone-wolf terrorism, the hardest form of terrorism to detect and gain intelligence on. In the same capacity, as men have been the dominant players in terrorism, they have subsequently become targets of suspicion. Carrying out certain operations like suicide bombings thus become increasingly difficult, and the probability of success decreased. Due to the heightened suspicion towards men, women's participation initially became advantageous to terrorist groups. Mia Bloom, a prominent writer on terrorism and suicide bombings, states:

“Terrorist groups may also find women useful as suicide bombers because of the widespread assumption that women are inherently nonviolent. Women can bypass, for example, Israel's restrictive checkpoints and border policy, which has proven fairly effective against Palestinian insurgent organizations inside the occupied territories. Since the mid-1990s, it has been almost impossible for unmarried men under the age of forty to get permits to cross the border into

Israel. Women don't arouse suspicion like men and blend in more effectively with Israeli civilians."

As women increasingly became involved in terrorism, their involvement became less of a phenomenon and the scrutiny cast upon them intensified. Counter-terrorist measures have adjusted to this trend, and women can no longer evade suspicion as effectively. Children, more so than women, are associated with innocence and non-violence. As one Taliban fighter stated during their rise in Afghanistan during the 1994 civil war, "Children are innocent, so they are the best tools against dark forces." Children arouse virtually no suspicion, certainly not to the degree of men and now women. Using children in terror operations heightens the probability of those operations succeeding, especially those in which security and counter-terror measures are the primary obstacle. Therefore, their recruitment by terror groups all over the world reflects the evolving tactics of terrorism over time.

Moreover, the increasing involvement of children in terrorism is a strategic maneuver, as terrorist organizations aim to increase the probability of operational success. In the same capacity, although using children in terrorism is strategic, it

also reflects desperation. Due to oppressive counter-terrorist measures, especially post-9/11, committing terror has only increased in difficulty. Recruiting is therefore more difficult, and targeting children signals a last resort effort to grasp the needed personnel. Children can be either forced or targeted to become involved in terror operations when recruits are lacking. Therefore, the increasing involvement of children in terrorism reflects oppressive counter-terrorist measures in two ways: it is a strategic changing of tactics in order to ensure operational success; it is also a show of desperation to ensure survival.

In light of how child involvement in terrorism has become a trend due to terrorism's evolution, ISIS's recruitment of children is not sui generis. The group actively recruits children, dubbing them the "Cubs of the Caliphate." However, ISIS sets itself apart from other terror groups in how the group is changing child involvement in terrorism. ISIS recognizes the need to pursue long-term goals in order to ensure future stability. The group sees children as its future, a perspective few terror organizations have adopted. Furthermore, in addition to ensuring long-term stability, children play an active role in the formulation of ISIS strategy, while most terror organizations see

children as expendables. ISIS uses children in a systematic and organized manner, and demonstrates an uncharacteristic transparency concerning this practice. Traditionally, terror groups do not advertise their recruitment of children, but rather seek to hide the practice. ISIS is therefore unmatched by other terror groups in regard to its use of children. This article details child involvement in ISIS: how ISIS recruits its children, the roles they play in the terror group, and how children fit into ISIS's multi-layered strategy.

RECRUITMENT

ISIS's recruitment strategies targeting children are by no means new. As with ISIS's general recruitment practices, the group appeals to the material wants and needs of children, as well as their psychological state of being. Furthermore, ISIS has opened child recruitment offices, reflecting the impressive organization of ISIS's child recruitment and the importance of the practice for the group's strategies and goals. At least two such offices exist in two Syrian cities—al-Mayadin and al-Bokamal—where ISIS works to attract children living near the Islamic State territory. Children are thus systematically targeted. Most importantly, ISIS's recruitment strategies are

broad, and children are recruited in a variety of ways. As John Horgan and Mia Bloom, two terrorism experts, say of child recruits, "They are the children of foreigners who join the fight, the children of supportive locals, abandoned children found in IS-controlled orphanages, children coercively taken from parents, and runaway children who themselves volunteer for service to IS."

Ambiguous Membership

Children are commonly brought into the fight if they are related to older figures involved in ISIS, most notably parents. Children can be recruited if they are the sons of fighters or if their parents travel to Islamic State, where they, as well as their children, become citizens of the Islamic State. ISIS reportedly encourages parents to send their children to training camps, and will often seek parents' consent as well. In November 2014, ISIS released a propaganda video of Kazakh child soldiers receiving training in an ISIS school. The group described Kazakh fighters as having prepared themselves and their children for aggression in the ongoing war. The Kazakh fighters likely brought the child soldiers with them in order to train with ISIS. *The China Daily* also reports, "Thousands of foreign fighters have flocked to IS

areas from all over the world, many of them with their families.” In November 2014, two young boys who spoke perfect French appeared in a video holding guns and claiming to be in Raqqa, Iraq. They claimed to be from Strasbourg and Toulouse. They could not have been more than 10 years old. In August 2014, a young boy from Belgium stated on camera that he wants to be a jihadist so that he can “kill the infidels of Europe, all the infidels.” His father, an Islamist, brought the child to ISIS territory. In situations where children enter ISIS via familial connections, it is unclear how voluntary a child’s involvement with ISIS is. Whereas ISIS describes the children as “being happy” with their training and subsequent indoctrination, this type of recruitment leaves unanswered questions concerning whether children know the nature of the activities into which they partake. The role of the parents, or other adult figures in a child’s life, is an important factor in how children become involved in ISIS. The environment these adult and family figures create may often determine how openly a child embraces his or her role in ISIS. If extremist Islamic values are consistently taught and a child grows up immersed in such an environment, they are more likely to embrace involvement in ISIS once

they are encouraged to join the group or targeted by ISIS recruiters.

Voluntary Membership

Despite the ambiguity concerning the degree of freedom children have in joining ISIS when brought by their parents, children also voluntarily join ISIS, albeit after being lured in by the organization. ISIS’s ability to convince children to join the organization is noteworthy. In the past, terrorist groups and other armed groups recruit child soldiers that are often taken by force or are otherwise given up as martyrs. ISIS’s success in convincing children to choose ISIS membership reflects the organization’s larger success in recruitment, and its impressive ability to reach people all over the world.

Material Appeal

Children are vulnerable targets: they are more easily attracted to the material and psychological benefits that ISIS offers. Materially, ISIS offers children a variety of gifts. Abu Hassan, a resident of Mosul, attests, “They are providing their fighters with everything: gasoline, salaries, supplies and women to marry, gifts.” Payment is another incentive for families to send their children to join ISIS. Although the children receive half the payment of adult fighters,

which is \$200 per month, child terrorists have rarely been paid such a salary throughout terrorism's history. Especially in war-torn Iraq and Syria, ISIS simply offers a better standard of living for children. Not only are Iraq and Syria susceptible to ISIS recruitment. The poor neighborhoods of Ankara in Turkey, particularly Hacibayram, are major sources for child recruits. It is unclear if these children were recruited in Turkey or Syria while traveling back and forth. ISIS may also offer a better standard of living by providing access to institutions and systems—namely, a healthcare system. Abu Mohammad, an activist living in Raqqa, attested that private health care facilities in the city had been closed. Public hospitals were open, but treatment is highly priced. ISIS provides healthcare and access to other institutions, such as schools, that are otherwise difficult to access amidst a chaotic Syria and Iraq. The prospect of an improved standard of living is a major incentive to join ISIS, and ISIS certainly takes advantage of this. Besides payment, ISIS attracts children even through simple items like toys and candy. The group often targets mosques and Muslim festivals where children are in attendance, and recruiters entice them with toys like Spiderman and Teletubbies. Here,

they set up “media points”: booths displaying ISIS propaganda. They host events in order to distribute candy and soda alongside religious pamphlets and CDs to children. Due to their vulnerability as targets, children are susceptible to acquiescing to mere toys as the sole reason to join ISIS. And if their parents object, ISIS often threatens them until the parents have little choice but to send their child to train with ISIS. Mohammed, a boy living in Syria interviewed by CNN, states, “My friends and I were studying at the mosque, and they taught us that we should enroll in jihad with the [Islamic State]. I wanted to go, but my father did not allow me to.” ISIS sent militants to their house, and Mohammed's father, unnamed, attests that ISIS threatened to cut off his head if he prevented Mohammed from joining the camp. Besides toys, children can be attracted to ISIS's weapons and uniforms, again using such items to legitimize ISIS membership. Raed, another Syrian boy, was recruited by ISIS at age 16. He spoke to Human Rights Watch, stating, “When ISIS came to my town...I liked what they are wearing, they were like one herd. They had a lot of weapons. So I spoke to them, and decided to go to their training camp in Kafr Hamra in Aleppo.” Child recruits, particu-

larly those who voluntarily join the organization, are often unable to understand the bigger picture and are unaware of the larger ISIS ideology they are consequentially taught once recruited and sent to camps.

Psychological Appeal

The psychological aspect of ISIS's recruitment is crucial to understanding the group as a whole and its success in recruiting people from all over the world. Although this psychological aspect is not new and was systemized by al-Qaeda under Osama bin Laden, which recognized the relevance of creating recruitment videos, websites, and even a recruitment manual, ISIS's success in recruiting people globally through psychological methods is historically unprecedented. Much of ISIS's prowess, especially in the West, can be attributed to ISIS's global reach and influence. This characteristic of ISIS, therefore, cannot be understated. Children are by no means immune to this aspect of recruitment. Most notably, ISIS offers young people a new identity, a sense of belonging, and a different set of values and beliefs, meaning a Salafist-jihadist interpretation of Islam. In an interview with CNN, a former child fighter for ISIS who goes by the name Yasir explained how being

a part of ISIS made him feel proud, strong, and filled with a sense of purpose. At young ages, especially during the teenage years, children are in search of an identity, purpose, and a self-esteem boost, making them even more susceptible to ISIS recruiters. Groups like ISIS provide answers that children are looking for, whether these concern their faith, belonging, or sense of purpose. Children in war-torn areas like Syria and Iraq are also more susceptible targets, not only because ISIS has served as an outlet for Syrian and Iraqi frustration and grievances, but because ISIS provides a sense of order in an otherwise chaotic and order-less world. Especially in Iraq and Syria today, children's lives are lacking in the structures that give meaning to social and cultural life, namely the home, school system, health systems, and religious institutions. Because ISIS operates as a pseudo-state, they aid in providing welfare, education, and religious services to the people living in areas under its control. ISIS therefore offers a restoration, though incomplete, of these systems, and is better suited to provide the needed structure and order in a child's life. In addition, ISIS receives and takes care of children who suffer from congenital malformation. Though this strategy appeals to their desire for a

better standard of living and a more promising future, it additionally appeals to a recruit's sense of identity and community. Fixing congenital malformation permits a recruit to become more fully accepted in society. Moreover, ISIS seeks to evoke jealousy in children. When the group deliberately displays children possessing new clothes, weapons, and medals, other children outside ISIS desire the same and feel like outsiders. This sense of jealousy can result in children choosing to join ISIS, or otherwise solidifying their reasoning to join the group. The psychological appeal of ISIS should not be underestimated in children living in ISIS-affected areas. Ultimately, it's clear that ISIS uses a variety of psychological methods to reach the audience it so desires to reach.

Involuntary Membership

Although much of ISIS's recruitment is voluntary, ISIS's recruitment of children has extended to means of force. ISIS's forceful membership, however, primarily affects ethnic minorities living in Syria and Iraq. Many Kurdish children have become members of ISIS via kidnapping, a common tool utilized by the Islamic State. On May 30th, 2014, approximately 600 Kurdish children aged 14 to 16 were kidnapped as they rode on

buses from Aleppo to Kobani after having traveled to Aleppo to take exams. They were returning home when their buses were stopped. Out of the 600, 186 boys were kept and sent to schools, where they were trained and indoctrinated. Along with forcing children to join, the terrorist group kills minorities indiscriminately, including children. The Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary General for Children and Armed Conflict, Leila Zerrougui, said that from January 2014 until September 2014, 693 child casualties were reported. As of June 2015, more than 400 children have been kidnapped in the Anbar province of Iraq and taken to ISIS bases in Iraq and Syria. In the case of women, ISIS often keeps young girls, where they become concubines of fighters. Gawry Rasho, a Yazidi women freed by ISIS in April 2015, attested that ISIS had thousands of Yazidis in captivity. She was released after 8 months, but they kept her 7 year-old daughter. While ISIS releases some young and elderly Yazidis, Gawry mentions that children are often taken by force, where they are forced into marriage and selected for sex. She says, "They treated girls and young women very badly. I saw them choose them and take them, and if they refused they would beat them." Young minority girls are

vulnerable targets of this type of ISIS “recruitment,” while boys assume a variety of roles. Boys kidnapped by ISIS subsequently undergo training, and, upon its completion, they are either released or given a role in the ranks of the Islamic State.

International Recruitment

The threat of ISIS with regard to children is apparent even outside the Middle East. This recruitment outside the Middle East is mostly psychological, not material. ISIS makes these children feel loved, wanted, and understood, and then uses these emotions to distance the child from his or her parents and loved ones. Schoolboys and girls have left Western countries with the aim of joining ISIS, among them Germany and the United Kingdom. In March 2015, 70 young women, including 9 schoolgirls, left Germany to join ISIS. German intelligence believes approximately 400 people have left for Iraq and Syria, of which 24 are minors. A few of these minors are under 13 years old, and 4 are female. Moreover, the United Kingdom believes approximately 900 Britons have left to join ISIS. Most of them are young adults and teenagers, but the exact number of children among these 900 is unclear. Indonesia, as a predominantly Muslim nation, is

also a vulnerable target for child recruitment. The Secretary-General of the Indonesian Child Protection Commission noted that since August 2014, Islamic State extremists have infiltrated extra-curricular Islamic classes as clerics. Here, they propagate to children that ISIS’s brand of Islam is good, encourage them to join ISIS, and advocate for the fight against the unbelievers. To further solidify this indoctrination, children read the same messages through social media and the Internet. ISIS has weaponized education, using schools where Islam is taught to reach children internationally and brainwash them. Islamic countries are especially vulnerable to ISIS’s weaponization of education. As will be discussed later, education is a crucial tool in not only reaching children domestically and internationally, but reforming them as well. Furthermore, as ISIS gains influence and begins to establish branches in the vicinity of Iraq and Syria, child recruitment will increase in North Africa and other areas in the Middle East. For example, ISIS has reportedly already set up camps through its Libyan branch in order to train children. Many of the recruits are African children between 12 and 15 years old, brought from nations like Nigeria, Mali, Ghana, and Niger with the help of Boko Haram,

who pledged allegiance to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi in March 2015. Other recruits are Libyan and Egyptian. By recruiting children internationally, ISIS can display its brutality and spread its influence, which culminates in a heightened sense of panic in the Western world.

Concerning overall ISIS recruitment, foreign fighters comprise half of ISIS's members, which include nearly 4000 Westerners. As of January 26th, 2015, approximately 20,730 people—most from Arab nations—have come from 90 countries in order to fight for ISIS. In Europe, France (1,200), the United Kingdom (500-600), and Germany (500-600) have produced the largest numbers of foreign fighters. Relative to population size, however, most foreign fighters hail from Belgium, Denmark, and Sweden. An estimated 11,000 people come from the Middle East, and 3,000 originate from the countries of the former Soviet Union. Of course, it is not immediately clear how child recruitment fits into this picture, as a child is much less capable of making the trek to Syria and Iraq from a distant nation. Children hailing from Western nations are more likely to come with their families to Syria and Iraq, as had been the case for Belgium and Australia.

Areas Impacted

Child recruitment is likely heaviest in areas under ISIS control. ISIS creates communities centered on a fundamentalist interpretation of Islamic law, and children are apt towards accepting such a community with fewer reservations. Children do not need parental permission to be members of ISIS, and families that refuse experience the danger of ISIS's threats more bluntly than those miles away from ISIS. Countries in the immediate vicinity of ISIS are also more vulnerable to recruitment. Jordan, for example, has experienced a large outpouring of foreign fighters, as well as Saudi Arabia, which borders Iraq. Areas of Turkey have been targets of child recruitment as well, especially poorer neighborhoods and those bordering Syria. Early in 2015, ISIS announced its annexation of territory in Algeria, Libya, the Sinai, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. ISIS has remained somewhat true to this announcement, as they have a significant presence in the Sinai Peninsula and Libya, as well as in Nigeria (likely due to the allegiance of the Nigerian terrorist group Boko Haram). Libya has major potential to become a subsidiary of the Islamic State—ISIS formally accepted the terrorist group Majlis Shura Shabab al-Islam as its own, thus taking the

name “ISIS.” This terrorist group had been involved in military and government activities in Libya prior to taking the name ISIS. ISIS now operates in Benghazi, Sirte, Tripoli, and Derna. As a result of these annexations, more training camps geared towards children have emerged, and children residing in annexed territory are the most vulnerable to becoming recruited. Therefore, though Iraq and Syria continue to be hotspots of ISIS recruitment, as ISIS seeks to extend its territorial influence to these other nations and refugees flee from Iraq and Syria, child recruitment will become more internationalized and mostly impact Egypt, Libya and Nigeria. Furthermore, Southeast Asia has begun to see growing ISIS influence, most notably in Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. At least 8 children have been brought with their families to ISIS territory from Malaysia. Areas most impacted by ISIS’s presence will experience heavier child recruitment—the Middle East, North Africa, and, increasingly, Southeast Asia.

ROLES

Throughout the history of terrorism and war, children have typically been treated as expendables and filled dangerous roles, or otherwise filled roles that do not require much skill.

For example, throughout the Syrian Civil War, the Free Syrian Army (FSA) has used children as cooks, messengers, lookouts, and preparers of weapons. Kurdish forces have used children similarly, as they often man checkpoints and transfer information and military supplies. Children typically fill these lesser roles, while more skilled and important human capital is directed towards filling combat roles. As in other Syrian groups, child recruits as young as 9 years old fill a variety of roles in ISIS. They become cooks, cleaners, messengers, guards, weapon carriers, and the like. Yasir, a boy interviewed by CNN, describes how he was consistently strapped into an explosive vest, given a pistol, AK-47, and a radio, and told to guard an ISIS base in Deir Ezzor, a city in eastern Syria. Emad, a former teacher from Raqqa, told Human Rights Watch that in November 2013, the 6 guards of the Islamic court run by ISIS in Mansoura were children between 12 and 16 years old. They carried weapons and explosive belts, similar to Yasir. Children have also served as medics to the injured, and are forced to give blood in order to aid the wounded. Notably, ISIS uses them as spies to inform on the enemy, as well as on people living in ISIS-controlled communities. ISIS aims to instill paranoia in citizens

of the Islamic State, as citizens live in a perpetual state of uncertainty, never knowing if someone—even their own children—is listening to or watching them. ISIS enforces its rules through a morality police called al-Hisbah, and they have asked children to inform ISIS on their parents' compliance with the rules. This helps to create the environment of fear that keeps people living in line with ISIS ideology.

Furthermore, the use of children in suicide bombings has emerged as a phenomenon in modern terrorism. From 1980 to 2003, boys and girls under 18 years old carried out 13 percent of suicide bombings. Children have therefore become prime choices for suicide terror missions, and have been used as human shields as well, both in Syria and beyond. In 2000, Hamas convinced a semi-retarded 16-year-old boy to be the suicide bomber in a failed operation meant to target an Israeli checkpoint in Nablus. Roughly 29% of the suicide bombings in the Occupied Territories from 2000 to 2008 were committed by youth under 19 years old. Two Moroccan 13 year-old twin sisters belonging to al-Qaeda were caught in 2003. Iraqi insurgents began to strap children with explosives during the 2003 war with the United States. The youngest suicide bomber

to be recorded, from Colombia, was only 7 years old. Boko Haram, as the group increases its violence, has used children frequently as suicide bombers. Additionally, a 7-year-old girl participated in a suicide operation in Nigeria in February 2015. Clearly, use of children as suicide bombers is not an atrocity unique to terrorist groups. Even the Syrian government has reportedly used children as human shields, forcing them to line up between the army and the FSA or other attackers. In this manner, the Syrian government aims to dissuade enemies from attacking, as the enemy must kill the children in order to reach government forces. Using children as suicide bombers is additionally advantageous to terror groups, especially as children are less likely to garner suspicion, as opposed to men and even women. Counter-terrorism measures against child terrorists are much more difficult, not only because children are less suspicious and thus harder to counter, but because both international and national standards regarding the prosecution of these children are very unclear. So, it is advantageous for terrorist groups to use children in their operations. The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan concluded that some of the suicide bombers in the country were children aged 11 to 15.

They were forced, promised money, or tricked into filling the role. Likewise, al-Qaeda affiliated groups in Iraq used children as decoys in suicide car bombings. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that children kidnapped or otherwise trained by ISIS are in danger of becoming cannon fodder by becoming suicide bombers to carry out terror attacks. In May 2015, approximately 500 children were kidnapped from two Iraqi provinces and brought to ISIS territory, and are in danger of being brainwashed into becoming suicide bombers. Intense social pressure exists on children to commit themselves to this task. The Human Rights Watch, in a 2014 report, interviewed former ISIS child fighters. One boy, now 17, reported that children when signed up for suicide missions, he did so due to the pressure they received, stating, "They had a list of people who volunteered to do suicide bombing operations. I signed up on the list, but reluctantly and at the end, so my name was [several hundred down]." Children are encouraged to become martyrs, as becoming a martyr for the sake of defeating the enemies of Islam is a core part of ISIS ideology. The group avoids using the language "suicide bombing", rather opting for "martyrdom honor" or "martyrdom operation", which only serves to trick

children into participating in suicide operations. Extreme Islamic ideology is thus used to pressure or force children to become suicide bombers. ISIS has established camps in areas under its control to train adolescents for such missions. Families can be forced to send their children to these camps: originally, families could escape this duty by paying a fine, but attendance is now compulsory. Families under ISIS control therefore must live in fear of their children being lured into suicide operations. Typically, the families of suicide bombers receive compensation, gifts, or popularity in return for the martyrdom of their children, and thus parents may encourage their children's participation in such missions. It is unclear how common this is in the case of ISIS, however. Nevertheless, as the U.S.-led airstrikes persist, and ISIS operations expand in response, the tendency of children to become involved in suicide bombing plots and to be used as human shields is only increasing.

Children have also begun to take on a new role in ISIS, one that children typically do not fulfill in terrorist organizations, but has nevertheless become a trend distinguishing ISIS from other terror groups. Namely, children partake in executing, torturing, or beating pris-

oners. In late August 2014, a 16-year old boy reportedly cut the throats of two soldiers captured in Tabqa air-base. In March 2015, ISIS accused Muhammad Said Ismail Musallam, a 19-year old Israeli-Arab man, of being a spy for the Mossad, Israel's intelligence agency. The video of his execution shows a camouflaged boy and militant standing behind a kneeling Musallam. The boy, described as a "Cub of the Caliphate" walks in front of Musallam and shoots him in the head. The Human Rights Observatory describes a boy, between 10 and 12 years old, who had the job of whipping prisoners in an ISIS prison in Tal Abyad. In January 2015, ISIS released a video showing two boys, who appear to be between 10 and 12 years old, shooting two Russian intelligence agents. These roles serve to expose children to violence, as their participation in violent acts enables them to continue on a violent path and lose the ability to feel remorse. ISIS has a clear purpose in giving these roles to children, as the emotional consequences will convert them into fiercer fighters for ISIS in the future.

Lastly, children partake in combat roles after receiving military training in ISIS schools, commonly fighting alongside adult fighters. Abu Musafir, a leader of the Fursan al-Furat

battalion from Minbej in Aleppo, said he often saw children fighting in battles with ISIS. He stated, "Every battle we fight with Da'esh [ISIS] is a fight. We're trying to stay alive. But when we finish the battle and look at the corpses [of the ISIS fighters], we see a lot of children." He noted that as early as 2013, his battalion detained 30 children aged 13 to 15 after fighting a battle with ISIS in Minbej. Children commonly participate in battle with ISIS, some even younger than 13 years of age. It is unclear how many children are actively involved in combat. ISIS attempts to justify its military training of children, stating, "Those who are over 16 and previously enrolled in the camps can participate in military operations because Usama Ibn Zaid (adoptive son of Mohammed) led an army when he was 17 or 18 years old." Children much younger than 16, however, have received military training and fought in battle with ISIS, according to sources like the United Nations and Human Rights Watch.

ISIS is clearly not the first to recruit children into its ranks to fill both dangerous and low-skilled, but important roles. However, no other group has used children in such a systematic and organized way. They have now presumed the role of executioner and actively volunteered to

die in terror operations. Additionally, groups are typically not vocal about their child recruitment. ISIS, however, is quite intentional and vocal about their recruitment and use of children. While other groups use children mostly because they desperately need the personnel in the short-term, ISIS's recruitment of children is part of its strategy aim to achieve its short-term and long-term goals. ISIS has therefore differentiated itself with regard to its systematic, and more brutal, use of children.

STRATEGY

Why does ISIS recruit and use children? This is the most crucial question to answer with regard to children's involvement in ISIS. ISIS's use of children is neither random nor reflective of complete desperation on behalf of the group.

Creating the Future

ISIS has a pressing need for children because it must ensure its future. Unlike other terrorist organizations, ISIS is a pseudo-state in that it controls a significant portion of Syrian and Iraqi territory as it expands its Caliphate. Its possession of territory reflects one of the group's main goals, namely to establish a Caliphate. This goal will only be successful if ISIS prepares for the long-term.

In order to ensure a successful Caliphate, one that is stable and that is able to survive for generations, ISIS must prepare the next generation. Children are the next generation of ISIS. Child recruitment, and the subsequent mental and physical training, is within the framework of a plan of action adopted by the organization which seeks to form a strong army in the future that is capable of committing acts even more atrocious than the acts the group currently commits. These children are a part of what ISIS denotes "the generation of the Caliphate." The Islamic State is open about its desire to create militants for the future, stating in *Dabiq*, its magazine, that "The Islamic State has taken it upon itself to fulfill the Ummah's duty towards this generation in preparing it to face the crusaders and their allies in defense of Islam and to raise high the word of Allah in every land." Education is the single-most important tool for creating this generation, both in terms of military and mental preparation. ISIS promotes this education through schools, which the group has set up throughout Iraq and Syria. Raqqa is Being Slaughtered Silently, an anti-ISIS activist group, has documented the presence of at least five known youth training camps in the Raqqa province. One

of these camps, the Sharea Youth Camp, is specifically for children aged 5 to 16 years old, located in the town of Tabqa, and has approximately 350 boys training there. The Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic has also documented the presence of the Al-Bouhtri School in Al-Bab, Aleppo, which has been used as a recruitment and military training school for boys under the age of 18. Once in these schools, the children's education is divided into two parts: instruction in Islam and military training. The aim of ISIS schools is strikingly similar to the aim of the infamous Hitler Youth program—creating perfect, loyal, and obedient soldiers for the future.

Physical Training

ISIS has set up a number of schools for the purposes of training children both militarily and mentally. In these schools, children learn to shoot live ammunition with AK-47s, fight in battles using hand-to-hand combat, and drive various vehicles. ISIS releases posters advertising these schools, encouraging adults to come and teach. One new school, located in the Raqqa province, is specifically for English-speaking children. Reportedly, the five children of the infamous Sydney terrorist Khaled Sharrouf train there. The boys' school is called

Abu Musab Zarqawi School and the girls' school is called Aisha School, which is located next-door. These two schools are for children ages 6 to 14, and they run for three hours every day from 9 AM until noon. In a video released by ISIS, young boys are seen undergoing physical training in the school while holding ISIS flags. Children are given similar attire to adult ISIS fighters, sometimes wearing masks or kaffiyehs over their faces to reinforce their military training. They carry weapons with them, at times too big and heavy for them. A proud and eager 9-year-old boy interviewed in the Vice News documentary *Islamic State* discussed his plans to go to camp to receive training on "The Russian" or Kalashnikov rifle. Despite his age, the boy admitted his ability to shoot a gun and to prior experience shooting weapons. In another ISIS video, showing Kazakh children training in a school, children sit in a group wearing matching camouflage uniforms. One boy strips and re-assembles a machine gun, and other child soldiers carry out gun maneuvers and tactical formations. Other boys are seen exercising in a gym and practicing martial arts. Riad, a former ISIS child fighter, describes a camp he attended in Kafr Hamma, Aleppo with between 250 and 300 people, many of them under 18 years old:

“It was a very difficult camp. They gave us very severe training. We would wake up, pray, after prayer maybe around 9 a.m. we did exercises, then rest in the room, then Sharia courses, then military study, then more Sharia courses, then some rest, prayer. [Between afternoon prayers], they didn’t let us sleep, they would come in our tent and fire into the sky and [send us] to guard a trench. Many times we fell asleep in this trench because we were so tired.”

Another foreign fighter describes the military drills they underwent: “We used to crawl under webbing. There was fire above it, and we would be firing our weapons. We would jump through large metal rings and the trainers would be firing at our feet and telling us if we stop we will be shot. I was very careful not to stop running, I didn't stop, even if I was exhausted, out of breath, I didn't stop.”

Military training similar to the training for adult fighters, often involving intense drills and duties, is a regular part of child recruits’ schooling. Once they complete their training, the children graduate from their schools. In an ISIS video, children dressed in military uniforms

line up to shake hands with a sheikh. They are called the “generation of lions, protectors of religion, dignity and land.” Their skills and training are tested before ISIS decides where to send the children. Many of them desire to fight on the front lines.

Mental Training

The mental preparation involved in becoming a useful fighter for ISIS is extensive and the most essential aspect in creating the future Islamic State, even more so than military training. A child, once he grows older, will only be useful if he acquiesces to ISIS ideology and views violence as a way of life. In order to be the future of ISIS, these children must acquire knowledge and understand the ways of ISIS. According to a report by the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic, ISIS prioritizes children as a vehicle for ensuring long-term loyalty and adherence to their ideology, creating a cadre of devoted fighters that will see violence as a way of life. Similarly, as Steven Salinsky, director of the American Middle East Media Research Institute, so aptly stated:

“The next generation [of Muslim youth have already been] brain washed to hate the West and to strive for jihad and martyrdom. They have been trained on the

battlefield and know how to create bombs and suicide belts and to be head and crucify the innocent. This is something we must be prepared for and understand.”

The necessary mental training and preparation children receive involves several dimensions, including indoctrination, exposure, and a concept denoted “total organization.”

Indoctrination

Indoctrination involves instilling in children ISIS ideology and values. Children primarily learn this ideology in schools, or through their family members. In areas under its control, ISIS has closed schools or altered the curriculum to fit its ideology. In schools, children learn about Sharia and Islamic creed. They are taught how to pray and are forced to pray five times a day, as required by Islamic law. Subjects like art, history, science, and sports are deemed incompatible with Islam and are not taught. Some children simply do not understand what they are being taught, but they nevertheless undergo the indoctrination. A boy named Mohammed stated that while he understood the concept of fasting and the importance of prayer, he did not understand the word “infidels” and why they should be fought. As an example of ISIS indoctrination, a resident in Fallujah, Iraq describes

how his 6-year-old son began playing with a water pistol and screaming “I am a fighter of the Islamic State!” When at an ISIS checkpoint, the son shouted, “We love the State!” When the fighter asked, “Which state?” the boy replied “The Islamic State,” to which the fighter replied, “Good boy.” Following this incident, the father moved his family to an area under Kurdish control. Through this indoctrination, children learn to love fighting for the sake of building the Islamic State. Furthermore, ISIS is beginning to recognize the importance of starting the indoctrination process young, at an age when the ideas the children receive can be controlled and when they are the most susceptible to such ideas. *A Sister's Role in Jihad*, a guidebook for ISIS women, instructs mothers how to raise mujahedeen children. ISIS emphasizes the significance in starting young, even with babies, stating, “No child is ever too young to be started off on jihad training.” ISIS considers the role of raising daughters and sons to be mujahedeen as one of the most critical roles women can play in jihad. The guidebook instructs mothers to tell their children bedtime stories about martyrs and jihadi heroes. It instructs mothers to establish a “total organization” environment, stating, “Eliminate your television completely if you can (it mostly teaches shamelessness,

anarchy, and random violence) and keep a check on the company your child is in.” Otherwise, mothers can show their sons Islamic and military training videos, books, and Internet sources. The guide tells mothers to teach their boys to direct their anger towards the enemy, “the infidels”, by having them practice on a punching bag, for instance. Mothers are also encouraged to physically train their boys by enrolling them in a variety of activities: archery, target-shooting, martial arts, driving, swimming, exercise, darts, navigation, etc. All of these activities build skill-sets useful for fighting alongside ISIS, which calls military training a “must” for children. Moreover, an Islamic State member attests to the active process of indoctrinating children at a young age, stating, “We established a nursery to teach the Quran and religion to young children to teach them how to become, one day, leaders who rule the world and lead Muslims on the path to Sharia.” Considering how important the first several years of life are for learning both moral and social values, this strategy of indoctrinating children when they are very young ensures a child’s compliance with ISIS ideology in the future. Children indoctrinated as toddlers and infants do not know a different way of life, and thus they view ISIS

ideology and tactics as normal and right. They lack countering perspectives. The role that parents or family members can play in children’s involvement in ISIS is crucial, both in a child’s recruitment to ISIS, as well as in their physical training and indoctrination. Parents can encourage their children in jihad, for example, by proudly posting on social media pictures of their children dressed in jihadi clothing or partaking in jihad. The incorporation of children in ISIS should not be viewed solely as a result of ISIS leaders and fighters dragging them into the fight. Children’s involvement and development as ISIS participants is a result of the environment that ISIS creates—by ISIS leaders, non-military members, family, and friends. As an example, an ISIS member featured in the Vice News documentary on the Islamic State appears with his 7-year-old son—the father had brought the boy from Belgium where they resided prior to joining the Islamic State. Their conversation went as follows:

Son: My name is Abdullah.

Father: Raise your voice.

Son: Abdullah!

Father: Are you from Belgium or the Islamic State? (the boy shyly turns to his father). Talk to him, tell him you’re from the Islamic State.

Son: (turns back to camera) The Islamic State.

Father: Do you want to go back to Belgium? Why? What is over there?

Son: Infidels.

Father: Infidels. What do we have here?

Son: The Islamic State.

Father: Do you like the Islamic State? (The boy nods) Are you sure?

Son: Yes.

Father: What do you want to be, a jihadist or to execute a martyrdom operation?

Son: A jihadist.

Father: A jihadist. Why do we kill the infidels? Stand up. What have the infidels done? What have the infidels done?

Son: They kill Muslims.

Father: Because they kill Muslims. All the infidels? Like the infidels of Europe?

Son: The infidels of Europe, all the infidels.

The conversation that transpired between father and son makes it clear how influential the role of the father has in his son's life. Abdullah's father confirms the boy's answers through repetition, and encourages his son's confidence in the Islamic State and its ideology by demanding him to raise his voice, stand up, and look at

the camera. Just as a parent teaches a child to say "please" and "thank you," so do adult figures involved in ISIS teach their children to "kill infidels" and think in line with ISIS ideology.

Exposure

Exposure to violent acts blunts feelings of guilt, remorse, or disgust associated with witnessing or participating in brutality and violence. Once these feelings are numbed, children are much more apt to commit violent acts. Exposure to violence therefore reinforces violence as a way of life and enables children to become the brutal future fighters that ISIS ideology envisions. Children are exposed to violence through schools, where they watch videos of violent acts like beheadings. Children living in ISIS-controlled territory are also vulnerable to exposure, because ISIS often carries out executions—crucifixions, beheadings, shootings, and beatings—in public and leaves the bodies in the public square for several days afterwards. Children are encouraged to witness these public executions, and the display of the bodies in public squares is hard to avoid. Children living in ISIS territory thus regularly witness brutality. ISIS has followed a consistent pattern in this manner—they usually announce the time and place of an execution

through Al-Hisbah, the morality police, and encourage residents to attend. Prior to executing the accused, ISIS announces their “crimes” and typically leaves the victim hanging on crosses for up to 3 days. Residents of ISIS-controlled territories interviewed by the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic attested that executions have become common and that heads and bodies are always on display in the very public parts of town. Children cannot avoid such sites. One father from Dayr Az-Zawr stated that in late July 2014 he saw the body of a man hanging from a cross in the town of Al-Mayadin. He stood frozen for some time because of the horror of the scene, before realizing that his 7-year-old son was with him. In Mosul, after being taken by ISIS during its expansion in June 2014, children as young as 8 years old watched a prisoner being shot in the back of the head as the crowd cheered. In June 2015, ISIS beheaded Abdalnabi al-Shargawi, a volunteer for the Libyan National Army. He was beheaded publicly in front of children aged 6 to 8 for “educational purposes”, who were told to gather around the body. The militant displayed the head of the soldier as children looked on. A boy living under ISIS influence speaks about the

process the organization has developed to intentionally assimilate violence into daily life, stating, “When we go to the mosque, they order us to come the next day at a specific time and place to [watch] heads cut off, lashings or stonings. We saw a young man who did not fast for Ramadan, so they crucified him for three days, and we saw a woman being stoned [to death] because she committed adultery.” Besides public executions, ISIS deliberately shows children videos of violence. In Raqqa, children are gathered to watch videos of mass executions of government soldiers. The effects of exposure to violence are heightened when children are forced to participate in such acts. Children learn to behead through practicing on dolls. Though not the true act of beheading, the impersonation of the act aids in desensitization leading up to the actual act. Additionally, as mentioned previously, children who become members of ISIS may fulfill the role of executioner. Exposure to violence aims to prepare children for actual participation in violent acts. Continual exposure to violence can create children obsessed with violence. Reintegrating such children back into society is difficult and nearly ensures he or she will continue the violence in the future. This scenario is ideal for ISIS, as they will consis-

tently be in need of extraordinarily violent fighters so long as they continue their current strategy of brutality as a means of gaining attention and power by force. ISIS's deliberate process of desensitizing children to violence reflects this strategy, leading ISIS to commit extensive war crimes and child abuses.

However, exposure to violence is not merely achieved through public executions and schools. ISIS has made use of social media to expose people around the world to violence, and this exposure has had an effect on children outside of ISIS-controlled territory as well. Videos showing executions have been widely publicized by not only ISIS, but also with the help of media outlets throughout the world. Exposure to such videos aids in encouraging violence in children, and this has been the case especially in other areas throughout the Middle East and North Africa. In many instances, children have posted videos online appearing to imitate the infamous acts of ISIS: James Foley's execution, for instance, or the murder of the 16 Coptic Christians in Libya in November 2014. In February 2015, an Islamic State propaganda video, filmed in Yemen, showed teenage boys re-enacting the execution of the Coptic Christians. Sticks replaced knives as the five teenage boys led

five younger boys, around 10 years old, to the beach in order to carry out the imaginary execution. Their enactment closely resembled the actual film, with one boy reciting the speech given by "Jihadi John" prior to the Christians' deaths. They completed the re-enactment of the murders with sounds of throat slitting and gasps of breath, and showed bloody waters, as could be seen in the end of the real video. Additionally, five days after the Islamic State released the real video, a number of Egyptian boys re-enacted the murders and posted the video online. Again, the video included a re-enactment of "Jihadi John" as a boy pointed to the camera with his wooden stick just like the British jihadi. Like exposure to murders and tortures, playing out these scenarios may not be physically harmful, but are certainly mentally harmful in that they prepare children for real-life scenarios. Some incidents, however, do cause physical harm. On February 3rd, 2015, ISIS released a video showing captured Jordanian pilot Lieutenant Muath al-Kaseasbeh being burned alive as he stood in a cage. Even worse than the re-enactments of the execution of the Coptic Christians, a group of approximately seven boys trapped their ten-year-old friend in a wooden cage in Yemen in the village of Al

Dahthath. They subsequently doused him with fuel and set him on fire. Luckily, residents came to his rescue when he called for help, but the boy suffered burns to his legs as his friends watched. These disturbing re-enactments have not only occurred in the Arab world, but in the West as well. In August 2014, a young boy around age 8 was pictured beheading a doll dressed in an orange jumpsuit. The boy is displayed wearing black with a balaclava over his face, carrying a knife, and holding the doll by its hair. The next picture shows the severed head of the doll, blood painted on its face. Therefore, while ISIS's systematic manner of exposing children to violence through public executions and camps aims to prepare children for the future of ISIS, its tendency to expose children to violence all over the world via social media encourages such children to support and take part in ISIS's activities. The true consequences of constant exposure to ISIS brutality via media outlets is unclear, but it is certainly an influence on children who choose to take part in violent incidents.

Total Organization

Lastly, ISIS creates its future fighters by isolating children from non-Islamic values, a concept denoted as "total organization." Sociologist

Erving Goffman defined it as an organization that "has more or less monopoly control of its members' everyday life." This keeps other values ISIS deems incompatible with ultra-fundamentalist Islam out of society and out of children's lives. Children are taught in this way so that they do not know a different way of life, which deeply instills the values that ISIS is looking to promote, such as violence and an ultra-fundamentalist ideology. Young children are especially easy to mold because their minds are particularly impressionable. And once children are born into a certain system, in this case, ISIS's system, they have little choice but to identify with it. Isolation is a very useful tool in controlling all aspects of a child's life. One boy attests that when he attended ISIS schools, he was prohibited from seeing or speaking to family, and kept from everything he knew to be familiar. This was the case for approximately a month. As mentioned in *A Sister's Role in Jihad*, ISIS suggests that women keep their children away from television and other children that do not act in accordance with ISIS ideology, which ultimately allows ISIS to indirectly control children's lives and the environment they reside in. The younger the children are when they undergo indoctrination, the less likely other

perspectives or viewpoints will resonate with them—they only see the world through jihadi ideology. A young boy living in the Islamic State, as documented by Vice News, states, “In the name of God, my name is Daoud and I am 14 years old. I’d like to join the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria and to kill with them because they fight infidels and apostates. The Islamic State, they haven’t done anything wrong and God-willing they will not. We love the Islamic State.” ISIS ideology becomes a normal part of their everyday lives. Children view the ideology as normal and right, not as fundamentalist or extreme.

As Dr. Natasha Underhill, an expert on terrorism at Nottingham Trent University, aptly stated, “Children are a very smart selection by ISIS as they show an aim of longevity from the group’s perspective - target the young, indoctrinate them quickly, make them extremely violent and the result is a ground force that is unstoppable in terms of their beliefs and loyalty to the group.” ISIS crimes and abuses against children in the name of mental preparation reflect several dimensions of the group, including its tendency to prepare for the long-term and equip a generation for a long war against “infidel Muslims”, secularism and the West.

Propaganda

Brutality

ISIS separates itself from other terror organizations in how vocal and transparent the group is with regards to its recruitment, training, use, and indoctrination of children. ISIS’s use of children reflects an important strategy of the group: the use of brutality to attract attention and to gain power and legitimacy. ISIS’s use of children has allowed the group to reach a new level of brutality, a characteristic that has given ISIS great infamy and aided in its rise to power. Children ensure that ISIS continues to attract attention and be a focal point in global news. ISIS has not only used children in order to solidify its reputation of brutality, but has been quite transparent about the practice via social media and recruitment videos. ISIS’s transparency aims to gain the attention of the world, particularly the West. According to the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic, “By publicizing its brutality, the so-called ISIS seeks to convey its authority over its areas of control, to show its strength to attract recruits, and to threaten any individuals, groups or States that challenge its ideology.” Considering how stigmatized children’s rights violations are, it is more practical to

gain attention and solidify its brutal reputation around the world through committing such abuses against children openly, rather than committing human rights abuses against adults. Professor Nicholas O'Shaughnessy, from Queen Mary University of London, reinforces, "It is so utterly sick and perverted and depraved that it guarantees global visibility: child abuse, pure and simple, it pushes other stuff to one side in a world where so much else is competing for our attention." Using children in a systematic and vocal manner thereby meets ISIS's strategy to gain worldwide attention and display its power. This is made clear through the constant presence children have in ISIS execution and recruitment videos and photos. ISIS frequently shows videos of child terrorists training, more so than detailing the training of adult fighters. ISIS's use of children to demonstrate its power and brutality via such photos and videos is only reinforced more deeply once picked up by media outlets throughout the West.

Spreading Influence

In addition to spreading influence by advertising its brutality, ISIS seeks to spread its cause by capturing non-Islamic minority children, indoctrinating them, and re-inserting

them back into their respective societies. When ISIS overran Yazidi towns in 2014, it captured young Yazidi boys and sent them to schools for several months, where they received Muslim Arabic names to replace their Kurdish-language names and were infused with ISIS ideology. One Yazidi boy, terrified by the camp, escaped in March 2015. He attempted to bring his Yazidi friend along, but the boy grew to accept Islam and insisted on staying. In May 2014, 153 Kurdish boys were kidnapped from a school in Aleppo and "religiously trained", which subsequently involved exposure to videos of beheadings and instruction in militant ideology for a five-month period. Upon their release, the parents of the boys describe their fear of ISIS trying to inject its worldview into Kurdish society. Converting young boys or indoctrinating them for a period of time and subsequently placing them back into their homes is an effective mechanism to not only break the coherency of minority cultures, but to spread both ISIS influence and fear amongst such minorities.

Easy Targets Affordability

ISIS's recruiting of children in exchange for money is also advantageous for the terrorist group, as

children are paid approximately \$100 per month, about half the amount adult fighters are paid. So children are more affordable for ISIS. Although ISIS has abundant sources of funding, via extortion, taxation, theft from Iraqi banks, oil, and kidnapping, ISIS will eventually lose its financial stronghold as oil prices fall, airstrikes targeting oil refineries continue, and borders surrounding Syria tighten. Additionally, ISIS's largest expenditure is salaries, as the organization prioritizes investment in people. Conversely, they have a habit of minimizing costs by looting military equipment, paying low salaries, and seeking to expropriate land and already existing infrastructure, eliminating the need to build. Keeping this in mind, the decision to recruit children is financially wise for the organization. Although children are treated as adult fighters, ISIS can nevertheless pay children half the salary simply because they are children, and yet continue their investment in personnel. This practice fits ISIS's strategy of investing in people, and subsequently their future, while maintaining low costs.

Vulnerability

Children, especially at very young ages, are among the easiest targets for recruitment and indoctrination, giv-

ing them the potential to become the perfect fighters for the Islamic State. ISIS targets the young because their minds are extremely impressionable and they are gullible to the ways of the society surrounding them. Children living in ISIS-controlled territory, or ISIS society, are therefore especially vulnerable not only to being recruited, but also to becoming accustomed to ISIS ideology even without attending a training camp.

Counter-Terrorism Measures

Furthermore, conducting counter-terrorism against children is more controversial. While the U.S. conducts airstrikes and targets ISIS leaders and fighters, it is unethical for the U.S. not only to target child fighters, but also to accidentally kill child fighters as collateral damage. This is an advantage for ISIS, which can use the death of children at the hands of the coalition as a means to point at the immorality of the United States and advance its anti-Western rhetoric. The higher ethical standards surrounding treatment of children and the lack of policy towards child involvement in terrorism work towards ISIS's advantage, which often disregards children's rights completely, even as nation states cannot. And while the United States and other nations torture or prosecute adult

terrorists, how to handle child terrorists is much more unclear. Likewise, there is no international consensus concerning the minimum age for criminal liability, but rather the minimum age differs across countries. The United Nations has created a number of non-binding resolutions encouraging the formation of a minimum age in which children can be held accountable for their crimes via the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice and The Convention on the Rights of the Child. There is now a clearer standard for banning the recruitment of children. According to the Paris Principles of 2007, signed by 60 countries:

“Children who are accused of crimes under international law allegedly committed while they were associated with armed forces or armed groups should be considered primarily as victims of offences against international law, not only as perpetrators. They must be treated in accordance with international law in a framework of restorative justice and social rehabilitation, consistent with international law which offers children special protection through numerous agreements and principles.”

The Syrian Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child has banned non-state armies from recruiting or using children under age 18 in direct hostilities. Conscripting or enlisting children under 15, including for support roles, is a war crime under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. Syria itself has made legislative reforms in 2013 as well, criminalizing all forms of recruitment and the use of children under the age of 18 by armed forces and armed groups. Although there is a standard for banning child recruitment, the standards for prosecuting children under international law are lacking and vague because law regards child recruits as victims. However, ISIS recruitment strategies have begun to blur the line between victim and participant, as they are training children to grow up to be terrorists and fighters for the future of ISIS—at which point they will become participants. Where international laws do exist, the prosecution of children involved in terrorism is much more lenient than that of adult terrorists. Thus, ISIS can use children to carry out its work and prepare the future of the Islamic State, while nation states are much less able to prosecute and conduct counter-terrorism efforts against these child fighters.

THE FUTURE TREND

As ISIS continues to create strongholds throughout Iraq and Syria, it will likely continue to expand its child recruitment process. When ISIS captures more land throughout Iraq and Syria, the group will be in need of more fighters to solidify control of these lands. Otherwise, ISIS may stretch itself too thin by controlling land it does not have the appropriate personnel to maintain control. In the same capacity, if ISIS wishes to establish a stable Islamic State and create citizens for the future, it needs communities and therefore needs families, as families are a basis for maintaining communities for successive generations. ISIS is inviting children and women, along with men, in order to encourage complete families to come to the Islamic State. By recruiting more children, ISIS is making an appeal to the family. Therefore, as ISIS continues to expand and attempts to maintain a stable Caliphate, the group will increasingly need children as a means to solidify both the group's holdings and future.

Additionally, the number of child recruits will increase as long as ISIS faces some degree of desperation, most notably, if the U.S.-led coalition persists and intensifies in the wake of the November 2015 Paris

attacks that disturbed the world. During the battle for the town of Kobani on the edge of Syria in 2014 and early 2015, ISIS became more desperate for personnel and fighters, thus involving more children in the fight. The Syrian Observatory for Human Rights documented that ISIS sent approximately 140 members, the majority under 18 years of age and new to the fight, to the battlefield of Kobani, where at least six of the minors were killed. Several activists observed children fighting alongside ISIS militants during the battle. Mustafa Bali, a Kobani-based activist, attested to seeing the bodies of four boys, two of them younger than 14. At least one 18-year-old carried out a suicide attack. Once ISIS faces more formidable opponents in its rampage to capture more Syrian and Iraqi territory, the influx of child recruits will undoubtedly increase.

Furthermore, when ISIS faces difficulty in recruiting adults, the organization will expectedly supplement its losses by expanding child recruitment efforts. In March, when ISIS had difficulties attracting adults to the group, ISIS appeared to boost its recruitment of teenagers and children. Due to tighter border controls in the countries surrounding Syria and Iraq, most importantly the Turkey-Syria border, fewer foreign fight-

ers have joined the ranks of ISIS since the beginning of 2015. According to the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, as of March 2015, ISIS has only managed to recruit 120 adults since the start of 2015. ISIS will likely continue to face this difficulty in the future as more countries take action against foreign fighters. This difficulty in obtaining adult recruits will become a factor in the expansion of child recruitment.

ISIS is not only expanding its recruitment of children, but it will also target younger children as recruits. Although this trend reflects the recent recruitment difficulties ISIS has experienced, it also reflects how ISIS recognizes the advantages of indoctrinating children while they are young. As stated in *A Sister's Role in Jihad*, no child is too young to start jihadi training. A former child recruit interviewed by the Human Rights Watch, who attended an ISIS training camp, attested, "The leader of the camp said [ISIS] liked the younger ones better. He told me, 'Tomorrow they'll be a stronger leader or a stronger fighter.'" In 2013, an FSA military commander stated that he captured 30 children between ages 13 and 15 fighting for ISIS and attempted to rehabilitate them by isolating them in a rural location and bringing religious leaders and male

relatives to speak with them. Two medical service providers who were also interviewed treated children as young as 12 who were injured while fighting for ISIS. Other interviewees reported interacting with children 13 years old or younger who trained or served with ISIS. Later in September 2014, the United Nations reported that a ten-year-old child was killed fighting alongside ISIS. In 2015, Abu Mohammad, a Mosul resident, attested to seeing a five-year-old boy among the child soldiers carrying a weapon. ISIS has no qualms in increasingly targeting younger children.

CONCLUSION

Much of the existing literature on children in terrorism revolves around children witnessing terrorist attacks or being passive participants. Obviously, there are dire psychological consequences for children who witness terrorist attacks. ISIS's use of children, however, has more than psychological consequences: the moral and physical consequences are extensive as well. The existence of a morally and psychologically disturbed generation of terrorist fighters is a danger to the entire world. Kofi Anna, former Secretary-General to the United Nations, reiterated, "If there is any lesson that we can draw

from the experience of the past decade, it is that the use of child soldiers is far more than a humanitarian concern; that its impact lasts far beyond the time of actual fighting; and that the scope of the problem vastly exceeds the numbers of children directly involved.” ISIS’s use of children marks a disturbing trend in terrorism that has perhaps ushered in a new wave of terrorism distinct from the post-9/11 era. Traditionally, terrorist groups use children when they are desperate, when counter-terrorist pressure is strong. They are treated as expendable, and become last minute fighters or convenient suicide bombers. ISIS’s use of children reflects this tradition to some capacity, but under ISIS, the trend of children in terrorism is evolving. Children involved in terrorism are traditionally described as victims. Everything they witness or participate in is claimed to be forced upon them. However, ISIS teaches children to choose terrorism, or even to volunteer as suicide bombers. They are taught to become active participants. As one Islamic State fighter aptly stated, “For us, we believe this generation of children is the generation of the Caliphate. God willing, this generation will fight infidels and apostates, the Americans and their allies, God willing. The right doctrine has been implanted into these

children. All of them love to fight for the sake of building the Islamic State, and for the sake of God.” The world must understand this phenomenon: ISIS is actively ensuring its future in Iraq, Syria, and beyond and continues to abolish territorial borders that separate nations. Counter-terror measures must be adopted to hinder the active child recruitment process ISIS has so successfully implemented. Otherwise, the world will face a future ISIS that is perhaps even more lethal than the current generation of ISIS fighters.

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How the CIA's Role in Combating the Threat Presented by al-Qaeda has Evolved

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INTRODUCTION

The United States' (US) Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is one of the most dynamic and fluid organizations of the modern era with respect to combatting terrorism. This is most notably seen through its actions in fighting the terrorist organization al-Qaeda (AQ). Since the near simultaneous bombings of the US Embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya, the 9/11 attacks, and the subsequent military engagement in the Middle East and Southern Asia region, there have been two major developments in the fight against AQ. The first of these changes is the choice of which tool the US decides to primarily implement in the fight against al-Qaeda. Initially in 1998, the military was the main actor with the CIA in a supporting role; however, this changes as time goes on. Secondly, the way that the CIA has decided to fight AQ has shown a stark development track, one that raises significant questions about its long-term sustainability.

The purpose of this research is to answer the question of how the CIA's role evolved in fighting the threat presented by al-Qaeda and if this growth has been proven to be effective. The expected outcome here is to see that the CIA's counter-al-Qaeda strategy has become very direct in nature relative to where it began and that their tactics have been effective in eliminating AQ's ability to conduct operations. Despite this, the CIA's methods as they stand today are unsustainable because of the unintended blowback.

In analyzing this lineage, this paper will examine three milestones in the campaign against al-Qaeda: the response to the 1998 Embassy Bombings, the insertion of the JAWBREAKER team immediately post 9/11, and lastly the use of the Predator Drone. An analysis of these cases shows that these efforts have been impactful in fighting al-Qaeda, demonstrated by the fracturing of the group, which has resulted in a highly decentralized command structure. This shift represents a stark change from the more hierarchical structure present in the late 1990's and early 2000's. Additionally, this evolution, spearheaded by the CIA, has led to the degradation of AQ's ability to conduct a significant attack in a Western country, which is quite possibly due to the fact that the group structure is scattered. As stated earlier, the result of the actions taken by the CIA in fighting al-Qaeda have been successful, but have led to unintended consequences that make the current methods unsustainable.

CASE STUDIES

East African Embassy Bombings

At approximately 10:40 AM local time, the morning of August 7, 1998 saw two, near simultaneous, bombings of the American

Embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya. The blast from bombings resulted in the deaths of 224 people, 12 of whom were United States citizens. An additional 5,000 individuals were reported wounded from the dual blasts (CNN). The explosions were immensely powerful; the strike in Nairobi shattered windows as far as 10 city blocks away from the epicenter of the detonation. At a similar scene in Kenya, CNN reported that the blast was powerful enough to, "[blow] off the embassy's bomb-proof doors."

In the initial aftermath of the strike, it was unclear which group conducted the operation, as no one immediately claimed responsibility. However, it was later revealed, based upon intelligence compiled by the CIA's "Alec Station", the unit tasked with tracking down Usama Bin Laden (UBL), and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), that al-Qaeda was responsible for the attack. At the time, al-Qaeda was a relatively young organization. UBL's motivation in executing this operation stemmed from a variety of sources, as detailed in the unclassified executive summary of the status and findings of the FBI's investigation into the attacks. The group vehemently, "opposed the

involvement of the United States in the Gulf War in 1991, operation 'Restore Hope' in Somalia in 1992-1993 and the US presence in Saudi Arabia and Yemen." Usama Bin Laden was especially aggravated by the United States' positioning of troops within Saudi Arabian territory, home to many of the most sacred sites in the Islamic religion. UBL saw the latter of these as an invasion of Islamic land by the "kafir" or non-believers (PBS). This justification for the bombings would continually be used by UBL and his organization in future attacks.

Some thirteen days later on August 20th, at the behest of President Clinton, the United States Navy launched a series of cruise missile strikes on al-Qaeda targets near Khost and Jalalabad, Afghanistan. Additionally, a pharmaceutical factory in Sudan was targeted (CNN). The objective of the retaliation strikes was to kill Usama Bin Laden and other senior members of al-Qaeda living and working in training camps in Afghanistan and destroy chemical weapons in Sudan, while simultaneously weakening the organization's infrastructural capabilities. At the time, this operation seemed like a strong response as it lessened the likelihood of losing American lives while also

allowing for a high probability of success in eliminating key elements of the AQ organization.

This proved to not be the case. The cruise missile that was intended for the factory in Sudan hit its intended target, but the factory was mistakenly linked to al-Qaeda based on murky intelligence. Reports pointed to the factory as an alleged location where the group was developing chemical weapons, specifically a VX Nerve Agent, to be used in later attacks. It was later realized that the strike on the factory was largely based on a single soil sample collected by the CIA from just outside of the building (New York Times). Throughout the events surrounding the bombing of the embassies and the response strikes, it is clear that the CIA's role remained confined to its traditional mission of gathering information for policymakers to act upon.

Response to the 9/11 Terrorist Attacks

On September 11, 2001 al-Qaeda attacked the United States when members of the organization hijacked four airplanes from various cities and used them as weapons in a suicide attack. Two of the aircrafts struck the World Trade Center's Twin Towers and one slammed into

the Western façade of the Pentagon. The last of the hijacked aircrafts crashed in Shanksville, Pennsylvania when the passengers on board learned of the events unfolding in New York and Washington through their cell phones and attempted to retake control of the plane. This attack resulted in nearly 3,000 deaths, which was an unprecedented number of fatalities for a terrorist attack (CNN).

In the wake of this attack, the Central Intelligence Agency was given the lead by the president to respond with force to al-Qaeda. By his own account, some four days after 9/11, Gary Schroen, a veteran of the CIA's Near East Division, was directly tasked by Cofer Black, the Director of the Counterterrorist Center, to lead a team of CIA officers into Afghanistan. Their mission was to remove the Taliban, Afghanistan's governing body at the time and hosts to UBL's al-Qaeda, from power and to hunt down those responsible for the 9/11 attack (Schroen). This expanded the CIA's mission from a primarily collection-based apparatus to one tasked with carrying out potentially lethal operations if the circumstances permitted themselves. This mission would eventually evolve into one of the largest covert action operations

since the Agency worked to arm the mujahedeen in the same region in the 1980's (CNN).

This foray into Afghanistan was lead by Gary Schroen's team, identified as the Northern Afghanistan Liaison Team (NALT) and their call sign, JAWBREAKER. Their objective was to link up with the Northern Alliance (NA), a conglomerate of warlords who allied itself against the Taliban and al-Qaeda, assess the situation on the ground by developing an intelligence network, and mark enemy targets for an impending air campaign to follow in the coming weeks. The JAWBREAKER team situated itself in Northeastern Afghanistan's Panjshir Valley roughly two weeks after the attacks (Schroen). It is especially important to note is how quickly the team was able to become operational. Schroen detailed in his book that the manner in which the team was assembled was unprecedented. This feat can be largely attributed to the Agency's ability to bend and flex with the evolution of its tasking.

Once on the ground, Schroen and his team began to meet with senior members of the NA's leadership circle. His first meeting was with engineer Aref Sarwari, the head of Northern Alliance's Intelligence

Service. In the meeting Schroen explained the mission of his team and how it fits into the larger picture of the American involvement that was to come in the region. Unlike fights against the Soviets in the 1980s, Schroen underscored that the United States was ready to make a strong investment in the region and would “stay until the mission was accomplished.” This helped quell the worries of the NA leadership, as it was their contention that the Americans had abandoned them in the wake of the Soviet withdrawal, leaving them too weak to fend off the Taliban’s initial rise to power. This partnership was solidified when Schroen handed over \$500,000 to Sarwari to help build a joint intelligence cell where information between his officers would be shared with the CIA and vice versa (Schroen). Within 24 hours of Schroen’s meeting with the intelligence chief the, “intelligence from [the] joint cell was flowing well” due to the cooperation and simpatico relationship between the Americans and their Afghan counterparts. The cell was able to quickly tap into an established feed of signals intelligence (SIGINT) from intercepted radio communications, as the Northern Alliance intelligence officers were

quite adept at this practice before the JAWBREAKER team arrived. Most importantly, however, the cell became highly productive while working with human assets in cultivating human intelligence (HUMINT). The cell received daily reports from various sources including Taliban soldiers who were recruited to spy for the NA and civilians who could report what they saw while traveling for personal reasons in between the areas controlled by the enemy (Schroen). Managing a network of assets to help build intelligence reports and pass them on to analysts, in order to inform policymakers, proved to be the most vital component of the deployment. In the first thirty days of deployment, the cell had garnered enough intelligence for four hundred intelligence reports (Schroen). This operation bears the hallmarks of sound intelligence collection in the form of working with a cooperative local host with similar objectives, which resulted in a major influx of information to be disseminated.

This intelligence gathering operation served as the cornerstone of the deployment because it provided a great deal of insight and a stronger grasp on understanding both the enemy’s behavior and

their positions. While collecting intelligence, a portion of Schroen's team was tasked with geolocating the positions of the enemy encampments for airstrikes by working with the generals on both the Western and Southern fronts. November of 2001 saw the initial deployment of Army Special Forces soldiers in the form of Operational Detachment Alpha (ODA) 555. The CIA personnel were able to provide their military counterparts information garnered in tandem with the Northern Alliance hosts to allow for the SF soldiers to call in airstrikes on Taliban strongholds. Shortly thereafter, the NA forces broke from their camps, overran the front lines held by the Taliban and al-Qaeda forces, and charged on to Kabul in a matter of weeks. This accomplishment was contingent on the intelligence produced in the symbiotic relationship between Sarwari's Intelligence Organization, Schroen's CIA team, and the Special Forces soldiers (Schroen). With each element doing their designated mission, the objectives of the mission were fulfilled. This case serves to underscore the effectiveness of each entity when it achieves its mission designation, rather than attempting to insource the execution of a mission directive

outside the entity's purview.

Implementation of the Armed Unmanned Aerial Vehicle

The armed Predator Drone (for the purpose of this section, all armed UAV's will be referred to as the "Predator" for readability's sake) originally came from a surveillance tool tested and developed in the late 1990's. It is reported that the Predator flew its first significant mission over Afghanistan in 2000, allegedly locating Usama Bin Laden. This discovery, followed on by an inability to strike within a reasonable timeframe, prompted the discussion of whether or not to arm the drone. The major stumbling points were the issues of violating the sovereignty of another state with military personnel as compared to that of a missile strike. However, shortly after its first surveillance mission, UBL's al-Qaeda group attacked the United States on 9/11 and the decision to arm the Predator became unanimous in favor of equipping it with missile firing capabilities (Washington Post).

Since 2001 the protocol for ordering a strike has become more sophisticated. The process starts with the generation of a target list and a roster of individuals that various government bodies—CIA,

National Security Agency (NSA), and Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) among others—have identified as threats to national security. From there the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) consolidates and filters these lists based on specific criteria. For example, there could be a list of individuals known to operate in a certain region who prefer to target a specific entity (i.e. “A target list of terrorist leaders believed to be plotting attacks against U.S. personnel in Yemen”). Next, the White House Counterterrorism Adviser and other, “senior officials from the CIA, the FBI, the State Department, the Pentagon, and the NCTC” review the lists (Washington Post). The lists that they finalize are then passed onto the president for approval. With his approval, the CIA is essentially given authorization to strike the targets at will using armed Predators operated by CIA members. However, individuals that are “unlisted” are also eligible to be targeted by the drone pilots if they fit a particular pattern of behavior. These attacks have earned the name “signature strikes.” Therefore, there are times when the CIA is unaware of who, exactly, they are targeting. This was the case with the death

of Nasser al-Wuhayshi, the second in command of al-Qaeda, who was killed in June of 2015. With this policy of signature strikes and a vast list of eligible targets, there have been hundreds of strikes resulting in an estimated 2,000 deaths, (Washington Post) a good portion of which are civilian lives. This figure is an estimate, as the official statistic is classified.

Despite the success of the Wuhayshi strike, the threshold for who can be targeted and who cannot is quite alarming, especially when an intelligence gathering and analysis agency is given the military-like capability to carry out these strikes. This new mission directive is reminiscent of the Vietnam War’s Phoenix Program, an operation that targeted civilians in an assassination-like manner in order to pacify the rural civilian populations. Today’s drone program at least appears to target individuals with a similar degree of difference; however, the backlash created as a result has provided an environment that is unsustainable because of the polarization of peoples, who are needed and essential to legitimize intelligence collection operations.

EVALUATION

From the onset of this writing we

aimed to evaluate the effectiveness of the CIA's tactics in combatting al-Qaeda. We intended to achieve this by examining three cases to show their implementation in various settings against a common enemy. Now it is pertinent to examine that enemy and measure how effective the CIA has been in their methods.

The organization that has come to be known as al-Qaeda (literally translated as "the base") grew out of the training camps built by Pakistan's Intelligence Service (ISI) in 1979 at the hands of Abdullah Azzam, a Palestinian born theologian and founding member of the AQ organization. Azzam would provide the religious foundation that the group would act upon in the years to come. While fighting against the Soviets as a member of the mujahedeen, Azzam began to assemble a network of foreign fighters, including Usama Bin Laden, who would become a member of al-Qaeda's core (Washington Post).

In the fallout of a car bombing that killed Azzam, UBL took control of the organization and, after being exiled from Saudi Arabia for publicly defaming the royal family, moved to Sudan. From there the organization began to stage attacks against Western and specifically American targets throughout the

Middle East and East Africa. In 1996 the leadership of AQ issued their first "fatwa", a legal Islamic ruling or decision based on religious grounds, in declaring, "War Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places." The organization would continue to issue "fatwas" compelling the Islamic world to "jihad against Jews and Crusaders" (Washington Post).

In 1998, the organization bombed the American Embassies in both Kenya and Tanzania, two hardened targets representing the United States in a foreign land. In the aftermath of this event, al-Qaeda was not hindered as an organization by the cruise missile strikes. In fact, the group was emboldened by the ineffectiveness of the cruise missile strikes intended to pound the group into submission and strengthened the resolve of their Taliban hosts in protecting them (Class Lecture). Two years later the organization carried out an additional strike on the USS Cole, a navy warship docked in Yemen, killing and injuring nearly 60 American Sailors (Washington Post). The lackluster response to their first major attack and the nonexistence of one to this second incidence grew AQ's confidence and the group began to become more audacious in their

planning, as revealed on September 11, 2001.

Spearheaded by the CIA's JAWBREAKER team, the fallout from the 9/11 attack eventually led to an all-out military intervention at the hands of American forces. The JAWBREAKER element effectively worked with the local indigenous forces by establishing a high degree of trust through their shared exposure to the risks of the fight, mutual abhorrence for the enemy, and commitment to the success of their counterpart. The two groups, the CIA and Northern Alliance, were on the same page from a mission objective standpoint. From this, al-Qaeda began to lose their ability to plan, operate and simply function as a terrorist organization because their safe haven of Afghanistan had been eliminated when the Taliban was stripped of power in Kabul. Furthermore, the CIA's actions led to the organization being decimated by airstrikes and a brutal bombing campaign that saw over 22,000 bombs dropped in the six months following the attacks in the United States.

We can gauge the success of the JAWBREAKER team because we are able to see that al-Qaeda was forced from their stronghold into the open where operatives were

neutralized by American elements. Furthermore, the organization began to slow their cadence of planning and executing attacks and was not able to directly strike a Western target of significance, a signal that their ability to operate and plan the sophisticated attacks seen prior to 9/11 had been starkly decreased. Because of the JAWBREAKER team's efforts, AQ was degraded substantially. Al-Qaeda has been forced into attacking soft targets of opportunity with relatively rudimentary means.

The CIA's Drone Program furthered this erosion of the al-Qaeda organization, especially in recent years under the direction of the Bush and Obama Administrations. The strikes have killed scores of AQ operators, including approximately 100 leaders (Washington Post). Furthermore, this has led to an overall decentralization of the organization with regard to leadership and the chain of command as well as the process in which operations are carried out. The new generation of the organization has manifested itself in the formation of a semi-autonomous "affiliate network" of sub groups, often connected through a geographic region of significance. This has spurred the

creation of regional entities like al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), and the Nusra Front operating primarily in Syria (Congressional Research Service). In adapting to this trend, the strikes have been implemented outside of the Tribal Region between Afghanistan and Pakistan to other states in the Middle East and Northern Africa. However, this new wave of strikes handled by the CIA has brought about some major issues, especially regarding the sovereignty of the state in which the strike is conducted (Washington Post).

CONCLUSION

In concluding the case study of the CIA's operations against al-Qaeda, it is clear that the initial hypothesis is correct in that the evolution of the methods used to combat the organization have been effective, as presented by the evidence in the preceding sections; however, their tactics are unsustainable in the long term.

The trend in this analysis shows that the United States and the Central Intelligence Agency are becoming increasingly direct with their actions in targeting AQ. This is effective in killing members

of the organization in the short term. Long term, this method of target-killing will only alienate friendly governments, as these strikes are seen by the international community as a violation of the respective state's sovereignty more so than the insertion of a CIA Covert Action team. This leads to a negative polarization of the state's constituents, a group that the CIA may find themselves needing to work with later on, as well as its governing body.

These strikes have also drastically decentralized nearly every component of the al-Qaeda organization, from leadership to the manner in which operations are executed, and produced a more ambiguous enemy that has proven to be a tougher foe than initial expectations would have suggested. In effect, it has created a "whack-a-mole"-like environment where the core al-Qaeda group was restrained in carrying out attacks. Instead of eliminating terrorism in the Middle East, multiple other terrorist groups popped up, some more capable than others, but all with the same intent. Fighting these groups by remote control is not the most effective way of handling the threat.

Lastly, killing operatives is counterproductive to the core

mission of the Central Intelligence Agency and the collection of Human Intelligence. The understanding is simple: a dead al-Qaeda operative is one less person that is able to carry out an attack. This is a very significant advantage, although it is also one less source available to collect intelligence from regarding larger operations. This targeted killing practice is beneficial at times, but it drastically limits the ability of the CIA to answer the question, “What is about to happen next?” This is a question asked by analysts who read the intelligence reports, but is difficult to answer through other intelligence types. Moving forward, it would be more reasonable for the CIA to return to its role highlighted by the actions of the JAWBREAKER team in collecting intelligence, working with the indigenous forces, and providing actionable intelligence to consumers, both in the policy and military communities.

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The Role of Islam in Violent Extremist Islamist Radicalization in the West

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Extrremists have perpetrated acts of violent terrorism in the name of religion throughout history, though in contemporary times, the common perpetrator seems to be in the name of Islam. Many have attributed the rise of violent actions by Muslims to a rise in Islamic fundamentalism, which leads to irrational actions; others reject the assumption that fundamentalism causes violence, asserting that blaming fundamentalism is a neo-Orientalist fallacy that confuses the religious doctrine of Islam with the political ideology of violent Islamism. In the West, there is a common misconception that Islam is an inherently violent religion, unique among other peaceful religions in the contemporary age, due to the greater prevalence of Muslim individuals who become radicalized to commit political violence than followers of other religions. Additionally, as more second- and third-generation Muslim immigrants in the West radicalize to commit home-grown terrorism or travel to the Middle East as foreign terrorist fighters, the issue of extremist Islamist violence is no longer isolated in the far away “other” of the East: it has become an immediate danger. The rise of extremist Islamist violence raises the complicated question of what the role of Islam is in an individual’s radicalization.

The key distinction here is between Islam as a religion and Islamism as a political ideology; though Islamism finds its roots in aspects of Islam, Islam and Islamism are not and must not be viewed as synonymous. Therefore, one could make the argument that Islam contributes indirectly to a Muslim individual’s radicalization to violent extremist Islamism because the ideology of Islamism as a political necessity comes from a specific interpretation of

the religion of Islam. However, to assert then that Islam as a whole creates violent actions in its followers is a misguided accusation that overlooks important nuances in the religious doctrine of Islam as well as the academic understanding of what causes an individual to become radicalized. Not all Islamic fundamentalists or Islamic extremists become violent, nor do those who hold the Islamist political ideology.

By examining scholarly models of individual radicalization, the variation behind a terrorist's reasons will become clearer; factors other than religion must always be present to radicalize an individual to commit terrorism, both within Muslim individuals or members of any other group. The hypothesis is that Islam plays only a minor role in an individual's radicalization to violent Islamist extremism, subjugated to notions of brotherhood, community patterns, and other factors related to economic and political deprivation—although ideology certainly also plays a role, the radicalization to an extremist ideology that validates political violence is often created by the aforementioned factors. Again, that ideology in Islamism may be born out of a specific interpretation

of Islam, and the violent actions perpetrated under its auspices may be justified through religious rhetoric, but the religion of Islam itself is not directly responsible for creating terrorists.

Though the words are often used synonymously, “extremism” and “fundamentalism” are not the same. Maina points out the necessity between distinguishing between the two terms, as “An extremist or a fanatic is one who uses religion to gain some political mileage,” while “A fundamentalist, on the other hand could be said to be someone who holds dear the fundamental teachings and practices of Islam as found in the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad.” Some fundamentalist groups become radical extremist groups and commit violence, but not all or a majority. Maina writes, “Evidently, the way the extremists interpret Islam and commit terrorism in the name of religion has given Islam a bad image, associated with violence, terrorism and extremism. The blame, however, has largely been visited on the entire Islamic faith and Muslim community rather than individual [Muslim] groups” and even while religious rhetoric is used to justify actions, “Extremism

satisfies various religio-political objectives. Therefore, it is difficult to separate extremism from the socio-economic and political conditions of various Muslim countries.”

“Salafism” refers to a Sunni reform that attempts to reclaim and purify Islam by returning to its earliest texts, the earliest *Hadith* and the Qur’an, to discover the correct way to gain salvation. University of Virginia Professor Ahmed al-Rahim compares Salafism for Islam to Protestantism for Christianity, as Sufism like Protestantism is a move away from religious institutions to a reliance on an individual’s interpretation of a religious text. Salafism is seen by its followers to be “a more authentic practice of Islam.” “[T]he core of their teachings was the rejection of the authority of the established schools of Islamic jurisprudence (*mazhab*) and the practice of *ijtihad*, or independent judgment, in legal or theological questions by applying the principles of deduction and analogy to the interpretation of the Quran and the Sunna, the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad, to meet the demands of science and the modern age”. Viewing Western and other outside influence as *bid’ah*, or a negative innovation, Salafists attempt to return to the

“Golden Age” for Sunnis, the seventh-century period of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, through religious reform. Contemporary Islamists, following the writings of Sayyid Qutb, can be understood as a product of reinvigorated Salafist ideology, which began in eighteenth-century Saudi Arabia and became Wahhabism.

Today’s Islamists embrace salafist ideology in their envisioning of a return to Islamic world order and governance under *shari’a*, and violent Islamists seek to achieve the world-state through *jiabd*. “Islamism” in this way does not imply violence, as many Islamist groups seek to achieve global Islamist governance through the political process and other existing institutions. Also called “political Islam,” the term describes “the politicization of Islam,” which is distinct from Islam as a religious faith. Tibi writes,

“The Islamist vision of the world in the twenty-first century is based on the following major characteristics of political Islam:

1. Political: The concept of *din wa-darwla*: interpreting Islam as a political religion prescribing divine order for the state to be run by an Islamist government.
2. Legal: The newly invented

concept of *shari'a* going beyond the Qur'anic meaning of morality and the traditional concept of Islamic law, which, in its origin, is a civil law for *mu'amlat* (interaction) as it covers marriage, divorce, inheritance, and so forth, but is not intended for determining state order. In contrast, the new *shari'a* is the totalizing state law of a political order.

3. Cultural: The assumption that all Muslims form one monolithic *umma* reflects the view of an imagined community that is supposed to share the same culture. This perception underpins Islamic internationalism. Uniform Islamic clothing (Islamist veils for women) and symbols (beards for men), in addition to other features, serve to support the claim of one Islamic culture that dismisses the cultural diversity, not only in the world, but also among Muslims, denying them religious pluralism. In this understanding, the *umma* becomes not only reduced to an ethnic identity, but in the Islamist perception, also a unified gated community. Nonetheless, the *umma* is expected to expand and encompass the entire globe." Finally, those *jihadist* Islamists, unique from institutional Islamists, add a fourth element:

"4. Military: The traditional Islamic concept of jihad, like *shari'a*, is reinterpreted beyond its original Qur'anic and traditional meaning, becoming *jihadist* or jihadism, which legitimates lawless warfare, an irregular war, understood as holy terrorism, but for unholy ends."

Now that the terms in the research question have been defined, what is meant by violent Islamist extremism should be easier to understand.

The most problematic term is "radicalization." Some academics like Andrew Hoskins and Ben O'Loughlin claim that radicalization is a "myth" promoted by the media and security agencies for the purpose of "[anchoring] news agendas...[and legitimizing] policy responses," while others like Frank Furedi claim, "the assertions of radicalization and governments' responses to it 'always [have] a fantasy-like character,' ... they have been designed to make the alienation of young Muslims sound like a 'psychological virus,' distracting attention from the 'very real cultural divisions'" contributing to radicalization. Additionally, Mark Sedgwick correctly asserts that what is "radical" is distinct in the context of each individual society in relation

to what is seen as “mainstream”; “the same is true for the process of *becoming* radical: depending on what one considers mainstream or acceptable, the adoption of certain beliefs or behaviors may be seen as radicalization, ‘going progressive’, ‘becoming a born-again believer’ or ‘returning to the roots.’”

Peter Neumann writes, “At the most basic level, radicalization can be defined as the process whereby people become extremists.” Radicalization is a complicated process, and, according to Neumann, “No one who studies radicalization believes that individuals turn into extremists overnight, or that their embrace of extremism is caused by a single influence.” Still, how one defines “radicalization” can have large implications on one’s understanding. Scholars are divided about the length, complexity, and most importantly, the end-state of the process, namely whether the radicalization is complete when there is a change in an individual’s mind or actions; this distinction is delineated as cognitive versus behavioral radicalization. So, is violent radicalization a process to becoming mentally supportive of radical violent behavior, or is it a process to perpetrating violent radical behavior? There

is no academic consensus on if radicalization ought to be defined by radical thoughts or by violent actions, and since scholars have found some terrorists are not ideologues before they commit violence, cognitive does not necessarily lead to behavioral radicalization.

The lack of agreement on a definition is not in itself an issue, but different ways of defining radicalization determine how radicalization is understood and addressed. Considering Neumann’s definition, the concept of “extremism” can be defined in a way that aligns with cognitive or behavioral radicalization. As Roger Scruton points out, extremism in this sense could mean “*political* ideas that are diametrically opposed to a society’s core values, which—in the context of a liberal democracy—can be various forms of racial or religious supremacy, or ideologies that deny basic human rights or democratic principles” or it could mean “the *methods* by which actors seek to realize *any* political aim, namely by ‘show[ing] disregard for the life, liberty, and human rights of others.’”

Neumann also explains how many Western governments and scholars attempt to separate cognitive

from behavioral radicalization, separating (cognitive) “radicalization” from (behavioral) “violent extremism” (U.S. government), “action pathways” (Randy Borum), or “behavioural radicalization” (Lorenzo Vidino). A U.S. Congressional research report clearly focuses on cognitive radicalization, defining al-Qaeda radicalization as “the process of acquiring... radical, extremist, or jihadist beliefs,” whereas the British government focuses more on behavioral radicalization, “explicit[ly] connecting radicalization to violent actions and more specifically terrorism,” defining radicalization as, “the process by which people come to support terrorism and violent extremism, and, in some cases, then to participate in terrorist groups” The U.S. Department of Homeland Security defines radicalization as, “the process of adopting an extremist belief system, including the willingness to use, support, or facilitate violence.”

These definitions are additionally problematic because they imply that “terrorists become cognitive extremists first, and then—for whatever reason—decide to pursue their extremist aims by violent means.” However, not everyone that

becomes radicalized will commit violence, nor will those who commit violence always be radical. Though this may “seem to make instinctive sense,” “it is precisely this assumption which has been recently attacked by researchers who claim that cognitive extremism is just one of many ‘pathways’ into extremist action, and that not all terrorists are motivated by extremist ideas.” Aly and Striegher further explain how Western governments’ conceptions of radicalization are flawed, whereby again the assumption that cognitive radicalization leads to behavioral radicalization is present:

In short, analysis of the academic literature and policy response to radicalization concludes that:

1. Radicalization is often assumed to be a predictor of violent behavior and, consequently, deradicalization is assumed to be an effective counterterrorism strategy;
2. There is no single path to radicalization—individuals become involved in extremist groups for a myriad of reasons, and may become radicalized after joining the group; and
3. Cognitive radicalization—the adherence to a set of radical beliefs—is often conflated with behavioral radicalization—the

propensity to adopt violence as a means to an end. While some scholars argue that radicalization cannot be appropriately deconstructed in terms of a fixed series of stages, others contend that radicalization is a fairly ordered path with terrorism as the ultimate manifestation of radicalization. Attempts to understand radicalization as a process therefore deconstruct radicalization as a series of stages or phases through which the individual passes toward a worldview that legitimizes violence as a justifiable and effective means of achieving group objectives.

Many of the arguments related to a definition of radicalization also pertain to defining terrorism. Jognman and other scholars explain “that terrorism targets random or symbolic victims from a target group, with the aim of forcing a perceived enemy into submission by creating a credible threat of violence” that would then “in turn put other members of the target group into a state of chronic terror.” However, one must consider the saying, “One man’s terrorist is another man’s martyr” in understanding how one labels are perceived. It rests largely on one’s

position inside or outside the group, and again depends on specific societal context. “Radicalization” functions in the same way, as “radicalization, like terrorism, is in the eye of the beholder: ‘one man’s radical (or terrorist) is another man’s freedom fighter.’” Both terms are thus more political than objective, especially when used by governments and officials, in identifying the goodies versus the baddies instead of in conducting objective study. Neumann writes:

In fact, if anything, the trouble with radicalization is even more pronounced, and less easily resolvable, than the difficulties surrounding the definition of terrorism... For, with terrorism, there is an objectively definable core—a violent tactic, sometimes a strategy, which can be distinguished from other means and modes of pursuing violent conflict. Radicalization, by contrast, is inherently context-dependent, and its meaning will always be contested.

“Radicalization” is a real process, whereby an individual comes to perpetrate political violence in the name of Islamist extremist views (though whether this citation of motivation is actual or rhetorical is not pertinent to the label). Ideology

(or cognitive radicalization) may certainly play a role in many individual's radicalization to commit violence as a member of an extremist Islamist group; however, this will not always be the case, as theoretical models and case studies of radicalization make clear. Further, even in instances where an extremist Islamist ideology does play a role in violent radicalization, this is a political ideology that finds its justification in religious doctrine, *not* the religion of Islam causing violence.

Before delving into an examination of existing radicalization models, an explanation must be provided as to why it is necessary to separate Islam from violence in the first place. In 2004, U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld asked, "Is the Muslim world turning out terrorists faster than the United States can kill or capture them?" Statements like this represent the common imagination of many during Bush-era politics in regards to the Middle East and its Muslim inhabitants, after Bush's declaration of the global war on terror that in many ways became equated to a global war on Islam. Western mass media contributed to a perception that Islamic fundamentalism is violent, with headlines like "militant

Islam on the march" and "soldiers of Allah advance," indulging in "biased reporting of Islam and Muslims" and ignoring other global conflicts related to Judaism and Christianity. Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, publications about terrorism increased by four hundred percent, and Western governments, "incorporate[ed] strategies that specifically target Muslim communities and aim to address factors of vulnerability to radicalization among diaspora Muslim populations," giving "precedence to religion (specifically Islam) as a key factor in the radicalization process" towards violence that "[is] often conceptualized without any reference to actual empirical evidence."

Newton Maina writes that since the Arabic root of "Islam" comes from *salm*, meaning "peace," "a Muslim is by definition a person who professes the 'religion of peace (Islam).'" Most academics maintain "Violence is not the kernel of Islamic message." Undoubtedly, some Muslims do radicalize to commit terrorism, but this is true for members of many religious groups, not Islam specifically. In examining terrorists' motivations, researchers like Maghadam (2006),

Pape (2003, 2005), Rogers (2206), and Silke (2006), “have repeatedly concluded that religion is rarely the root cause” for a violent action like suicide terrorism. Though it may appear religion plays an “elevated role” because of terrorist rhetoric, the key factors motivating suicide bombers to act are “low self-esteem combined with concrete grievances.” In a psychological analysis of the fundamentalist mindset, Strozier, Terman, Jones, and Boyd compare Islamist extremist fundamentalism to past violence of the French Revolution, Nazi Germany, and post-Partition Hindu religious practices, finding, “a radical dualism, in which all aspects of life are bluntly categorized as either good or evil; a destructive inclination to interpret authoritative texts, laws, and teachings in the most literal of terms; an extreme and totalized conversion experience; paranoid thinking; and an apocalyptic world view” contribute to the radicalization of all fundamentalists “in a variety of human institutions, including religion but by no means restricted to it...”.

What, then, causes an individual to become radicalized to commit terrorism in the name of violent Islamist extremism, and where does

Islam fit in to that explanation? Some scholars do find radical interpretations of Islam to blame. These are largely incorrect. However, it is useful to touch on these misunderstandings because they are prevalent in the West and create prejudices that only lead to more conflict.

There is no “right” radicalization model, with Aly and Striegher finding that, “It is imperative to consider that evidence confirms that there is no single pathway to radicalization and no distinct pattern to profile an individual throughout any of the stages of radicalization.” Dalgaard-Nielsen suggests that different models or explanations for radicalization “should not necessarily be seen as competing, but rather as complementary as they concentrate on different levels of analysis and different aspects of the phenomenon of radicalization,” making it “quite conceivable that the different identified background factors reinforce rather than contradict each other.” In using empirical evidence through case studies to perform that assessment, some models will prove to be more appropriate than others. Additionally, only individual radicalization models will be examined, as I am focusing on the

radicalization of an individual, not group, to then commit political violence.

Though there is no one correct explanation for an individual's radicalization, there are some that through empirical evidence have already been proven wrong in academia. One example is the insanity theory, where individuals would engage in terrorism because they are insane; as Rogers et al. explains, "attempts to identify a terrorist personality or mental disorder repeatedly show terrorists are often psychologically healthier and more stable than the rest of the criminal population" and very much sane with regard to the general population. Scholars also often attempt to apply Rational Choice Theory to a terrorist's actions, explaining, "how seemingly 'normal' individuals become terrorists [through a] cognitive approach [that] would say terrorism is rationalized by (1) moral justification, (2) displacement of responsibility, (3) disregard for the consequences, (4) dehumanization, and (5) attribution of blame"; however, this theory can only support radicalization on the group level, whereas terrorism as a political strategy uses collective rationality to achieve goals, not an individual

level, where the high costs like death, injury, or capture outweigh the possible benefits, like political or social change, on an individual level. Both cognitive approaches also do not consider environmental factors, which are integral aspects of many other models.

Neumann wrote, "There is nothing new or noteworthy, therefore, in saying that extremist political beliefs are not the only—or even the predominant—variable involved in 'making a terrorist,'" but this is not necessarily true for the scholars advising the U.S. on policy. Another incorrect explanation for an individual's radicalization, requested and utilized by U.S. government institutions, comes from Silber and Bhatt, which has four phases: (1) the pre-radicalization phases (or "point of origin"), before an individual has been "exposed to *Salafi* Islam;" (2) the self-identification phase, where a person experiences "triggers," including trauma, social alienation, economic marginalization, or discrimination, which may cause the individual "to commence a search for ontological security" by making life changes; (3) the indoctrination phase, where "the individual will increasingly intensify their belief system to a

point that they wholeheartedly adopt *Salafi-jihadi* ideologies and will adopt a worldview in which conditions and circumstances exist whereby action (militant *jihad*) is justified to support and further the cause; and (4) the jihadization phase, where “members of a ‘select’ group usually appoint themselves as ‘warriors in a holy war’ and thus see it as a religious duty to begin planning, preparing, and undertaking a terrorist attack.”

However, the four-phase model created by Silber and Bhatt has significant flaws, despite being “one of the most cited models of radicalization” and the advisory document for the New York Police Department after 9/11. Not only does their model imply that cognitive radicalization is necessary before behavioral radicalization, but the model also assigns blame to Salafi Islam as the primary factor in radicalization. Critics find flaws in their sample of only Islamist terrorists, which “ignore other violent extremist groups such as militant Christians;” the pre-radicalization phase’s lack of clarity in relation to the adoption of a Salafi ideology, as well as the assumption that Salafi ideology will always lead to violent actions, which as discussed earlier, is usually not

the case. Aly et al. reject the model, asserting that, “By constructing Salafi Islam as the primary vehicle of radicalization, Silber and Bhatt’s model fails to make an important distinction between the religious and secular factors and gives undue and empirically unsupported precedence to religious orientations in the radicalization process;” through their exploration of the radicalization process, they find, “religion plays a far lesser role in radicalization toward violent extremism than the policy response contends.” Those policy responses were directed by the Silber and Bhatt model, which misguidedly, “juxtaposes extremist interpretations such as Salafi Islam against ‘moderate’ interpretations and drives a policy response to promote ‘moderate’ Islam based on an assumption of vulnerability to radicalization by virtue of religion.” Any model that assigns blame solely to an ideology or religion will never be sufficient in explaining an individual’s fundamentalism. Rogers et al., in discussing the “ill-supported link that will just not go away: the role of religious fundamentalism in terrorism,” states that “religious fundamentalism, however defined, is unlikely to be a single cause of terrorism,” going

further to, “suggest that the repeated focus on religion [as a causal factor] is often an excuse to avoid focusing on the real social issues” that contribute to terrorism. The common mistake of searching for cognitive radicalization in response to violent actions is frequently not useful. Della Porta and Diana compare terrorists to members in other social groups, writing that, “No political organization or movement—be it a political party, single-issue movement or terrorist group—is filled with ideologues... [and] As anyone who has ever been involved in political activism will know, most participants are not intellectuals who have spent months studying their movement’s texts; but they often have a good sense of, and commitment to, core principles and ideas, and they are motivated by the group’s analysis—however simplistically expressed—of what is wrong with society, who is to blame, and what needs to be done to fix it.” Thus, it is more accurate to model an individual’s radicalization while considering ideology as a possible but not necessary factor.

One such model comes from Aly and Striegheer, who seek to differentiate from the Silber and Bhatt model that “give[s] primacy to religion conflate a

range of motivations, issues, and historically specific contexts into a single interpretation and treat the political agenda of Al Qaeda and affiliated groups, Islamist ideology, Arab–Western historical relations and *jihadist* objectives as one.” Instead, the authors make distinctions between secular and religious factors that contribute to an individual’s radicalization, where, “(1) Dissatisfaction or anger at U.S. foreign policy (in particular its political relationship with Israel and its interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq); (2) economic conditions in which terrorist financing activities are profitable and viable; and (3) social or political conditions that create widespread dissatisfaction among domestic populations contribute to radicalization concurrently with religious factors stemming from Islamists’ violent interpretations of Islamic texts.”

Kruglanski et al. put forth another radicalization model—the Quest for Significance/Counterfinality Model—that focuses on radicalization to violence (or behavioral radicalization). They argue a sane individual would commit violent terrorist actions because of, “a disproportionate commitment to ends served by the

extreme behavior that prompts a devaluation or a forceful suppression of alternative considerations” (i.e. quest for significance). The authors interviewed members of the “suicide cadre” of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil in Sri Lanka, and cite one response as furthering their explanation: “Family and relationships are forgotten in that place. There was no place for love... That means a passion and loyalty to that group, to those in charge, to those who sacrificed their lives for the group. Then I came to a stage where I had no love for myself. I had no value for my life. I was ready to give myself fully, even to destroy myself, in order to destroy another person.” This means there are degrees of radicalization in their model, similar to McCauley and Moscalenko’s pyramid model, “wherein the many passive supporters of terrorism represent the wide base of the pyramid, and as one moves toward its apex, there are fewer and fewer individuals prepared to subdue their alternative concerns to a single-minded pursuit of the focal goal.” This analysis seeks to explain why some individuals become violent when living among many people experiencing the same environmental deprivation, while “only few individuals are

sufficiently committed to the focal goal so as to devalue or banish from mind common alternative concerns representing basic human needs (such as health or survival).” The process, over time, would look like this: “(1) Arousal of the goal of significance, that is, activation of the significance quest, (2) Identification of terrorism/violence as the appropriate means to significance, (3) Commitment shift to the goal of significance and away from other motivational concerns resulting in that goal’s dominance and the relative devaluation of alternative goals incompatible with terrorism.” In their analysis, the authors identify three major radicalization factors: the motivational element defining the goal of one’s activity (the quest for personal significance); the ideology, that is, a belief system identifying the means to that goal (i.e., the way of gaining significance); and the social process (networking, group dynamics) serving as the vehicle whereby the individual comes in contact with the ideology.”

Other radicalization models, social movement theory and network theory, focus less on internal motivations and more on external factors; “their key contention is that violent radicalization is about

who you know—radical ideas are transmitted by social networks and violent radicalization takes place within smaller groups, where bonding, peer pressure, and indoctrination gradually changes the individual's view of the world." Quintan Wiktorowicz promotes framing theory as a subset of social movement theory, which, "explain[s] violent radicalization and terrorism through the distinct constructed reality, into which members of violent groups are socialized—a constructed reality or worldview, which frames problems as not just misfortunes, but injustices, attributes responsibility for these injustices, and constructs an argument for the efficacy and/or moral justification of using violence against civilians to right the perceived wrongs." This model can again explain why what may appear to be irrational to an outside observer may actually "from a subjective view appear logical and necessary" to an individual shaped by social forces. Other social movement theorists, like Neumann and Rogers, focus not only on how the individual benefits from membership in a group (a sense of belonging, community, acceptance, importance) but how those same social forces over time increase

conformity to the group; further, Neumann and Rogers argue that recruitment for terrorist groups are usually confined to one's social network of family, friends, and acquaintances, "giving recruitment and radicalization a much more horizontal rather than top-down character."

These radicalization explanations have similarities with social network theory, where researchers find group recruitment (not just for terrorist groups) more often than not stems from existing personal relationships. Marc Sageman found this to be true when exploring the radicalization methods of al-Qaeda, leading him to "discard conventional notions of poverty, psychological disorders or personal problems as primary motivational factors behind terrorism," and instead favoring a model based on "bottom-up" existing relationships, with three stages: "(1) a sense of moral outrage at violence or discrimination against Muslims, (2) the perception, that the broader context and personal experiences of discrimination or failure to achieve are part of a pattern and that the West is at war with Islam, then finally, (3) a gradual rhetorical escalation within groups of friends—"bunches of guys" as

Sageman terms them—whereby peers egg each other on and become convinced that violent action is necessary.” After the group of friends holds violent views, they will “attempt to reach out to individuals whom they believe can connect them to al-Qaeda” or “choose to act on their own”. Note, however, this model again implies cognitive radicalization must be present before behavioral radicalization, though materialized in a different way.

Cases of Western violent radicalization may be seen as unique because often those committing the violence are vastly different from terrorists in other areas of the world, as the common deprivation and grievances that can motivate violent political action are not present. Western governments and policymakers often assume a lack of integration by Muslims into Western society causes the factors that lead to violent radicalization, but the scholarly analysis and the subsequent case studies disprove this. Some scholars attempt to identify the unique factors that motivate Western Muslims to become violently radicalized, searching for a radicalization model that applies specifically to this group. They explain, “a small

minority of well-educated and apparently resourceful individuals become open to the message of violent Islamism—not because of a lack of identity, community, family relations, education, and socioeconomic opportunities, and not because of perceived grievances, but because of a lack of belief in their own abilities to address these grievances and effect change through legal and constitutional channels,” which comes from being torn between the traditional culture of their family and the Western world in which they live.

Another attempt uses sociology. French sociologists Kepel, Khosrokhavar, and Roy explain violent Islamist radicalization in Europe not as “a reaction to political repression or economic deprivation in any simple sense,” but as a process that results from second- and third-generation Muslim youth living in Europe “seek[ing] to reconstruct a lost identity in a perceived hostile and confusing world.” Their model is specific to only one geographical location and one demographic, but it is useful in that it considers the unique conditions of alienation present in the West as opposed to the non-West. Empirical evidence does demonstrate there are some key differences to the radicalization

process for those living in the West versus the non-West, and this sociological explanation can contribute to a more specific understanding of Western Muslims' motivations.

Finally, other scholars reject theoretical frameworks to understand radicalization, instead relying on empiricism through case studies to identify trends in the radicalization process through an analysis of individual-level motivations. There is a strong argument for approaching the study of radicalization in this way, since it is driven by case studies and therefore any conclusions will always be evidentially supported. An empiricist begins by collecting data from interviews and other observations of case studies, and then attempts to draw connections between the cases to find "observed patterns and dynamics [that] point to the importance of social factors and connections, but also to other factors, such as individual needs and inclinations." Though none of the empirical studies can "provide definitive answers to the question of what makes some individuals more susceptible to militant Islamism than others—why radical groups manage to frame align with some individuals, but not with others,"

they "do offer a more nuanced view of the different motivations and trigger factors at play at the individual level," as well as "also contribute toward a better understanding of the different types of activists that make up radical groups and the different roles they perform."

Petter Nesser is an influential empiricist who examined European terrorist cells, finding that although socioeconomic status of each terrorist varies widely in a group, there exists a pattern of personality types/roles in each group—the leader, the protégé, the misfit, and the drifter—each of whom "are driven by different motives and follow different paths toward violent radicalization"; he also discovered evidence that supports a horizontal method of recruitment rather than an organized, top-down approach, where, "entrepreneurial leader-types recruit on their own initiative among family, friends, and members of their social network [and]... conversion, socialization, and radicalization take place through religious and political discussions as well as various teambuilding activities organized by the leader, assigning the "driving force behind radicalization" to the "entrepreneurial peer group leader."

Empiricists Sloodman and Tillie also recognize the complicated and numerous factors that radicalize an individual while identifying three overarching patterns. They assert that some become radical “as a search for meaning, stability, and respect,” others do so “mainly as a result of a search for community,” while others are driven by “a reaction to perceived injustices committed against Muslims in conflict areas such as Afghanistan or the Palestinian territories or in Europe—for example, terrorism-related arrests in the Netherlands—and these individuals appear to provide intellectual and social leadership for the rest of the group.”

Anthropologist Scott Atran, who interviewed members of violent Islamist terrorist groups in Asia, North Africa, the Middle East, and Europe, finds no difference in the main motivating factor of radicalization between the West and non-West as well as no place for Islam in those motivations. The preface of Atran’s book echoes this research question, asking, “Why do people believe in a cause, and why do some die and kill for it?”. Atran answers his own question immediately after, remarking, “The answer in a nutshell is that people don’t simply kill and die for a cause.

They kill and die for each other.” Aligning somewhat with social network theory, he finds that the study of kin and tribal networks common to anthropology also apply to terrorist networks, with recruitment taking place largely through preexisting relationships in the community, like neighborhoods and schools, creating a close-knit social groups, where individuals in jihadist groups even frequently marry each other’s relatives. Using the 2004 Madrid bombings as an example, he quips, “The Madrid plot was incubated by a hodgepodge of childhood friends, teenage buddies, neighborhood pals, prison cellmates, siblings, cousins, and lovers” who were not professionally-trained soldiers, but “almost laughably incompetent, though tragically only a bit less so than Spanish law enforcement and intelligence.”

When Atran initially wrote the book in 2010, his argument that the anomie of brotherhood motivates violent radicalization contrasted sharply with popular scholarly understandings, like Silber and Bhatt’s that identified a *salafi jihadi* ideology as the key motivator. Explaining terrorist recruitment in Europe, he says, “generally... people go looking for al-Qaeda,

not the other way around,” and “the overwhelming majority have not had sustained prior religious education but have become ‘born again’ into radical Islam in their late teens and early twenties.”. Atran refutes claims like these, as well as many other explanations, writing, “The idea that joining jihad is a carefully calculated decision or that people are ‘brainwashed’ or ‘recruited’ into ‘cells’ or ‘councils’ by ‘organizations’ with ‘infrastructures’ that can be hit and destroyed is generally wrong.” Instead, Atran highlights the search for thrill, glory, and eternal remembrance from friends that creates the feeling of a cause in mainly ordinary people driven by their friends and acquaintances. He dismisses other common explanations of terrorist radicalization with empirical evidence, such as how the lack of evidence of higher levels of mental illness among terrorists refutes the claim terrorists are insane, as well as the rejection of poverty or humiliation as direct motivational factors.

In fact, Atran contends that personal humiliation, such as that endured by Palestinians at Israeli checkpoints, decreases the chance someone will become violent, while “the perception that others with

whom one feels a common bond are being humiliated can be a powerful driver for action... It is in the existence of a sense of community, whether that be a group of local friends or the ummah (the global nation of Muslim believers), that he believes the roots of violence can be found.” This concept of “imagined kin,” combined with the subsequent assignment of common sacred values that must be protected, create “terrorists, for the most part, [who] are not nihilists but extreme moralists—altruists fastened to a hope gone haywire” with a moral compass that is more motivational than other values, like economic ones; the “young men willing to go kill and die for jihad were campmates, school buddies, soccer pals, and the like, who became die-hard bands of brothers in a tragic and misbegotten quest to save their imagined tribal community from Crusaders, Jews, and other morally deformed, unrepentant, and there subhuman beings.” In this way, sacred values determined by one’s brothers, however misplaced, create a sense of justice that to Atran has much more influence over an individual’s path to radicalization than other factors identified by scholars, like being “extraordinarily vengeful or uncaring, poor or

uneducated, humiliated or lacking in self-esteem, schooled as children in radical religion or brainwashed, criminally minded or suicidal, or sex-starved for virgins in heaven.”

Aligning with the theoretical models that view radicalization as context-dependent, “the sacred” have “absolute and arbitrary boundaries [that] become the primary marker of collective identity; the designated values have nothing to do with the fact that the individuals believe in Islam, as similar conceptions of imagined kin and sacred values appear across conflict other different religions, like the Crusades, as well as those non-religious conflicts, like the Rwandan genocide or the two world wars, nor do they sacred values need to relate to conflict at all (i.e. the Ten Commandments, “pro-life,” the justice of “an eye for an eye,” or the world according to the *hadith* (original sayings of the Prophet)).”

He argues against claims by the self-proclaimed Four Horseman of the Apocalypse—Harris, Hitchens, Dawkins, and Dennett—who claim ‘we are at war with Islam, people’ and “see science at the front line of this necessary and inevitable struggle against Islam in particular, and religion in general.” For

example, Atran identifies that more secular nationalist groups than Islamist ones have employed suicide bombings over time. Furthermore, he characterizes the Horsemen’s “implied logic—that religious people in general, and Muslims in particular, tend to do more terrible things than atheists do—is hollow,” especially since the four men support their assertion with the fact that seventy percent of inmates in France’s jails are Muslim; Atran explains the “predictive factors for Muslims entering European prisons are pretty much the same as for African Americans (religious or atheists) entering US prisons: underemployment, poor schooling, and political marginalization,” not anything inherent to Islam or religion.

The “natural antidote to sacred terror” the Four Horseman claim to discover in science education is also an unsupported claim, to which Atran responds with evidence that disproves science education stops terrorism, writing, “Oxford sociologist Diego Gambetta, forensic psychiatrist Marc Sageman, and journalist and political scientist Peter Bergen (all in independent studies) found that majority of Al Qaeda members and associates went to college, college education

was mostly science oriented, and engineer and medical professions are profession most represented in Al Qaeda. Much the same is true for Hamas.” Atran also refutes the idea that early radical religious training in Islam is a key factor in an individual’s radicalization. In fact, according to Atran, most young people that join terrorist groups had a moderate secular education:

“...none of the nineteen 9/11 hijackers or thirty-odd Madrid train-conspirators attended a madrasah, and the one July 2005 London Underground suicide bomber, Shehzad Tanweer, who did attend a madrasah in Pakistan, did so very briefly. Only a relatively small minority even had a boyhood religious education, including the 9/11 plotters. ‘Decent, gentle’ mainstream religious instructors generally do not teach the duty to suicide bomb, and even the overwhelming majority of Salafi (Muslim ‘fundamentalist’) instructors vehemently oppose it, as do most Wahhabis, who generally profess loyalty to the state. Certainly madrasahs exist that do shun secular education and encourage rote learning of the sort that Dawkins describes. But terrorist groups rarely draw from their students because these lack

the needed social, linguistic, and technical skills to successfully carry out operations in hostile territory. In Pakistan and Indonesia, the two countries with the greatest number of madrasahs as well as jihadi groups, we’ve seen less than 1 percent of the madrasahs can be associated with jihadis. Even those that are associated with important terrorist organizations, like Pakistan’s Lashkar-e-Tayibah and Indonesia’s Jemaah Islamiyah, not only encourage science, or at least technical education, but usually offer only to the top of the class the opportunities for advanced education and training in activities useful for terrorism. As people who have gone through these schools have made clear to me, just parroting the Koran is not the kind of linguistic skill that gets you a top role in the jihad.”

Atran takes great care to elucidate Islam’s lack of responsibility in terrorist actions with empirical evidence, explaining, “When you look at young people like the ones who grew up to blow up trains in Madrid in 2004, carried out the slaughter on the London Underground in 2005, and hoped to blast airliners out of the sky en route to the United States in 2006 and 2009, when you look at whom

they idolize, how they organize, what bonds them and what drives them, then you see that what inspires most lethal terrorists in the world today is not so much the Koran or the teachings of religion as it is a thrilling cause and call to action that promises glory and esteem in the eyes of friends, and through friends, eternal respect and remembrance in the wider world that they will never live to enjoy.”

Beginning the exploration of Western cases is ex-Islamist extremist Ed Husain, who wrote a book about his experience as “a protest against political Islam, based on my own experience as a British Muslim who grew up in London, became an extremist – an Islamist – and saw the error of his ways.” Husain’s father was British, while his mother was Pakistan; he says, “this mixed heritage of being British by birth, Asian by descent, and Muslim by conviction was set to tear me apart in later life,” echoing the French sociologists’ theoretical analysis of second- and third-generation European Muslim immigrants futile search for identity. Husain attended Koran school during his early childhood, and then as he grew, his school was rampant with gang activity, though he felt isolated from that

rebellious activity out of fear of his strict, non-Western parents, as well as from his peers in general, where, “uncommitted, I continued to be a loner at school, occasionally bullied, frequently sworn at, and regularly ignored in most classes.”

At home, Husain found comfort in receiving religious instruction from his grandfather, with whom he traveled, studied religious texts, practiced Qur’anic recitations, and learned Arabic, while he became “even more of a misfit” at school and began his own version of a teenage rebellion. After discovering his passion for Islam with his grandfather, Husain began studying Christianity and Islam with a teacher and one other student after school. In this class, he read a book by Gulam Sarwar, whose “Political System of Islam” chapter began with the line, “Religion and politics are one in the same in Islam...” This caused Husain to wonder why during his time with his grandfather, he had never heard mention of an ‘Islamic state,’ as Sarwar’s book “commended the efforts of several organizations that were dedicated to the creation of ‘truly Islamic states’ and mentioned several groups by name, including the Muslim Brotherhood in the Middle East and Jamat-e-Islami

in the Indian subcontinent, which were working for the ‘establishment of Allah’s law in Allah’s land.’”

It was only later Husain discovered that Sarwar was not a religious scholar, nor was his book the “dispassionate educational treatise it purported to be[;]” not only was Sarwar a business management lecturer and activist in the Islamist groups he discusses, he was “the brains” behind the ‘Muslim Assembly,’ managed by the Muslim educational trust, which separated Muslim children from the rest of the school population during assemblies to take MET exams that tested Islamic knowledge. Husain’s school had an activist from Jamat-e-Islami who represented the MET and awarded trophies and awards to the highest scorers on the MET exam. Husain explains that, “what seemed like an innocuous body was, in fact, an organization with an agenda,” as all MET personnel belonged to British front operations for Jamat-e-Islami, influencing young students like Husain with a “key message was that Islam was not merely a religion but also an ideology that sought political power and was beginning to make headway. The spiritual Islam of my parents’ generation was slowly giving way to something new.”

Now at age sixteen, Husain has become somewhat cognitively radicalized to Islamist (but not necessarily violent) beliefs, now thinking the Islamic state was the most important aspect of his religion. Falik, the boy with whom he studies religion with after school is “politically active” and invites him to his mosque—a “hotbed for the Jamat-e-Islami—in East London to study. Husain is hesitant, telling his (only) friend from school he cannot go, because, “According to my father they’re a sinister political organization, use Islam as a political tool and demean the Prophet’s original teachings[.]” but Falik responds in protest, explaining how “his older brother was a member of Jamat-e-Islami and, as far as he could make out, they were upright Muslims trying to ‘bring Islam’ to Pakistan, India, and Sri Lanka.” Husain accompanies his friend to the mosque, which is younger, English-speaking, and more organized than the mosque attended by his father and grandfather, and is introduced to members of the youth organizations sponsored by Jamat-e-Islami, the YMO and Islamic Forum Europe, which operated more like a political campaign than social or religious club.

Therefore, by participating in

this radical, political organization at the urging of his only friend, Husain moved from a lonely, friendless existence to a someone surrounded by brothers united in a cause; he writes, “the YMO had given me friends, a place in the world.” Husain’s experience supports radicalization models that recognize the importance of social networks in the recruitment of terrorists, especially when he is already an individual struggling for identity as a Muslim as well as a second-generation European immigrant. As Hussain gained friends and a cause, he also grew more indoctrinated and isolated, noting, “I was sixteen years old and I had no white friends. My world was entirely Asian, fully Muslim. This was my Britain. Against this backdrop, the [jihadist] writings of Sarwar’s guru, Mawdudi, took me to a radically new level,” to which he was exposed at an YMO meeting.

After Husain’s parents discovered his new jihadist ideology, they became furious and instruct him to quit attending the East London mosque and YMO meetings, but Falik and his other YMO brothers said “God tests his servants, parents will be obstacle to commitment to God’s work, for he is a true Muslim.” So, at seventeen, Husain

wrote a goodbye letter to his parents and “left home for the Islamic movement” with no money or possessions. The pattern of exposure to more radical Islamist texts, namely the writings of the father of Islamist ideology Syed Qutb (required reading for the YMO), who became a martyr for the students in the YMO after he was hanged by the Egyptian government, as well as Husain’s isolation from any differing opinions; he attended an all-Muslim college, where he elected president of the YMO-sponsored Islamic society and becomes further radicalized. He knew even then that the organization, which had given him friends and a cause, was more about politics than religion, writing, “Together we worked under the religious banner of the Islamic society, knowing full well that it was a front organization for political Islam.” It is only when Husain faced committing violence that he halted his own radicalization process, before he became behaviorally radicalized.

Husain’s experience may lend support to scholastic models of radicalization like social network theory as well as writers like Atran, who privilege networks of friends and acquaintances, which

often prey on the fervor and desire for fulfillment in youth, above other factors in radicalization. Furthermore, though Husain attended a Qur'anic school in his early childhood, his exposure to Islam was moderate and peaceful; it was only after exposed to more radical interpretations by terrorist networks operating under the auspices of youth education as well as concepts of friendship and brotherhood after idolizing the older, cooler members of Jamat-e-Islami that Husain began the cognitive radicalization process. His status as a second-generation Muslim, with strict parents but living in a Western world, caused him to feel alienated from his peers before joining the East London mosque that served as a front for Jamat-e-Islami, a terrorist organization with political aims. Husain remarked that his new band of brothers "were as bad and cool as the other street gangs, just without the drugs, drinking, and womanizing," and he grew increasingly isolated from anyone with a differing ideology, romanced by youthful notions of an Islamist sense of unity and justice through jihad.

Moving now to an examination of the 7/7 London bombings case

of 2005. The participants here represent a somewhat opposite phenomenon than that described just before by Husain; where Husain obtained cognitive but not behavioral radicalization, according to Borum's model, these four British Muslims who perpetrated the London underground and bus bombings displayed behavioral, but not cognitive, radicalization "because their level of sophistication was low, and none has ever been described as an 'ideologue.'" Still, the group's leader, Mohammad Khan, was strongly political and an active promoter of extremist causes, while the convert Germaine Lindsay, who converted to Islam later in life (supporting Atran's notion that rather than being "born into" the ideology, terrorists are almost always "reborn" into violent Islamist notions) and, before he met Khan, habitually listened to recordings of "one of Britain's most notorious 'hate preachers' Abdullah Al Faisal." Shehzad Tanweer, who empiricist Nesser called "an idealist with a social consciousness and a vocation for community work and activism," attended extremist lectures with Khan and helped produce DVDs promoting violent jihad.

Neumann would still disagree

with Borum's attempts to separate political motivation (cognitive radicalization) from political action (behavioral radicalization), writing, "While it is obvious that factors *other* than cognitive radicalization played an important part in all four of these cases, it seems clear that at least three of the individuals were influenced by political beliefs and ideologies, and therefore that cognitive radicalization cannot be written out of the script entirely." A true understanding of radicalization to Neumann will thus always consider an individual's ideology, however developed, to determine context and other important nuances, while Borum, in the absence of a "sophisticated" ideology, would focus only on the factors that led to the bombers' actual violent behavior.

Three of the bombers additionally align with models that identify an identity struggle amongst second- and third-generation Muslim immigrants born in Western Europe as an important contributor to their radicalization. Khan, Tanweerm and Hussain, were each second-generation British Muslims "with linkages to militants in Pakistan," though all three came from middle-class backgrounds and appeared to be well-integrated into

British society. The leader Khan graduated from Leeds University to become an elementary school teacher and mentor; some accounts describe him as a good family man and an exemplary member of his community; friends and acquaintances expressed disbelief that he was involved in terrorism.

Other accounts described him as frustrated with his station in life (Khan left his job in December 2004, seven months before the London bombings) and increasingly drawn to radical Islamic teachings." Germaine Lindsay, was a Jamaican immigrant who converted to Islam, aligning with theoretical models that would label him the born-again ideologue, who was underemployed as a carpet-fitter and "believed to have met the other bombers at a gym set up by Khan as part of his youth-mentoring program." The remaining two men, Tanweer and Hussain, were both unemployed, aligning with Nesser's "misfits" or "drifters" category. Elements of each man's social network, as well as a charismatic leader, are present in this case study. But, perhaps more importantly, evidence of economic deprivation through under- or unemployment is experienced by three of the bombers, while the other bomber, the leader of the

cell Khan, had a well-paying job for which he was qualified; the contrasting economic statuses would support the subjugation of socioeconomic status to other, more important radicalization factors, as urged by scholars like Atran, Aly et al., and Neumann, though it may support the significance quest/counterfinality model of Kruglanski et al.

Kruglanski et al. attempt to support their significance quest/counterfinality model of violent radicalization through an analysis of “the interplay of *motivation, ideology, and the social processes* strikingly illustrated by the case” of the eldest Tsarnaev brother, who with his younger brother committed the April 2013 Boston Marathon bombing. They write:

The older brother, Tamerlan, was apparently quite ambitious and at the same time quite frustrated in light of his and his parents’ failed assimilation (the successful uncle Ruslan referred to the Boston Tsarnaevs as “losers”). Out of work and supported by his wife, his father’s family on welfare, his mother accused of shoplifting, his boxing career in shambles—he must have felt rather *insignificant* and without future prospects. At some point along the way, he

realized that a way to significance can lead through a radical Islamist *ideology*. It is unclear whether he actively sought out such ideology or whether the initiative came from elsewhere. As a Chechen youth growing up in Daghestan, extremist ideas were likely familiar to him anyway. Tamerlan’s ideological persuasion was probably facilitated by his social networking with active Islamic extremists, William Plotnikov the Canadian convert to Islam, and Mahmoud Mansoor Nidal, recruiter for the Chechen guerillas. Possibly, his mother, Zubeidat, who hated the “infidels” and believed that the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center was carried out by U.S. and Israeli secret services, also contributed to Tamerlan’s radicalization...”

Through interviews and other personal communication with Jack Roche, Australia’s first convicted terrorist, Aly et al. construct a case study that “highlight[s] the radicalization process of Roche from a man of relative obscurity to a man of notoriety—Al Qaeda’s right-hand man in Australia, and Australia’s first individual imprisoned for terrorism-related offenses”. Also, they attempt to understand the role of religion in an individual’s radicalization

process by testing the assumption that “cognitive radicalization (the adherence to radical Salafi-jihadi ideologies) is a useful predictor for violent behavior[;]” to do so, the authors apply and analyze Roche’s case through the four-stage model of Silber and Bhatt. In the pre-radicalization phase, Roche struggled with dishonorable discharge from the British Royal Army Medical Corps, divorces, and alcoholism, leaving Roche “with feelings of emptiness and isolation triggering a search for ontological security.” Roche found that security after converting to Islam in 1992 and subsequently spending two years traveling in Indonesia to learn more about his new religion; he explained that during this time, “I would frequently write myself off,” but “as a result of the obvious effects of his drinking binges and ‘hard nights,’ he was often approached and questioned by a number of his Indonesian Muslim friends and colleagues who would enquire about his continued abuse of his ‘mind, body and soul.” These Muslims “were realistically the first people I felt that genuinely cared about me,” said Roche, giving him a sense of belonging while putting him “in a vulnerable position where finding acceptance in a new

‘community’ and embracing a new faith and ideology would start him on the path to radicalization,” after “religious, familial, and social deprivation may have been catalysts that drove him in the direction of pre-radicalization.”

After Roche’s conversion to Islam, he began to study Muslim religious texts while concurrently becoming more isolated from his “pre-Muslim” community and more present in his current Muslim community. Aly et al. explain how, “Although exploring and embracing Islam, finding enthusiasm to research Islamic texts, and discovering a new social identity can be seen as part of the radicalization process ascribed by Silber and Bhatt, Roche stresses that his interest in his newfound faith and his commitment to practicing Islam were part of his quest for personal fulfillment.” His period of self-identification began after his second divorce, which “triggered a new direction in his life—one that would eventually lead him down a ‘radical road’ to Afghanistan.”

He began to move away from moderate interpretations of Islam to more radical interpretations; Silber and Bhatt identify this “identification phase” as “the point where the individual begins to

explore Salafi Islam, while slowly migrating away from their former identity—an identity that now is re-defined by Salafi philosophy, ideology, and values” in response to some cognitive personal crisis that alters one’s previously held beliefs, serving as “a catalyst for religious-seeking behavior that may include becoming alienated from one’s former life and developing an affiliation with an extremist social group.” During his divorce, Roche met a new friend, Abdur Rahim Ayub, who he later found to be a member of the terrorist group Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), which has been linked to al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Roche found “brotherly assistance and care” in Rahim, who “appeared to be part of a tight-knit friendly social group,” and Roche affirmed his commitment to Rahim and the JI terrorist network when he moved to be closer to him, aligning with social network models and the FBI’s analysis “that most recruiting is accomplished by personal friends who have established bonds with the extremist group itself or one of its members in the pre-radicalization phase.”

After his move, Roche began to reinterpret his Islamic faith in relation to the other members of the extremist group, while

he began to become even more isolated from his “mainstream” Muslim friends to spend more time with Rahim’s group; Aly et al. assert that, “overwhelmingly, it was the social function of the group that would draw and sustain Roche’s interest and loyalty,” echoing scholars like Sageman and Atran who find “joining the global Islamist terrorism social movement was based to a great degree on friendship and kinship.” Roche moved to Indonesia again, married for a third time, then upon his return to Australia, where his “dedication to Islamic studies would draw the attention of Riduan Isamuddin, a.k.a. Hambali, a JI Operational Chief in Indonesia who requested... a meeting with Roche in Indonesia.” The meeting request excited Roche by making him feel like an important member in an exciting movement, moving now to Silber and Bhatt’s “indoctrination stage.”

This stage, defined by Silber and Bhatt, is where, “an individual progressively intensifies his beliefs, wholly adopts jihadi-Salafi ideology and concludes, without question, that the conditions and circumstances exist where action [militant jihad] is required to support and further the Salafist

cause.” Roche met with the JI leaders in Indonesia, where they determined Roche would receive training in Afghanistan and possibly meet the “Sheikh,” who unknowingly to Roche was actually Osama bin Laden.

All of these factors would be “significant” in Roche’s indoctrination, and beginning in March 2000, he began military and explosives training in Afghanistan. After he completed his training in May 2000, Roche met again with Hambali in Malaysia to receive an assignment (and finances with which to carry it out) to perform surveillance of potential Jewish targets and to establish a terror cell in Australia. The Selber and Bhatt model would now move to the jihadization phase.

However, Roche’s specific case does not align with Silber and Bhatt’s fourth stage, because after his return to Australia, although he still proceeded with his assignment, Roche “maintains that he had reached the point of no return” as he was consumed by “substantial doubts about the validity and rationalization—according to his understanding of the justification of jihad in Islam—for his assignment.” However, Roche was afraid to stop the assignment and leave JI because

he believed they were watching his movements, so in an attempt to halt these actions in a way that would not bring physical harm to him, Roche attempted to report his plans to the Australian government, though no agencies would respond to him. At the same time, Roche’s friendship with Rahim began to fall apart as Rahim grew jealous that Roche had received the authority to start an Australian terror cell instead of him. Roche was arrested two years later, having completed the surveillance but left JI without starting a JI cell in Australia or committing any violent acts.

Silber and Bhatt assign no necessary timeframe to an individual’s graduation from pre-radicalization phase to the jihadization phase but recognize the jihadization phase is often more rapid; Roche characterizes his radicalization process “as a gradual process that occurred over a number of years and claims that the final stages of his radicalization seemed to transpire rapidly,” saying, ““I was drawn in bit by bit, given information in dribs and drabs. It wasn’t until I got to Afghanistan I realised they had this whole thing organised way before I came into the picture.””

Still, Roche never completed the

mission assigned to him by his brothers in JI; instead, he began to “disengage cognitively and behaviorally” from the group and his assignment during the stage where Silber and Bhatt expect to see violent actions perpetrated in the name of *Salafi* jihad. Additionally, Roche maintained “extremist” views after he decided not to complete his mission and to instead begin to disengage from the JI cell; Roche “described his personal conviction to fight alongside his ‘Muslim brothers in their struggles’ and contends that, had he remained overseas, he would have more than likely fought alongside the Taliban or Palestinian Mujahideen.” Therefore, Roche behaviorally disengaged with terrorism even as he retained his “radicalized worldview through which he views himself as a ‘potential *soldier*’ fighting against perceived injustices”; Roche maintained his religious belief in militant jihad, being willing to fight in a just war abroad in a place like Afghanistan or Palestine, but he refused to harm innocent Australians.

In the Silber and Bhatt model, he made it to the jihadization phase but not to the “actioning” of this phase, suggesting “individuals can still adopt an interpretation of *jihad* as

violent holy war, but rationalize this thought by distinguishing between justifiable theaters of holy war such as Afghanistan or Palestine and the unjustifiable killing of innocent civilians in Western democracies.” An individual must go further to rationalize legitimate violent jihad against innocent civilians in order to reach the final stage of Silber and Bhatt’s model of terrorist radicalization, which Silber and Bhatt seem to overlook in their analysis.

Aly writes, “there is no doubt that religion does play a role in radicalization,” whether “as a vehicle for group bonding, a moral template for constructing ingroup/outgroup boundaries, or a legitimizing ideology that is used to authorize the use of violence and the narrative basis for collective victim identity.” In Roche’s case, religion first answered his ontological search for purpose; then after he joined JI, religion helped delineate the in-group of JI members versus the out-group of all others, while the terrorists’ specific interpretation of Islam also provided justification for violent jihad; finally, religion colored frequent JI discussions pertaining to the injustices endured by Muslim populations across the globe, specifically at the hands of

the West.

Still, Aly et al. find that Islam is not “the primary motivator for individuals to join an extremist cause,” as for Roche, “it was not religious beliefs that prompted and sustained Roche’s level of activity—his behaviors—but group loyalty and the personal benefits associated with group membership.” Additionally, Aly et al. find that, “While the policy response to terrorism tends to give primacy to religion and ideology as the main driving forces of radicalization, Roche’s trajectory from “moderate” Muslim convert to JI member suggests that sustained exposure to extremist ideologies and close interaction with radicalized individuals may be key triggers for the radicalization process,” especially when paired with increasing isolation from “mainstream groups” as well as affirmation from the new social group. Finally, “The case of Jack Roche’s radicalization also suggests that religion plays a far lesser role in radicalization than Silber and Bhatt’s model proposes.”

Authors Kühle and Lindekilde find support for Aly et al.’s conclusion that a radicalized individual can disengage from behavioral radicalization without

ever changing their religious ideology of “neo-orthodox interpretations of Islam” (cognitive radicalization), again supporting the notion that there is no causal relationship between the two types. After interviews with multiple young Danish Muslims, the authors conclude their ideas related to violence through jihad are complicated, as their religious interpretation can only rationalize justified violence; there is widespread support for jihadist activities in Muslim countries, but not for “al-Qaeda inspired” terrorism in the West:

“Again as a Muslim in war -- let me take an example -- the Palestinians in Palestine against the Jews . . . I am not allowed to -- as a fighting Muslim, fighting against the Israeli -- to kill old people, kill small children, and kill civilians. You are not allowed to. So when the prophet (saws) called jihad on those who fought against him, there were rules that he would follow. So you may say that if you are to act in accordance with him, it is impossible to fight in a country like Denmark. Or commit an act of terror in Bruuns Galleri [big shopping mall in central Aarhus] because there are some

. . . well again it is an odd way of thinking, which I cannot relate to at all. To bomb Bruuns Galleri or a train or a bus because there are some Danish soldiers in Afghanistan. It does not add up.”

--Yusuf, 20, Palestinian.

Additionally, the authors find that many of the Danish Muslims they interviewed think jihad is an individual obligation, and they had practical reasons to not act with a jihadist group:

“I don’t know shit about firing a gun, I never tried it, but you can do jihad in many ways. They also need money, let’s put it that way. We can’t contribute with the same. The Afghans are born with a gun in their hand”

--Thomas, 30s, convert.

“Well, I am not considering going anywhere. Now I live happily with my wife and such [laughs] ... but the day the Jews really enter Lebanon or Palestine then I would have no reservations about going down there. That is my duty’

--Kareem, 22, Palestinian.

Lastly, though many of the Danish Muslims interviewed did not align with the political ideals of a democratic state, “which certainly may pose a challenge in terms of integration,” no one interviewed

thought this rationalized “anti-democratic actions to undermine the democratic order.”

The Danish authors the Danish government’s “official image promoted by the discourse of radicalization of a slippery slope from individual violent sympathies to membership of groups and engagement in collective violence, and between holding illiberal views and conducting anti-democratic actions, is not expedient from the perspective of identifying and assessing risks to fundamental security” because it misses the many complex and nuanced beliefs held by these Western Muslims. Still, these interviews focus mainly on these Islam’s influence on these individual’s opinions, or at least each man’s specific interpretation of Islam, implying that religious ideology can and does influence cognitive radicalization without propelling behavioral radicalization. The survey lacks any analysis of non-ideological causes of these beliefs, like the community in which the Danish Muslims live.

In his book, social Movement theorist Wiktorowicz uses a case study of the British terrorist group al-Muhajiroun to answer the question of why an individual would engage in “radical Islamic activism”

in varying degrees, with the highest degree of participation being violent political activism; he argues there are three subcomponents. The initial step in social movement theory is a cognitive opening that catalyzes an individual to question his personal beliefs, usually paired with exposure to religious radicals through “movement outreach and social networks that tie seekers to the movement through personal relationships.” The second step describes how the radical group convinces its potential individual recruits of its legitimacy and credibility in comparison to all other alternatives. Finally, the process of socialization, like religious reeducation, creates “culturing” of the group’s radical ideology, specifically that salvation through “high-risk activism” like violent jihad is in the interest of the individual to perform. Al-Muhajiroun actively engages in these three steps to recruit new violent jihadists, where, “Religious training lies at the core of activism committed activists must master religious doctrine and movement ideology so they can effectively promote al-Muhajiroun’s ideological vision of an Islamic state and society.” Each week, potential new members must

participate in hours-long weekly study sessions “to ensure that they are intellectually equipped with ‘proper’ (i.e. movement) religious beliefs...[;]” recruiting mainly through preexisting social networks and utilizing “framing” to reeducate Muslims into more radical interpretations of Islam characterize al-Muhajiroun’s recruitment process.

Michael Weiss argues that defectors of extremist Islamist groups in Great Britain can have the most crucial understandings of the radicalization process in the UK, interviewing former Islamist militant and a second-generation British immigrant Shiraz Maher, whose parents came from Pakistan. The violence of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the US propelled Maher to join Hizb ut Tahrir, where he became a high-ranking member, while the violence of the 7/7 terrorist attacks in London propelled him out of the movement. Weiss characterizes Shiraz’s early life “as a young Pakistani-Brit reared in the Wahhabi kingdom and transplanted to a predominantly white industrial city, [where] Shiraz felt isolated,” echoing theoretical interpretations of the struggle with identity often present in the psyche of next-generation Western

Muslims; after 9/11, which social movement theorists would describe as a cognitive opening for Maher, since he describes the event as “transformative” because of the Saudi hijackers, Maher met other young Muslims who gave him a “very seductive and holistic sense of identity.” From there, Maher began to become more religiously devout while simultaneously reveling in the “compelling” notion of an Islamic state that would defeat America; the man who recruited Shiraz asked him his views on America, who he claimed “was going to use the attacks to declare war on Islam,” threatening the friends and identity Maher had only recently obtained. Shiraz sees the identity crisis of European Muslims to be distinct, as, “Shiraz admits that the ‘drivers’ for radicalization are different in the UK than they are in the US, where disaffection rather than immigrant insularity can lead young rebels to turn to heavy metal, drugs, or jihad almost interchangeably; where assimilation of immigrant groups has been a cliché of the American experience, Britain remains a dangerously balkanized country.” Now that he has disengaged, “Shiraz sees his sharpest tool as his ability to use his life story to deglamorize radicalism—a kind of

‘scared straight’ tactic for the war on terror. ‘You think it’s fun, sexy? It’ll ruin your life. Everyone who’s left the Hizb is damaged in some way. We’ve all got issues.’”

While each of these Western case studies may provide support for any one of the theoretical models attempting to explain an individual’s violent radicalization, there is no one way or one set of factors that leads to an individual becoming violent. Some theoretical models may appear logical at the onset, like that of Silber and Bhatt, and it is only after a closer examination that possible flaws become evident stemming from neo-Orientalist perceptions of Muslims as “the [violent] other.” Still, it is not correct to say models that are, or attempt to be, applicable to radicals from all religions or even all violent groups are necessarily better than theoretical explanations that focus solely on one area; we see that many scholars believe there are unique factors leading to radicalization in Western Europe as opposed to the US or the Middle East and North Africa. Despite the findings of any theoretical model, and whatever evidentiary support the case studies provide, it seems to be the most useful to consider them all to truly gain a holistic

understanding of radicalization.

Despite the common narrative in the West that Islam is an inherently violent religion that produces terrorists because of religious doctrine, the theory and empiricism show otherwise; Islam is at most an indirect causal factor in a Western Muslim's radicalization. It may be a catalyst for group membership or a framework of sacred values, but these concepts extend past Islam specifically. While it is the unique alienation experienced by second- and third-generation Muslims that contributes to the radicalization of many in Western Europe, this is distinct from their integration in society; these young Muslims usually are well-integrated and well-educated. Their lack of identity creates a vacuum for a radicalized Islamist identity, not the other way around.

Further, even to those scholars who disregard environmental factors to favor ideology as explanatory factors, the Islamist ideology is mainly political, though based in religion. Islamists who support violent jihad are even fewer, and those who actually become radicalized to commit violence are even fewer. Radicalization is an extremely complicated and flexible process, especially in the liberal

democracies of Western Europe. The common denominator among violent radicals may appear to be Islam, but to assign blame would be to misinterpret..

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GIVING IN TO INTERNATIONAL PEER PRESSURE

THE EXTENT TO WHICH UN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL CONDEMNATIONS INFLUENCE ISRAELI COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY

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INTRODUCTION

Since the UN Human Rights Council's (UNHRC) founding in August, 2006, it has passed 123 resolutions condemning specific countries (UN Watch 2015). 68 of those condemnations have been directly issued to the State of Israel. According to its website, the UNHRC is "responsible for strengthening the promotion and protection of human rights around the globe and[...]addressing situations of human rights violations and [making] recommendations on them." By directly condemning Israel, the UNHRC hopes to influence the policies that it considers violations of Palestinian human rights, which Israel believes are crucial to counterterrorism and self-defense. As a questionably liberal, democratic country in the illiberal, largely undemocratic Middle East, Israel has considerable interest in mitigating any negative reputation attributed to the state; thus attitudes towards Israeli counterterrorism will shift to more critical and restrained policy debate or implementation following a UNHRC condemnation.

An analysis of past Israeli responses to UNHRC condemnations from separate times reveals a trend of restraint or consideration. After examining Israeli press, speeches, and military actions following UNHRC resolutions in 2010 and 2015, I conclude that the UN Human Rights Council's condemnations have no considerable influence over Israeli counterterrorism

policy. The Knesset does not spend substantial time recognizing the condemnations, and the Israeli press does little more than acknowledge that condemnations were made. The minimal attention given to the 2010 resolution dwindles further in 2015.

THEORY

According to James C. Franklin, “the most commonly used weapon in the arsenal of human rights proponents is shaming the violating government through public criticism.” Franklin analyzed several Latin American countries from 1981 to 1995 and found that criticism led to governmental reduction of repression, but only in the short-term. He additionally concluded that inter-governmental organizations, such as the UNHRC, are less effective at influencing states than NGOs, religious groups, and foreign governments. Franklin’s study provides an interesting starting point for my own study. While the UNHRC did not exist within the framework of his study, international criticisms of specific countries on account of human rights violations can still be compared. However, Latin American countries toward the end of the twentieth century differ from Israel in the past nine years. Even

within Franklin’s time period, the nature of foreign affairs in Latin America differed greatly from those in Israel: in the former there were remnants of wars with other state actors, rather than with non-state actors involved with the latter, such as Hamas and Hezbollah. This study gives preliminary evidence for how condemnations by the UNHRC will lead to implications for Israeli counterterrorism policy.

Shifts in Israeli counterterrorism policy will not be dramatic or conspicuous. I do not suspect that the practice of targeted killings will automatically be completely halted, but any discussion or consideration given to the resolutions offers the UNHRC a degree of legitimacy. Even if no change in counterterrorism policy occurs, if there were discussion of the condemnations, the Knesset has to choose to ignore them. As a democratic state with close alliances in the West, Israel conceivably has no interest in being viewed as a state violator of human rights. Alliances and diplomacy are essential to Israel, as the country does not have many favorable relationships with its neighbors in the Middle East. While still emphasizing the importance of state sovereignty, Israel would want to minimize the international

public's negative perceptions of the country.

I chose two UNHRC condemnations from two different time periods to compare the responses to each of them: Resolution A/HRC/RES/13/8 (henceforth referred to as 13/8), adopted on March 24, 2010 and Resolution A/HRC/RES/28/26 (henceforth referred to as 28/26), adopted on March 27, 2015. Due to the classification of Israeli military files pertaining to counterterrorism, I have referenced Knesset press releases, Prime Minister Netanyahu's speeches to the Knesset and the international community, and the Israeli press within the two months following the resolutions to best gauge the response to those particular condemnations. I also take into account any Israel Defense Forces (IDF) operations within that timeframe for clear, direct action, rather than just debate. The scope of consideration of the condemnations will correlate to the amount and quality of chatter in the Israeli government and media. If Israeli leaders express concern over their public image in relation to the condemnations or outright criticize the resolutions, then the UNHRC influences Israeli policy in some form or another, even if it does not

necessarily lead to the reversal of policy. If there is no discussion or just bare acknowledgement of the condemnations, then the Council clearly has no considerable influence over policy.

A/HRC/RES/13/8

Resolution 13/8 was adopted on March 24, 2010. 31 member states voted for the resolution, nine voted against, and seven abstained. The pre-ambulatory clauses outline the role of the Council and the importance of affirming human rights across the globe, and one clause specifically targets Israel:

“Recognizing that the Israeli military attacks and operations in the Occupied Palestinian Territory[...]have caused severe violations of international humanitarian law and of the human rights of the Palestinian people therein and undermine international efforts towards achieving a just and lasting peace in the region based on the two-State solution,” (UNHRC 2010).

The operative clauses that follow demand that “the Occupying Power, Israel, end its occupation of the Palestinian land occupied since 1967, and that it respect its commitments within the peace process,” and call for “the immediate

cessation of all Israeli military attacks and operations throughout the Occupied Palestinian Territory.” All of the specific demands and condemnations directed towards Israel stem from these clauses.

In the debates preceding and following the adoption of this resolution, along with those of two other resolutions passed simultaneously and specifically addressing Israel, Aharon Leshno Yaar, Israel’s Ambassador to the UN, adamantly opposed the condemnations. Referencing the rocket fire southern Israel had sustained from the Gaza Strip, Yaar made the following statement to the Council: “You’ve done nothing about it, and you expect that Israel does nothing either.” This makes it clear that Israel places acting in its own self-defense over international pressures. Leshno Yaar stressed Israel’s commitment to a two-state solution, but claimed that “the work of the Council and the statements made in its chamber had harmed efforts to actualize that vision.” This was a direct reference to times that the Council had penned clauses calling for Israel to respect its commitment to the peace process, and an implicit directive to stay out of Israel’s business.

Ambassador Yaar, as well as other

Israeli officials, voiced criticism at the UNHRC itself, arguing that the disproportionate focus on Israel within the Council comes from the desire to “lash out at Israel” and “shift the body’s focus away from their own human rights issues,” rather than an urge to truly help the Palestinian people. Prime Minister Netanyahu spoke to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) that same week and referred to the Council as “the grotesquely misnamed UN Human Rights Council.” In an op-ed in *Haaretz*, Shaul Arieli argues that Netanyahu needs to work to change Israeli public opinion, which, like the earlier statements, believes that Israel is without a partner in its survival. Even though Arieli believes that Israel needs to cooperate more with international organizations, he concedes that the majority of the Israeli public see themselves as alone in the fight.

Aside from a few news articles simply acknowledging that the UNHRC adopted the resolution, some critiques of the resolution within Israel referenced the Goldstone Report from the prior year. Formally called the United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict, the Goldstone Report, led by the UNHRC’s

Richard Goldstone, sought to investigate potential human rights and humanitarian law violations in the Occupied Territories, mainly Gaza, following the 2008-9 conflict. The Report concluded that both Israel and Hamas had committed war crimes, but the Israeli public criticized the new resolution for calling for a committee to monitor Goldstone recommendations and calling for Israel to pay reparations to Palestinians but neglecting to address Hamas' transgressions or demand for Gilad Shalit's release from captivity. Shalit's father, Noam Shalit, demanded that Hamas provide his son with access to the Red Cross, and further called for Red Cross the release of his son in front of the UNHRC. According to the family's lawyer, Nick Kaufman, "the international community cannot demand the full implementation of the Goldstone report[...]while ignoring its explicit call to release Gilad Shalit." If the Council had given more attention to Shalit, perhaps Israelis would have been more inclined to cooperate with the resolutions.

The day after the condemnation was passed, a force from IDF's Golani Brigade entered Gaza to neutralize small groups of Palestinians seen laying IEDs along

the border security fence. Two soldiers were killed in a firefight. The next morning, Israeli tanks followed into Gaza to "clear the area," from where Kassam rockets were fired into Southern Israel. All IDF troops withdrew from Gaza by that evening. The condemnations did little to prevent the IDF from responding to attacks and entering Gaza.

A/HRC/RES/28/26

The UNHRC adopted Resolution 28/26 on March 27, 2015, with 45 votes in favor, the United States's vote against, and Paraguay abstaining. The pre-ambulatory clauses mostly describe Israel "planning, implementing, supporting, and encouraging the establishment and expansion of settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory." The clauses claim the human rights and humanitarian law violations the Israelis and settlers are imposing on the Palestinian people include restriction of resources, the Security Wall, and explicit violence. The operative clauses call on all other states to withhold any funds to Israel that may have anything to do with the settlements, as well as urging them to "take all necessary measures and actions" to uphold human rights in the territories, including not

recognizing any Israeli actions in the area. Specifically towards Israel, the resolution calls on Israel to halt settlement expansion and refrain from infringing on the Palestinians' right to self-determination, including the building of the Security Wall.

The Israeli elections provided a much larger distraction to Israelis than the UNHRC condemnations in March 2015. Prime Minister Netanyahu was reelected just a week before the resolution and is not popular among those opposed to the settlements. Netanyahu made it clear in a speech to the new Knesset that his administration's policies would continue to prioritize Israel's self defense above all else. A UNHRC probe in Gaza had gathered that "Israel deliberately targeted civilian homes" and that soldiers in the territories are "trigger happy." Israel's delegation to the UN referred to the Gaza probe as "a kangaroo court" and claimed its conclusions were already pre-written, granting little legitimacy to the body or its conclusions.

Less than a month after the resolution was adopted, the Israeli Air Force launched an air strike on four militants planting a bomb in the de-militarized zone (DMZ) between the Golan Heights and

Syria. According to the IDF Spokesperson, the militants posed an "imminent threat" and therefore had to be neutralized. Netanyahu praised the air strike and the soldiers, reaffirming, "any attempt to harm our soldiers or our citizens will be met with a decisive response." Based on this, it seems that the UNHRC's condemnation of Israeli action towards Palestinians had little effect.

CONCLUSION

Based on the Israeli responses to the UN Human Rights Council resolutions, condemnations did not influence Israeli counterterrorism efforts in any noticeable way. In both situations, there was not much discussion in the Knesset or media about how to react to the condemnations, merely a knee-jerk dismissal of the resolutions and the Council itself. Agenda Item 7 of the UNHRC charter mandates the Council to debate Israeli violations of human rights at every session, making the body understandably unpopular in the eyes of the Israeli administration. This item is opposed by Israel, the US, much of the EU, and even Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon himself. The inability of the UNHRC condemnations to influence Israeli policy does

not discount the potential for condemnations to affect the policies of different violent states or state sponsors. Perhaps if the UNHRC were to debate on states that are more dependent on international bodies and who are not desensitized to habitual condemnations, the resolutions might have more of an influence.

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The Hunt for Silver Bullets

The Threat of Lone Wolf Terrorism and Preventative Countermeasures

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INTRODUCTION

On April 15, 2013, two brothers with no affiliation to any terrorist organization set off two pressure cooker bombs during the annual Boston Marathon, killing three civilians and injuring nearly three hundred others. The Boston bombings horrified the nation and generated concern over the perceived U.S. vulnerability to lone wolf terrorist attacks –attacks in which individuals carrying out the attack have seemingly no connection to terrorist organizations. The media portrays the threat of lone wolf terrorism as a relatively new phenomenon, but this portrayal is not entirely accurate. The U.S. sporadically has experienced lone wolf attacks since the 1920s, when an anarchist detonated a horse and wagon bomb outside of J.P. Morgan’s headquarters on Wall Street. Over the last three decades, the prevalence of lone wolf terror attacks has greatly increased in the United States, with 42% of the world’s lone wolf terror attacks between 1968 and 2007 occurring on U.S. territory. In an August 2011 interview with CNN, President Barack Obama identified lone wolf terrorism as the greatest security threat facing the United States.

Little research has been conducted on how to combat the threat of lone wolf terrorism effectively. In order to understand how to counter this threat, two fundamental questions must be addressed. First, who is more likely to pursue lone wolf terrorism? And second, what factors have contributed to the recent rise in lone wolf terror attacks? Both of these questions will be examined in greater detail below. The answers to both questions then will be used to identify a number of “silver bullets,” or methods that can be utilized to reduce the lone wolf threat.

DEFINING LONE WOLF TERRORISM

Prior to an examination of the threat posed by lone wolf terrorism, it is necessary to define it. No universal definition of terrorism exists, and many scholars have hotly debated what the term should encompass. In fact, over two hundred definitions of terrorism exist, and governments or prominent organizations employ ninety of them. Bruce Hoffman, Director of Georgetown University's Security Studies Program, provides a commonly cited definition of terrorism: "the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change." Providing a universal definition of terrorism is beyond the scope of this research, but Hoffman's definition provides a viable foundation for an examination of lone wolf terrorism.

The Four Fundamental Factors of Lone Wolf Terrorism

Lone wolf terrorism is much simpler to define than the much broader term terrorism. For the purpose of this research, lone wolf terrorism is characterized by four fundamental factors. First, the actions of lone wolf terrorists are not motivated exclusively by potential financial gains or a desire for personal vengeance; the

lone wolf must have larger political, ideological, or religious aims. The case of Gilbert Graham is referenced erroneously as an act of lone wolf terrorism because it does not fit this criterion. Graham carried out the first mid-air plane bombing in U.S. history by placing dynamite in his mother's suitcase before she entered an airplane because he hoped to cash in on his mother's large life insurance policy upon her death in the ensuing plane crash. Therefore, since Graham's intent did not extend beyond a desire for financial gain, his case would not be considered an act of lone wolf terrorism. Larger ideological motivations are necessary for an attack to qualify as lone wolf in nature.

Second, no more than two individuals carry out a lone wolf attack. In this respect, the Oklahoma City bombing of 1995 fits the classification, as Timothy McVeigh received help from an additional individual in preparing for the attack.

Third, in order to be classified as a lone wolf attack, the attacker or attackers must not be affiliated with any kind of terrorist group or network. A lone wolf may have previously been involved with a terrorist group, but he or she must no longer have ties to such an organization.

Finally, a terrorist's modus ope-

randi, or method of attack, is the fourth factor in characterizing lone wolf terrorist attacks. A lone wolf terrorist must plan the attack alone, without any outside command or hierarchy. Use of the Internet or other sources of information for inspiration is permitted, but the attacker cannot receive direct guidance from another individual on how best to execute the attack.

No single method exists for the execution of a lone wolf terrorist attack. Throughout history, lone wolves have used a variety of terror methods and have proven to be among the most innovative terrorists of the last century. The high level of creativity in lone wolf attacks has been attributed to the fact that lone wolves have no group affiliation and have little concern for the backlash their attacks will generate. Unlike terrorist organizations, which take into account public reactions and perceptions, lone wolves are free to carry out extremely violent and jarring attacks without the fear of consequences. A lone wolf terrorist was the first to carry out an armed airplane hijacking, a method of terrorism made infamous by Al-Qaeda on September 11, 2001. The hijacking of buses and airplanes has become a popular form of lone wolf terrorism outside of the United States. Domestically, howev-

er, lone wolves are much more likely to carry out attacks using firearms. This tendency has been attributed to the ease by which an individual can obtain a firearm in the U.S. as compared to other parts of the world. Other common methods of lone wolf terrorism include bombings, assassinations, kidnappings, the seizure of buildings including embassies and business organizations, the contamination of consumer products, and suicide attacks.

THE FOUR CATEGORIES OF LONE WOLF TERRORISM

Recognizing what motivates a lone wolf terrorist is vital to understanding how best to design effective lone wolf counterterrorism methods. In the case of lone wolf terrorism, motivations fall into four different categories: secular, religious, single-issue, and idiosyncratic. Although some cases are motivated by more than one category, these four categories are the most common motivations attributed to lone wolf terrorism. This section will go into further detail regarding these motivations, and conclude with an examination of whether one category of lone wolf terrorism poses a more significant threat than the other categories.

First, terrorists that fall into the

secular category carry out their attacks for ethnic-nationalist, political, or separatist purposes. A large number of issues may motivate a secular lone wolf, making this motivation the broadest category within lone wolf terrorism. Common secular motivations include the desire for a separate state, new government leadership, or equal rights under the law. One of the most infamous secular lone wolf terror attacks took place in Norway in July 2011, when Anders Breivik set off a car bomb outside government offices, killing eight people. He proceeded to travel to a summer camp for the youth wing of the ruling Labor Party, where he shot and killed sixty-nine campers before surrendering. In his fifteen hundred-page manifesto, Breivik outlined the secular motivations for his attack. He condemned the Labor Party for the relaxed immigration policy that had allowed a large number of Muslim immigrants to enter the country and criticized the Norwegian government for directly aiding the Islamic colonization of Norway.

Second, terrorists may carry out their attacks in the name of a specific religion. Historically, terrorists have carried out attacks in the name of three major religions: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Lone wolf attacks

carried out by white supremacists as well as neo-Nazis also fall under the category of religious attacks, for most white supremacist and neo-Nazi ideology comes from the Christian Identity movement, which espouses a racist and anti-Semitic ideology. A member of the U.S. military in Fort Hood, Texas, carried out one of the most notable cases of religiously motivated lone wolf terrorism. In November 2009, Army Major Nidal Malik Hasan, a military psychiatrist in Fort Hood, Texas, shot and killed thirteen members of the U.S. military and injured thirty others. Before the attack, Hasan had become increasingly radicalized and suffered from perceived discrimination for his Muslim beliefs after 9/11. He began visiting jihadi websites and exchanging emails with Anwar al-Awlaki, a radical Islamic cleric who served as Hasan's spiritual guide. Awlaki has been associated with other lone wolf terrorists, including Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, who attempted to bomb a U.S. airplane in Michigan in 2009. When asked why he carried out the attack, Hasan responded that he was protecting the leadership of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, otherwise known as the Taliban.

Third, single-issue lone wolves carry out their attacks in the name of specific causes such as abortion,

animal rights, or the environment. Eric Rudolph, a lone wolf staunchly opposed to abortion, set off a bomb at a rock concert in Centennial Olympic Park at the 1996 Olympic games in Atlanta, Georgia. He injured over one hundred people, but managed to escape the grasp of authorities until 2003. Before his capture, Rudolph managed to set off three more bombs, two at abortion clinics in the south and one inside a gay nightclub in Atlanta. In a post-script to his plea bargain statement, Rudolph stated that he did not carry out his actions in the name of any religion. He wanted to make it clear that abortion was the single-issue that inspired his lone wolf attacks.

Fourth, terrorists classified as idiosyncratic lone wolves carry out their attacks as a result of deep psychological or personality disorders. While they may claim to carry out their attacks in the name of a specific cause, these causes generally are irrational. Often, the severity of the lone wolf's disorder belies his or her motivation to carry out an attack. It is common for idiosyncratic lone wolves to be diagnosed as paranoid schizophrenics. Possibly the most famous idiosyncratic lone wolf was Theodore Kaczynski, who was labeled as "the Unabomber." From 1978 to 1995 he terrorized America by sending pack-

age bombs to his targets through the U.S. Postal Service. As evidenced in his manifesto, Kaczynski, a former university professor at the University of California at Berkley, believed that technology limited the freedoms of U.S. citizens and that the only way to draw attention to this matter was by murdering people. Before his trial, Kaczynski was diagnosed with provisional paranoid schizophrenia. Kaczynski's psychiatrist classified him as delusional, but he was still required to stand trial because it was determined that he could understand the nature of the proceedings against him. Kaczynski's case highlights how dangerous a severe mental illness can be, when untreated, if coupled with extreme intelligence.

All four lone wolf categories share a few common attributes. Lone wolves are more likely than the general population to have experienced severe depression at some point in their lives, and they tend to live rather secluded lives. Most have few friends and tend to exist on the outskirts of society. Their social discomfort might explain why they do not seek out other extremist individuals or groups. Lone wolves also often are desperate to share their ideas with the outside world in the form of self-produced manifestos and other writings. Finally, lone wolves tend

to be almost exclusively male. While women have played important roles in terrorist groups throughout history, according to the RAND-MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Database, there has only been one reported lone wolf attack carried out by a woman. Many explanations have been given as to why so few female lone wolves exist, including the idea that women are less likely than men to kill a stranger, less likely to be diagnosed with antisocial personality disorders, and have more preference for working in groups. More research is still required to determine a satisfactory explanation for this phenomenon.

Now that the four categories of lone wolf terrorism have been identified, I will seek to determine whether one type of lone wolf terrorism is more dangerous than the others. Post-9/11, much attention has been paid to the threat of religious lone wolves, specifically those subscribing to an Islamic ideology. Interestingly enough, religion has been the primary motivation for a majority of the lone wolf attacks throughout U.S. history. The religion that has inspired these attacks, however, has not been Islam, but Christianity. White supremacist lone wolf attacks have represented the largest number of attacks in U.S. history, while Islamist attacks represent the second largest

number of lone wolf attacks.

One credible explanation as to why religious lone wolves have carried out a majority of attacks on the United States is the theory that terrorism historically comes in waves. These waves occur over a given period of time of about forty years, and they contain expansion and contraction phases. The first wave of terrorism began in Russia in 1880 and was referred to as the Anarchist Wave. The next wave was the Anti-Colonial Wave, which was followed by the New Left Wave. The last wave is known as the Religious Wave, which began in 1979 and continues to this day. As will be discussed in the next section, increased Internet access over the last three decades has allowed would-be lone wolves greater access to the knowledge and materials they need to carry out attacks, making it easier for them to carry out attacks during the Religious Wave of terrorism. As such, it follows that a majority of the attacks would be of a religious nature. Interestingly, if the wave theory is indeed correct, by approximately 2025 the religious wave of terrorism will have contracted almost completely, and a new wave will begin. Therefore, although lone wolves with religious motivation currently present the greatest threat to U.S. security, a new species of lone

wolf will soon rise up and replace them, perhaps as an even greater threat.

THE RISE OF THE LONE WOLF

The Boston bombings mark only one of the most recent lone wolf attacks on U.S. territory in a time when lone wolf attacks are occurring at a greater frequency than at any other point in U.S. history. The factors that have contributed to this growing number of attacks must be understood in order to devise an effective strategy to prevent future attacks. The single most important factor that has helped create this rise in lone wolf terror attacks is the development of the Internet. Almost every lone wolf active within the last decade and a half has utilized the Internet at some point while preparing for his attack. The Internet has aided and helped encourage lone wolf terrorists in a number of ways, and it has provided them with easy access to radical materials and guidance for carrying out large-scale attacks.

The first important contribution that the Internet has made towards facilitating the rise of modern lone wolf terrorism is its potential to radicalize individuals. Before the Internet, books, manifestos, and other writings radicalized individuals. For

example, *In the Shade of the Quran*, authored by Sayyid Qutb, is often credited as inspiring modern Islamist terrorists like Ayman al-Zawahiri and Osama Bin Laden to begin their jihadist movements. Books such as these, however, can be expensive to distribute and often are banned by state governments. Individuals know of their existence only through word of mouth or via extensive research, and obtaining a copy can be difficult. The reach of such print publications is inevitably limited. In the age of the Internet, however, radicalized individuals or organizations do not need to distribute their literature through traditional methods but can simply post their writings on the appropriate radical websites. These posts have the potential to reach hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of interested individuals from around the world and make them vulnerable to radicalization. Email (as was the case with Hasan and al-Awlaki), chat rooms, forums, or other messaging services are all radicalizing mechanisms.

I will use the case of "Jihad Jane" to emphasize the important role that access to Internet materials can play in radicalizing an individual. Colleen LaRose was a forty-five year old blonde woman from Michigan. In 2008, LaRose, a Muslim convert, began posting on various websites

under the username “Jihad Jane” that she wanted to do something to help the Islamic cause. She subsequently began communicating with radicalized individuals in Europe and South Asia about her desire to become a martyr. LaRose soon met a radicalized man on the Internet who ordered her to travel to Sweden and kill a cartoonist, Lars Vilks, who had drawn a cartoon of the Prophet Muhammad, an act that is forbidden in Islam. She was ordered to carry out the murder in a gruesome manner for the purpose of instilling fear globally. After receiving her instructions, LaRose traveled to Sweden to complete her mission but was arrested by U.S. security forces before she could carry out the assassination. It is important to note that LaRose would not technically be considered a lone wolf terrorist because she was never able to carry out an attack, and her modus operandi came from an outside source. Her case, however, does offer a chilling portrayal of the power of radicalizing Internet communication.

The next important contribution the Internet has made towards contributing to the rise of lone wolf terrorism is the guidance it provides terrorists for planning their attacks. Online, a lone wolf can find detailed accounts of terrorist incidents from

around the globe and use these incidents to draw inspiration for their own attacks. Lone wolves can also find detailed maps and diagrams of potential targets and instructions on how to build homemade bombs. Furthermore, the Internet is an excellent source for purchasing commercial materials with which to create explosives without raising any red flags. On the Internet, a lone wolf easily can select the method with which he or she wants to carry out their attack and find documents detailing how to put such an attack into action. It is now easier than ever for lone wolves to plot and carry out effective terror attacks.

Dhzokhar and Tamerlan Tsarnaev, the two brothers who carried out the Boston Bombings, serve as an example of how lone wolves can draw inspiration for their attacks from the Internet. The brothers learned how to make the explosive devices that were used in the attacks from an online terrorist magazine published by Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. The magazine, published in English, is titled *Inspire*, and it outlined how to create a homemade pressure cooker bomb. One of the articles believed to have also influenced the Tsarnaev brothers was entitled “How to Make a Bomb in the Kitchen of your Mom.” To build the bomb, the brothers used

nothing more than materials commonly found in an average American home, including Christmas lights and model car parts. *Inspire* is not the only jihadi magazine published in English; over the last decade, a number of similar publications have been released. Many of these publications include American slang and flashy designs meant to appeal to American sensibilities.

SILVER BULLETS: COUNTERING LONE WOLF TERRORISM

It is vastly more difficult to foresee lone wolf terror attacks than attacks orchestrated and carried out by terrorist organizations. Terrorist organizations and networks can be monitored in a way that lone wolves cannot. For instance, undercover government operatives can go unnoticed in large terrorist organizations. These operatives often provide information on upcoming attacks to the intelligence community. Terrorists within these organizations also can have second thoughts and persuaded to turn in their conspirators. Additionally, the size of such terrorist organizations also requires frequent communication between members, which increases the likelihood that one of these communications will be

intercepted, providing counterterror operations with valuable pieces of information. Many traditional counterterrorism methods do not apply to lone wolves, however. Unique counterterrorism methods must be implemented based on the aspects of lone wolf terrorism that separate it from the traditional networked terrorism. There is no one silver bullet that can reduce entirely the threat of lone wolf terrorism. In order to counter lone wolves effectively, a number of methods must be combined.

Counterterror organizations must pick up on early warning signs that an individual may be planning to carry out an attack. The FBI currently runs Operation Tripwire, a program that communicates with stores that sell commercial goods capable of being used to make home-made weapons, such as gun stores, beauty supply stores, and chemical companies. The FBI trains the employees of these stores to identify red flags indicating a customer may be purchasing an item with bad intentions. These red flags include anti-social behavior, paranoia, and a disheveled appearance, all common characteristics of a lone wolf. The FBI encourages these stores to contact the FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Force when customers raise red flags.

The workplace is often one of

the first locations where lone wolves show signs that something is amiss. Therefore, a similar program to Operation Tripwire must be implemented to turn the focus of scrutiny on employees. This would be particularly helpful in military and government offices, as a significant number of lone wolves work in these industries. Such a program would train employees on how to look for signs that their coworkers have become increasingly radicalized or may be planning an attack. It would also provide them with the appropriate outlet within the FBI to express their concerns. A program like this would have been useful in preventing a number of the most deadly lone wolf attacks in recent U.S. history. When working as a military psychologist, Nidal Malik Hasan, a Texan Army Major, once told one of his female superiors that she was an infidel and would be “ripped to shreds” and “burn in hell.” He also was known to have attempted to convert his patients to Islam. If such a program had been in place, it would have provided an avenue to report Hasan’s radicalized behavior and ultimately may have stopped Hasan’s massacre.

Improved post-9/11 surveillance technology is another mechanism that can be utilized to prevent lone wolf terrorism. Many governments

commonly employ closed-circuit television (CCTV) to monitor a person’s every move in public spaces. In London, the average citizen appears on a CCTV approximately three hundred times a day. The American government must utilize CCTV more heavily and announce to the public that they are doing so. Lone wolves often lack surveillance experience and subsequently give themselves away. Lone wolves may stalk potential targets or lurk around an area they plan on attacking. Monitoring such behavior on CCTV may indicate a red flag to security officials. Additionally, if lone wolves know their behavior is being observed via CCTV, they may be deterred from carrying out attacks due to the high levels of paranoia from which many of them suffer.

The Internet has aided lone wolf terrorists in many ways, but also has provided a number of important opportunities to apprehend lone wolves. It is common for lone wolves to publish manifestos detailing what has driven them to commit their acts of terror. While lone wolves are generally significantly more anti-social than the general population, they may still have a strong desire to communicate their messages with large numbers of people. Many lone wolves have seized upon the ease with which

they can publish their manifestos and other writings on the Internet. Breivik published his manifesto online only hours before he carried out his two deadly attacks. Monitoring known radical sites for violent or aggressive manifestos and other writings can be used to detect individuals who may be planning on carrying out lone wolf attacks.

Even if such individuals post their writings anonymously, their writing style and form can provide important clues to their identities. Many believe that the Unabomber would have been caught much earlier if the Internet had been consulted appropriately. Kaczynski was not caught until he published his manifesto in a newspaper. His brother recognized Kaczynski's style of writing and turned him into the authorities. If Kaczynski had been able to publish his manifesto online, the process of identifying and arresting him would have been much quicker. Monitoring radical websites for postings of such inflammatory writings could help to decrease significantly the number of lone wolf attacks that are carried out to completion without detection.

Additionally, the Internet can be used to catch potential lone wolves through the monitoring of chatrooms and other online messaging services. Individuals in contact with known

terrorists such as al-Awlaki are red flags, and may be beyond the stage of radicalization. This form of monitoring would help provide authorities with a list of potential lone wolves to be investigated further. This type of monitoring has been proven to be effective in the past. Colleen LaRose's contact via the Internet with the radicalized South Asian man who ordered her to kill Lars Vilks helped tip off U.S. authorities that she was planning on carrying out an attack.

None of the methods suggested above are guaranteed to be 100% effective in preventing lone wolf attacks. A system where employees can report the suspicious activities of their co-workers to the FBI could create a surplus of data, which might overwhelm FBI investigators and allow real potential threats to slip through the cracks. Monitoring security cameras in all public areas for potential threats 24 hours a day takes a significant amount of time and resources. At the moment, such a program may not be a realistic endeavor. A computer based detection system, where computers are programmed to comb through CCTV data for suspicious activity, is being developed but has yet to be implemented. Monitoring the web activity of individuals who frequent radical sites may lead to the misidentification of individu-

als as potential threats. For example, counterterrorism researchers or students could be placed in FBI databases and resources could be wasted investigating them for suspicious activity. Despite their potential flaws, the implementation of each of the previously discussed methods would provide a significant first step in reducing the incidences of lone wolf terrorism within the United States.

CONCLUSION

Lone wolf terrorism continues to be identified as the largest threat to U.S. security, a view that has been confirmed by a multitude of U.S. counterterrorism officials. There is a fear that lone wolves will be inspired by the waves of international terrorist attacks currently being carried out by organizations such as the Islamic State and al-Shabab. Given that the current wave of terrorism is of a religious nature, it is likely that religious lone wolves pose the most prominent threat to U.S. security at the moment. This does not mean that the threat of secular, single-issue, or idiosyncratic lone wolves can be ignored.

For a subject so commonly discussed by government officials and media pundits, there has been a surprisingly small amount of research conducted on lone wolf terrorism. This work was meant to provide a ba-

sic introduction to the subject as well as give a few suggestions for measures that can be taken to reduce the threat. In order decrease significantly the prevalence of lone wolf attacks in U.S. society, more research must be conducted. It must be determined if one category of lone wolf has been known to cause more casualties than the others. The effects of combining two categories of lone wolf terrorism together must also be examined. Additionally, possible new categories of lone wolf terrorism must be explored, thereby providing officials with important knowledge that would aid in identifying potential new waves of terrorism, especially when the religious wave of terrorism begins to die down. Cyber terrorism, for instance, could be the future of terrorism. Until such questions have been posed and thoroughly researched, the most effective ways to combat lone wolf terrorism cannot be completely understood and effectively implemented.

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