Dipartimento di / Department of

Sociology and Social Research

Dottorato di Ricerca in / PhD program

Analysis of Social and Economic Processes (ASEP)

Ciclo / Cycle **XXXIII**

RADICALIZATION AND THE SOCIAL SPACE: THE CASE OF JORDAN

Cognome / Surname **Al-Khoury**   Nome / Name **Dareen**

Matricola / Registration number **835702**

Tutore / Tutor **Professor Sonia Stefanizzi**

Coordinatore / Coordinator **Professor Maurizio Pisati**

Anno accademico / Academic year **2019 - 2020**

Abstract

In this study, the radicalization phenomenon is investigated. Value is brought in the sense that it offers a strong domestic perspective that aims to compensate for insufficient efforts in analysing contextual specificities and domestic factors in radicalization studies.

Focusing on the case of Jordan, a country known to have produced the highest number of fighters to have joined Islamic organizations in Syria and Iraq, and specifically on youth, the research draws insights from Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space and utilizes the desk research analysis and semi-structured interview methods to acquire profound contextual knowledge. Moreover, the research uses the survey method to collect and analyse 2,200 collected questionnaires using multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) to reveal unknown patterns and structures formed between a complex set of social, economic, cultural and symbolic local factors and an opinion indicator, acquired using the experimental vignette method (VEM), to measure the level of progressiveness, religiousness and extreme opinions of the young participants.

The findings in this research are organized in a typology and a framework of five individual profiles that propose initial points of differentiations in the profiles of those who choose or reject the idea of joining a radical organization. The findings pinpoint the importance of differentiating between Jihad and terrorism, and propose policy recommendations that include investing in providing rich, high-quality and accurate data about Islam to fill the gaps in knowledge for those who seek additional religious profundity, and enhancing the cultural capital – an underestimated aspect in counter-radicalization strategies – for its revealed strong association with a progressive and tolerant mindset in the country.

Keywords: radicalization, extremism, terrorism, Islamic State, Pierre Bourdieu, multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), youth, Jordan

Abstract (*in Italian*)

La tesi si basa su una ricerca empirica sul fenomeno della radicalizzazione contribuendo ad arricchire la conoscenza su un tema ancora poco esplorato, soprattutto relativamente alle sue dinamiche interne e specificità contestuali.

Il contesto di riferimento è stato la Giordania, paese da cui proviene il maggior numero (pro capite) di militanti nelle organizzazioni islamiche presenti in Siria e in Iraq. La popolazione oggetto d'analisi sono stati i giovani (nella fascia 18-30 anni) e alcuni testimoni privilegiati, esperti del fenomeno.

Il quadro teorico di riferimento ha tratto spunto dalla teoria dello spazio sociale di Pierre Bourdieu, mentre il disegno della ricerca ha utilizzato approcci qualitativi (desk analysis, interviste semi strutturate) e quantitativi (survey). In particolare, nell'ambito della survey sono stati raccolti 2200 questionari rivolti alla popolazione giovanile con l'obiettivo di analizzare opinioni e atteggiamenti progressisti/conservatori nei confronti della religione e della società. La tecnica di analisi utilizzata è stata quella delle corrispondenze multiple (ACM) con lo scopo di individuare i fattori latenti e le loro relazioni di interdipendenza alla base delle opinioni dei giovani intervistati nei confronti della religione e dell'estremismo islamico. Sulla base dei risultati ottenuti è stata costruita una tipologia di giovani favorevoli o meno a far parte di una organizzazione radicale.

I risultati complessivi della ricerca forniscono indicazioni utili per prevenire il fenomeno della radicalizzazione. In particolare, emerge l'importanza di avere a disposizione dati di qualità per colmare le lacune oggi esistenti unitamente agli stereotipi sull'Islam e sul fenomeno della radicalizzazione. Inoltre, sottolineano l'importanza della distinzione tra Jihad e terrorismo e dell'importanza dell'investimento sul capitale culturale dei giovani che, come è emerso dalla ricerca contribuisce a sviluppare una mentalità progressista e tollerante e ad allontanarli dalle organizzazioni radicali.

Parole chiave: radicalizzazione, estremismo, terrorismo, Stato Islamico, Pierre Bourdieu, analisi delle corrispondenze multiple (ACM), giovani, Giordania

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Sonia Stefanizzi, for her guidance, thoughtful comments and consistent support throughout the course of this research. In addition, I would like to extend my thanks to the faculty, staff and my colleagues for making my time at the University of Milano-Bicocca a wonderful experience.

I would like to thank Dr Ayat Nashwan for her dedicated guidance, positive spirit and kind support during my study abroad period in Jordan. I am greatly indebted to the administration of Yarmouk University and the Director of the Presidency Department, Dr Mashhour Hamadneh, for facilitating my mission, and for putting me in touch with the Nawafeth Foundation for Training and Sustainable Development, who enabled the distribution of the survey questionnaire across the country. Special thanks to my friend Areej Khreis for her help in reaching out and setting up interviews in Jordan.

I am deeply thankful to my family for their love and support, and particularly my partner, Mohammad Ismail, for his unwavering support, continuous encouragement and belief in my potential and goals.

Table of contents

List of figures

List of tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Introduction

In the period since the 9/11 events that took place in the United States in 2001 and the incidents that followed, the Islamic State's (ISIS) radicalization and terrorism cases have become the focus of several academic studies. Research on radicalization has been considered of high importance in understanding and in forming strategies and policies aimed at countering the phenomenon, which has presented significant local and international security threats. The manifestation of radical organizations and currents is not a modern-day phenomenon; for example, in the late 1960s, Europe had witnessed the development of extreme-left ideology violence and nationalist-regionalist beliefs, however academic research on the topic in that period was limited, and 80% of the studies on radicalization were based on books, journals, the media or similarly published documents as opposed to direct and primary data collection (Silke, 2001).

The current flood of research following the attack on the US means that researchers are novices in the academic and historic debate on radicalism and terrorism (Khosrokhavar, 2008). Despite the increasing volume of research on the topic over the years that followed, studies providing new information remain uncommon (Gøtzsche-Astrup, 2018; Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018). This has been ascribed in many cases to the difficulty of accessing radicalized communities and individuals who reside in conflict zones, and because many of the individuals who have joined terrorist groups have been killed, arrested or are closely observed by the authorities (Bondokji et al., 2016; Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018). Most studies remain based on archival judicial and media reports instead of primary data (Bondokji et al., 2016; Speckhard, 2017; Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018), or at best, on an insignificant number of cases (Mazarr, 2004; Nesser, 2006; Schmid, 2013) and no control groups (Schmid, 2013; Victoroff, 2005).

In order to understand the current status, challenges and gaps regarding radicalization in academic knowledge, this research began with a literature review, as presented in Chapter 2: Literature review. The literature review revealed three main areas of dispute in research on radicalization. The first concerns the definitions. The literature review chapter describes how the lack of consensus regarding the definition of radicalization is evident and it represents the primary conceptual dispute in establishing inclusive knowledge about radicalization, its drivers and trails. Some researchers state that the principal conceptual dispute lies between the emphasis on cognitive and behavioural radicalization. However, as we will see in the review, the disputes also include a confusion between the process of radicalization and the phenomenon, with some definitions disregarding the temporal element of the process, and some merging concepts such as extremism and terrorism together with the term "radicalization". Some of the definitions connect a purpose to the process such as social change, some relate it to the disruption of the democratic legal order, while others emphasize individual and mass transformations. These various definitions contain inconsistent knowledge about the phenomenon and they fall short in their potential to support counter-radicalization strategy policies.

The second is the lack of contextual considerations, and the literature review chapter explains that one of the main factors that cause a lack of empirical knowledge and strong evidence is the absence of contextual considerations. As we will see elaborated in the review, a study in Saudi Arabia stated that ideological and political factors had more of an impact than other factors, such as socio-economic aspects. Conversely, in Africa, and in Central Asia, the economic factor seemed to play an important role in the decision to join terrorist groups. In Iraq, interviewing a number of imprisoned Islamic State fighters revealed that radical individuals are not hugely religious and are less knowledgeable about Islam than expected. The same debate applies to several other factors, including unemployment, underemployment, education and political injustice, among others. Drivers fluctuate across different contexts; therefore, contextual considerations are key in acquiring solid evidence about the phenomenon.

The third concerns the limitations of the methods. The literature review chapter indicates how researchers have intensively investigated a wide range of factors in an attempt to disclose "push" and "pull" drivers that can increase the vulnerability of individuals to making radical choices. We will see how these investigations, which are based on researching social causality by exploring single factors, have proven to be inadequate, as they have rarely produced strong

evidence. Most efforts have come to the same conclusion: there is no single cause; rather, there is an indeterminate, complicated and – at best – tenuous combination of internal and external triggers that can lead to the radicalization of individuals. While a number of drivers appear to be quite common, like social grievance, political injustice and exposure to radical calls, most of the drivers that lead to radicalization are still widely debated, if not disputed or rejected. The research suggests in the literature review that excessive focus in the current research on defining "push" and "pull" drivers neglects possible implications that social causality may not be limited to the mixture of effects of unique variables but can amount to the overall effects of a structure of multifarious interrelations between different variables that this research will explore later on.

The research moves from the review of the literature on radicalization to reviewing the radicalization models in Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations. The review of five of the most widely distributed theoretical models of radicalization shows how researchers from interdisciplinary fields such as psychology, social psychology and criminology have established a number of models and variables within models that have competed to explain the process behind the phenomenon of radicalization. While the models illustrate important parameters in the process of radicalization, they remain limited in their capacity to understand or counter the phenomenon. The review discusses the models in terms of the elements involved in the structure, the number of stages and their linearity. It outlines the limitations of the models that remain speculative due to the lack of empirical evidence on the topic.

The second part of the theoretical considerations chapter (Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations) describes the rationale behind choosing Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space to guide the process of this research. The chapter illustrates how this theory is suitable and unique in that it is based on a contextually focused empirical research approach that explores the respective rules and conditions of a specific society. It is also unique in that it admits to the limitation of exploring single variables to understand a phenomenon. The theory advocates a quantification, based on operationalizing various types of capital and habitus, using the multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) technique, to finally construct a social space, presented in a geometric model of data, that reveals hidden social structures and patterns open for interpretation and for analysis in relation to a phenomenon, as we will see applied in this research.

Elaborated in Chapter 4: Research objectives and conceptual framework, as derived from the review of the literature, the theoretical models of radicalization and with insights from Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space, the objectives of this research were set to cover two main areas that respond to the dearth of empirical evidence on radicalization. The first is attributed to the lack of contextual considerations and the second to methodological challenges. The research specifically addresses two main questions. The first question is: What does radicalization mean within the Jordanian context, and how does this add to the current knowledge about the concept, the drivers that lead to the radicalization of individuals and to the available radicalization models? The second question is: What does the geometric social space representing the interrelations between social, economic, cultural and symbolic factors tell us about society in Jordan and its radical tendencies?

The research objectives have led to utilizing a qualitative approach, due to its exploratory and contextual nature, as elaborated in Chapter 5: Research methods. However, as previously mentioned, a quantitative technique, multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), was employed in the second part of the research to reveal information open to enhanced profundity in the interpreting of the data, as advocated by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space. Three main methods are used in the research. The first is the case study, which is a contextual-based practice recognized for its capacity to fulfil profound research objectives, by delivering strong explanations of phenomena within the boundaries of their existence and in building or examining theories. The second is the semi-structured interview method, which aims to investigate people who live the phenomenon, their ideological and political knowledge, as well as their perceptions, values and beliefs concerning the role they play in co-constructing the social reality of the phenomenon. The third is the survey method combined with the MCA/GDA technique for the analysis, which aims to explore the structure of interrelations between the different factors surrounding the phenomenon. The reasons behind the selection of each of the methods, their properties and limitations, as well as the sampling technique used for the case selection in the interviews and the surveys, and the practices followed to design and pretest the methods, are discussed in Chapter 5: Research methods.

The case study (Chapter 6: Case study desk research) included the analysis of a collection of approximately 50 documents, local and international academic studies, as well as governmental and non-governmental reports and was aimed at constructing holistic knowledge about the conditions in Jordan in relation to radicalization. The thematic scope included a

presentation of the Jihadi/Salafi ideology that led to the establishment of terrorist organizations that have attracted supporters and fighters from Jordan in recent years. It also included an examination of the severity of the radical phenomenon, the prevention measures applied to control the phenomenon in Jordan, and information about the demography and the current contextual challenges facing society and young people, which may have contributed to enhancing their susceptibility to joining terrorist organizations in recent years. The information derived from the desk research analysis also contributed to forming context-related questions both for the interview questions and the survey questionnaires.

The desk research was followed by the semi-structured interview method (Chapter 7: The semi-structured interviews), which was utilized as a second research method to acquire strong contextual insights. The interview transcript analysis specifically responds to the first research question: What does radicalization mean within the Jordanian context, and how does this add to the current knowledge about the concept, the drivers that lead to the radicalization of individuals and to the available radicalization models? The chapter presents the perceptions, values and beliefs of the interviewees regarding the role they play in co-constructing the social reality of the phenomenon, and their potential capacity to reveal information and to envision latent solutions. The interviewees were selected using purposive sampling, and included religious leaders, public policy specialists, media experts and governmental and non-governmental development personnel, with details about their positions provided in Chapter 5: Research methods. The chapter therefore discusses the analysis of the semi-structured interviews in relation to the current academic knowledge and to the theoretical models of radicalization.

The survey analysis chapter (Chapter 8: The survey) presents an addition to the dialogue on radicalization following the analysis of 2,200 survey questionnaires, completed by young individuals across the country and utilized specifically to answer the second research question: What does the geometric social space representing the interrelations between social, economic, cultural and symbolic factors tell us about society in Jordan and its radical tendencies? The survey design and examination were guided by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space and entailed the collection of a comprehensive set of contextual variables and capturing the opinions of the participants on sensitive issues in society using the experimental vignette method (EVM) to construct a visual social space utilizing multiple correspondence analysis (MCA). The constructed visual representation of a social space enabled a diverse approach to

exploring and analysing the different aspects of the phenomenon discussed in detail in the chapter.

The final chapter of this research (Chapter 9: Discussion and conclusion) presents a final assessment of the findings, combining the results of the semi-structured interviews and the survey analysis in relation to our current knowledge on the topic. The conclusion also includes practical recommendations for Jordan's policy and strategy to counter the phenomenon, and areas that would be worth exploring in future research.

2. Arabic term definitions

Jihad (جهاد):

"Jihad is an Islamic philosophical concept. The word translates to 'struggle' or 'fight'. Islamic scholars disagree about the modern meaning of Jihad. Some claim that it refers to a Muslim's inner struggle against sin and temptation. Others claim that Jihad refers to a holy war to convert or kill nonbelievers" (Biscontini, 2017).

Salaf (سلف):

In Arabic dictionaries, the definition of Salaf is the predecessor, a reference particularly to the early ages of Islam. Those who are Salafi believe that the early ages of Islam, when the Islamic Sharia Law and ethics were applied, represent the best and the most glorious of times to Muslims and they aspire to revive these days (Abu-Rumman, 2014).

Caliphate (خلافة):

"A caliphate is a form of Islamic government. The head of state of a caliphate is a caliph. A caliph is considered to be the successor of Muhammad and the leader of the Islamic community" (Jordan, 2020).

Takfir (تكفير):

Takfir is when you perceive others who do not believe in your ideology as infidels. Some Salafi groups disagree and differentiate between Salafi and Jihadi/Salafi in that they do not perceive the Jihadi as Salafi but as individuals who practise Takfir (Abu-Rumman, 2014).

Sharia (شريعة):

"An all-embracing body of religious duties, the totality of Allah's commands that regulate the life of every Muslim in all its aspects; it comprises on an equal footing ordinances regarding worship and ritual, as well as political and (in the narrow sense) legal rules" (Holland, 1965).

3. Outline of chapters

Chapter 1: Introduction. This chapter introduces the general topic under investigation, presents a brief outline of how the problem was defined and explains how the research proceeds from the literature review to theoretical considerations, setting the research objectives and questions and the three phases of analysis, namely the case study desk research, the semi-structured interviews and the survey analysis, before ending with a discussion and conclusion.

Chapter 2: Literature review. The literature review first outlines the conceptual disputes in the definitions of radicalization, the challenges in research on the topic including the challenges in the data acquisition, the lack of contextual considerations and the limitations of the research methods. The review moves on to discuss the current literature on the drivers towards radicalization and closes with a final summary.

Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations. The theoretical considerations chapter comprises two main sections. The first reviews the five radicalization theoretical models and presents a critical discussion on the models. The second presents Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space, its history, the construction of the theory, the theory in practice and the relevant GDA/MCA techniques.

Chapter 4: Research objectives and conceptual framework. The research objectives chapter presents the specific areas in which this research is directed to add value and the main questions that the research aims to address. The chapter also presents the conceptual framework of the research, which illustrates the research design and the steps along the path to achieve the research objectives.

Chapter 5: Research methods. The methods first explain the qualitative and quantitative approach of the research. The chapter then elaborates on the characteristics of each of the methods used in the research, its limitations, the sampling methods utilized for each of the methods, which include the case study desk research, the semi-structured interviews and the survey method, which was conducted with parts designed using the experimental vignette methodology (EVM) and analysed using multiple correspondence analysis (MCA).

Chapter 6: Case study desk research. This chapter presents the situational analysis. The first part covers the Salafi and Jihadi/Salafi ideology. The second discusses the radical landscape in Jordan. The third part covers the contextual structures and challenges facing society and young people in Jordan.

Chapter 7: The semi-structured interviews. This chapter is divided into the data processing, the interview results on the definitions, the drivers, the radical landscape and the situation of young people in Jordan, and an analysis and discussion that includes a preliminary outline for a typology of individuals in Jordan and a framework that details the main aspects of the radicalization process in the country.

Chapter 8: The survey. This chapter is comprised of three sections. The first presents the data set, including the inertia, dimensions and categories, while the second presents the MCA plot including the initial observations, the social fields constructed and an analysis of the data, followed by a conclusion based on the findings.

Chapter 9: Discussion and conclusion. This chapter presents the final results and remarks concerning the case study desk research, the semi-structured interviews and the survey multiple correspondence analysis in relation to the current academic knowledge on the definitions, drivers and radicalization models. It presents the typology of individual profiles and the proposed framework that reflects the phenomenon in Jordan. The final conclusion also presents practical implications concerning Jordan's strategy for countering violent extremism and areas for future research development.

Chapter 2: Literature review

1. Introduction

Radicalism is one of the main issues of concern in the world today. Radical strategists explain that its strength lies in the fact that it is solely based on a strong ideological front that requires no organization, and therefore would enable it to survive against different traditional security measures (Al-Suri, 2004). The presence of radical organizations and movements is not a novel phenomenon: in the late 1960s the world watched the growth of terrorism based on different beliefs such as extreme-left and nationalist-regionalist ideologies. Some of the European individuals who have travelled to join terrorist organizations such as the Islamic State (ISIS) believe in the model offered by the Islamic religion today in much the same manner as the youth of the middle class believed in Marxism or communism in years gone by (Europol, 2017). In fact, it is contended that the Islamic State (ISIS) and its development in Europe has nourished, to some extent, the downfall of the leftist movements that had formerly organized crowds in Europe (Khosrokhavar, 2008).

While radicalization is not a new movement in recent history, the current flood of research and security interest has been mostly based on Islamic-based ideology movements, meaning that, on the whole, researchers who have started to focus on radicalism and terrorism studies are novices in this academic and historical debate (Khosrokhavar, 2008). A review of the literature based on academic and grey documents on radicalization in the past, published since 2005, has revealed a lack of thorough empirical research in the field (Combaz, 2015). Notwithstanding the increasing volume of research on the topic in the years that followed the 9/11 attack, studies providing new information remain uncommon and a dearth of empirical evidence remains acknowledged in most recent studies on the topic (Gøtzsche-Astrup, 2018; Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018).

Taking this into account, the literature review of this research synthesizes our current academic knowledge and pinpoints the main obstacles that are hindering the capacity of research to acquire new knowledge on the topic. The chapter comprises three main sections. The first starts by discussing the proposed definitions of radicalization and relevant terms,

including "terrorism" and "violent extremism". The second reflects on three main areas of challenges facing researchers: the difficulty of acquiring data, the fluctuations in the results across different contextual settings and the limitations of the conventional methods in examining the complex set of drivers that lead individuals to become radical. The third section includes information about the most common identified radicalization drivers with a focus on the drivers identified in Jordan, the country that is selected as a case study for this research (Chapter 5: Research methods).

2. Conceptual dispute in the definitions of radicalization

Varying attempts to define radicalization have inspired a broad range of research efforts, and added to literature on the topic. However, the lack of consensus regarding the definition of radicalization is evident and represents the primary conceptual dispute in establishing inclusive knowledge about radicalization, its drivers and trails (Schmid, 2013; Sedgwick, 2010; Veldhuis & Staun, 2009)

Neumann stated, similarly to other researchers, that "[t]he principal conceptual fault line is between notions of radicalization that emphasize extremist beliefs ('cognitive radicalization') and those that focus on extremist behaviour ('behavioural radicalization')" (Neumann, 2013). He added: "This ambiguity explains the differences between definitions of radicalization; it has driven the scholarly debate, and it provides the backdrop for strikingly different policy approaches" (Neumann, 2013). In reviewing additional definitions, we will also see next that the dispute is not only limited to the confusion between the cognitive and the action, but also to the structure of the definitions and the elements involved, such as the motive, the exposure or the goal. Some themes were more politically inclined and some were more contextually focused, meaning that they specifically focused on youth, for example, or were limited to Islamic radicalization. Additionally, terms such as "extremism" and "terrorism", together and under the umbrella of radicalization, are not clearly demarcated.

Borum's radicalization definition, the "process of developing extremist ideologies and beliefs" (Borum, 2011), has focused on the cognitive process, defining radicalization as the process in which an individual adopts extremist ideologies and beliefs, yet the definition

doesn't clarify what is "Extreme". It doesn't include the behavioural element, which may or may not take place should an individual become radical. The definition disregards elements related to the objective behind the process, or elements of vulnerability and exposure, included in other definitions.

Other definitions have merged the cognitive and the behavioural aspects and clarified an objective such as "social change"; for example, Allen defines radicalization as the "process of adopting an extremist belief system, including the willingness to use, support or facilitate violence, as a method to effect social change" (Allen, 2007). Khosrokhavar has also defined radicalization more broadly as the "process by which an individual or group adopts a violent form of action, directly linked to an extremist ideology with a social or religious political content that undermines the established political, social or cultural order" (Khosrokhavar as mentioned in (Campelo et al., 2018). His definition includes the individual and the group; it is bound by the existence of an action and not the ideology alone. It stands against an existing, not only political but also cultural and social status.

Crossett and Spitaletta's definition, "the process by which an individual, group or mass of people undergo a transformation from participating in the political process via legal means to the use or support of violence for political purposes (radicalism)" (Crossett, & Spitaletta, 2010), addresses the topic with a focus on the political aspect, disregarding elements of cognition, yet emphasizing that the process can include individual and mass transformations, implying that people who are radical are politically active in nature with alternative political viewpoints, using or supporting perceived illegal use of violence to achieve their political goals. Wilner and Dubouloz, however, said that radicalization is best understood as "a personal process in which the individual adopts extreme political, social or religious ideals and aspirations, and where the attainment of particular goals justifies the use of indiscriminate violence" (Wilner & Dubouloz, 2009), perceiving radicalization as an internal, individual, mental and emotional process. Individuals embrace in this process extreme political or even social and religious beliefs and pleas, in which the realization of these aspired goals validates the use of violent means.

Moskalenko and Clark McCauley focused on differentiating between activism and radicalization in their definition, explaining that "it seems possible that similar emotions are at work in moving individuals to both legal political activism and terrorist violence" (Moskalenko

& McCauley, 2009). They suggested that activism is the willingness to participate in legal and non-violent action that is of a political nature, while radicalism is the inclination to get involved in illegal and violent political action (Moskalenko & McCauley, 2009). Their definition disregards elements in the preprocess or ideology-related motives or goals, and rather focuses on a political goal aspired to in activism and radicalization and a change in the legal and illegal violent actions that differentiates an activist from a radical. Jonathan Githens-Mazer, on the other hand, defines radicalization as "a collectively defined, individually felt moral obligation to participate in direct action" (Githens-Mazer, 2009). He diverts from the legal or illegal aspect of the violent action and rather differentiates radicalism from apathy instead of activism (Githens-Mazer, 2009).

Lene Kühle and Lasse Lindekilde, in their study entitled "Radicalization among Young Muslims in Aarhus", suggested that radicalization is perceived as "the expression of youthful frustrations, revolt and solidarity with populations in the Muslim world – expressions that lack any deep ideological foundation" (Kühle & Lindekilde, 2010). The definition is highly contextual in that it considers a specific age group, a state of frustration and solidarity with a specific religion.

The various definitions are also reflected in the official definitions of radicalization. The Dutch Intelligence and Security Service's definition, "the (active) pursuit of and/or support to far-reaching changes in society that may constitute a danger to (the continued existence of) the democratic legal order (aim), which may involve the use of undemocratic methods (means) that may harm the functioning of the democratic legal order (effect)" (AIVD, 2004), relates the concept of radicalization to that of democracy, and focuses on the objective by describing radicalization as the quest for, and/or support of, social change by possibly using undemocratic approaches and ultimately threatening democratic norms.

The European Union's definition of radicalization, "the phenomenon of people embracing opinions, views and ideas that could lead to acts of terrorism" (EU commission, 2005), disregards the process of transformation and describes it as a phenomenon and stresses that the action is different from the belief, suggesting that it is not inevitable that every person who embraces radical opinions will commit terrorist acts. Similar to that is the Royal Canadian Mounted Police's definition, "The process by which individuals are introduced to an overly ideological message and belief system and taught or encouraged to follow thought or behavior

patterns that could eventually (but not always) lead to extremist activity or direct action", as quoted in (Braddock, 2020), which also explains that the exposure to radical ideologies does not necessarily mean that the individual would commit an extremist activity.

While "radicalization" has been more frequently utilized as the umbrella term to describe the phenomenon or the process as a whole, the term "extremism" has been widely connected in the literature with a negative connotation (Schmid, 2013) as an adjective to the words "ideology" and "behaviour", e.g. "extremist ideology/views/ideas" or "extremist behaviour/action", and it has been strongly connected to the word "violence" (Avis, 2016; MoSA & ISD, 2012; Campelo et al., 2018; Khosrokhavar, 2008).

Unlike the term "radicalization", which involves a temporal dimension (Campelo et al., 2018), the term "terrorism" has mostly been defined more consistently across the literature (Ramsay, 2015). Broadly speaking, terrorism is defined as "the use of intentionally indiscriminate violence as a means to create terror, or fear, to achieve a political, religious or ideological aim" (Wieviorka, 1988 as mentioned in (Campelo et al., 2018). Yet from an analytical point of view, the problem with terrorism is that we "know terrorism when we see it" (Ramsay, 2015). It is not a process to observe and can rather be placed at the end of the radicalization temporal process, equating to the term "extremist behaviour". Terrorism has also been considered a tactic, a very specific tactic, that uses violence to communicate in some way (Riches, 1986).

The review of the definitions on the topics presents different insights into the areas that the researchers considered relevant to the process and the phenomenon of radicalization. However, as we have seen, focusing on specific angles in the definitions has undermined other important areas mentioned by the researchers. The lack of consensus and the resultant confusion, despite the popularity of the term, suggest that the several attempts to define what radicalization means in absolute terms may continue to fail should we not consider contextual conditions (Sedgwick, 2010). The variance between the terms causes important security challenges in countering the phenomenon, specifically in regard to the disagreement about the cognitive and the violent status of individuals.

3. Challenges in research on radicalization

3.1. Challenges in the data acquisitions

The lack of empirical research has been attributed to several challenges that researchers encounter (Bondokji et al., 2016; Schmid, 2013; Victoroff, 2005). Among these challenges is the difficulty of accessing radicalized communities and individuals who reside in conflict zones. Researchers explained that many of the individuals who have joined terrorist groups have been killed, arrested or are closely observed by the authorities (Bondokji et al., 2016; Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018). In some countries the information reported is based on estimated numbers that may be inaccurate as the government restricts access to the statistics related to foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq or to those who have been captured or returned (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018; Speckhard, 2017). In 2001, Silke explained that 80% of the studies on the topic of radicalization were based on books, journals, the media or similarly published documents (Silke, 2001). Looking at recent years, researchers still point out that studies continue to rely mostly on archival judicial and media reports instead of primary data as stated in (Bondokji et al., 2016; Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018; Speckhard, 2017), or at best, studies have been based mainly on an insignificant number of cases as stated in (Mazarr, 2004; Nesser, 2006; Schmid, 2013) and no control groups as stated in (Schmid, 2013; Victoroff, 2005). While accessing information directly on foreign fighters and captured returnees remains challenging, we cannot disregard the importance of acquiring empirical knowledge and primary data to assess the situation in which radicalization occurred. Alternative methods are needed to compensate for such challenges.

3.2. Lack of contextual considerations

Contextual factors in understanding radicalization matter as much as ideological and psychological factors (EU Commission, 2008). They may also vary and have impacts similar to, or larger than, individual factors throughout the radicalization and engagement process (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009). An evidence-based example is the potential for variation that applies to political drivers. Studies on the impact of military occupations have reported that the US occupation prompted radicalization in Iraq (William McCants, 2015), which signifies that drivers of radicalization in a country such as Iraq differ from those in a country such as Jordan, which was not subject to such occupation. This presents a need to consider contextual factors,

an issue that researchers are increasingly recognizing (Schmid, 2013), as elements involved in the increase or the obstruction of the phenomenon (McGilloway et al., 2015).

Researchers added that the use of the term "radicalization" can become highly misleading if not analysed from a context-specific perspective (John Horgan and Max Taylor, 2011 as mentioned in Schmid, 2013). On this issue, Sedgwick concluded that "the best solution for researchers is probably to abandon the idea that 'radical' and 'radicalization' are absolute concepts, to recognize the essentially relative nature of the term 'radical', and to be careful always to specify both the continuum being referred to and the location of what is seen as 'moderate' on that continuum" (Sedgwick, 2010). Contextual factors are identified to create an emotional pull for individuals to join huge battles against authorities and power (Bartlett & Miller, 2012) and can interact in different ways with different individuals at different times (Borum, 2011).

Context is the collection of cultural, social, political and historical factors (Borum, 2011; McGilloway et al., 2015) environmental and religious factors (McGilloway et al., 2015; Proctor, 2015) as well as social norms and threat of punishment (Crossett, & Spitaletta, 2010). Some geopolitical contextual factors have also been perceived to influence the radicalization process, as researchers have explained that the Islamic State (ISIS) terrorist organization was anchored in a specific territory, unlike previous terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda, and the territory was described as a utopic and sublime location that welcomes all Muslims (McGilloway et al., 2015) and was used for recruitment.

Another example of a contextual factor is the group impact factor, which has been attributed to the creation of extreme attitudes due to its ability to amplify opinions and attitudes (Borum, 2011). Our current knowledge about the involvement of group contextual factors such as the roles of families and tribes is limited, while they are considered essential parts of the culture and society of the West Asia region (Hall, 1989). Exceptions include some examples from West Africa, where research has revealed that families were influential in convincing certain fighters to repatriate (D. M. Anderson & McKnight, 2015). These insights clarify the importance of context. Combining different contextual factors from different countries may obscure important information in research on radicalization. Therefore, it is essential to acknowledge the importance of the contextual aspect and to conduct in-depth analysis that would include elements of history, politics, society and culture that make every case unique.

3.3. Limitations of the research methods

The methodological challenges in the study of radicalization have been attributed to the large number of drivers that can result in the decision to adopt radical ideologies or extremist behaviours and the complexity of these drivers (Schmid, 2013), which can be internal or external (Kjøk et al., 2004), highly relevant to the culture and the social context, the terrorist organization and the individual, with boundaries that are not exclusive (Silke, 2008). The psychological, social and economic factors that make up this complex relation cannot be understood in isolation from each other (Bondokji et al., 2017; Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018). Researchers have also explained that identifying these factors does not necessarily mean that they are going to be present in the experience of all individuals who become radical, as they could only be present to some extent (Silke, 2008). The debate has not been limited to the identification of the factors that lead to radicalization but also to the level of impact of these factors in increasing the susceptibility of individuals to radicalization within different time frames and contexts.

Another gap is related to the researchers themselves, who, based on their varying areas of studies, have chosen to stress different factors. For example, Western researchers stress the psychosocial factors that drive Europeans to join extremist groups, whereas Middle Eastern researchers tend to focus on political factors and they disregard other drivers. Such restrictions have produced empirical evidence that lacks comprehensive explanations about interactions among factors and detaches lead drivers from other important drivers (Bondokji et al., 2016).

Another factor in the study of drivers is the temporal factor of the radicalization process. Researchers clarified that getting to a stage in which an individual adopts an extremist ideology or commits an extremist behaviour is a gradual process and it does not happen easily or abruptly (Horgan, 2005); therefore, identifying the drivers of accumulated experiences in a lifetime that happens in a long, gradual and complicated process adds to the challenges. Several competing models have attempted to study radicalization as a process, yet the current attempts have resulted in little academic consensus on the scope and the stages of the process, as will be discussed in Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations.

Many researchers have neglected the methodological constraints and continued to examine correlations between the single causes in this pool of drivers and have always reached the same conclusion: a single cause is difficult to assert, resulting in important concerns regarding the quality of the research evidence on radicalization drivers. While a number of drivers appear to be quite common in the background of the individuals who become radical (Bondokji et al., 2016; Schmid, 2013; Silke, 2008) , like social grievance, political injustice or exposure to radical calls, most of the drivers that lead to radicalization are still widely debated, if not disputed or rejected. The excessive focus in the current research findings on stand-alone drivers neglects possible implications that social causality may not be limited to the mixture of effects of unique variables but can instead amount to the overall effects of a structure of multifarious interrelations among different variables. In reality, it is the impact of a collective number of factors that interact together that drives an individual towards radicalization.

This review of the methodological challenges in the study of drivers and models suggests that approaching the topic for the purpose of identifying single drivers can only lead to inconclusive findings unable to add to our current knowledge on the topic. Therefore, it is important to consider different methods that would go beyond the traditional approach in defining relations. Novel methods that were considered in this research are discussed in detail in Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations and in Chapter 5: Research methods.

4. Drivers towards radicalization

Researchers on the drivers that influence individuals to join armed terrorist groups have polarized under two main orientations, namely push and pull factors (Bondokji et al., 2016), with push factors referring to "negative social, political, economic or cultural root causes that influence individuals to join armed radical groups", and pull factors referring to "the positive characteristics and benefits of an extremist organization that 'pull' vulnerable individuals to join. These include the group's ideology (e.g. emphasis on changing one's condition through violence rather than 'apathetic' and 'passive' democratic means), strong bonds of brotherhood and sense of belonging, reputation building, prospect of fame or glory and other socialization benefits" (Schmid, 2013).

A strong ideology, such as the Islamic religion, is one of the core themes discussed by researchers who studied the drivers towards the radicalization of individuals and masses. The Islamic State (ISIS) was built on their own interpretation of Islam – condemned by Prominent Muslim clerics, scholars and activists –, and fighters have often deployed religious language to legitimize their enterprises and to enhance recruitment, yet, in reality, the role of religion in recruitment appears to be mixed. Researchers explained that there is no definite evidence of the role of the religion in the decision of many individuals to join terrorist groups (Bondokji et al., 2016). The debate in the study of ideology contains varied opinions. For example, in a study conducted by Hegghammer, based on the analysis of 240 radical biographies in Saudi Arabia, religious factors were found to be critical in pulling Saudi youth towards extremism and of higher importance than other drivers such as political ones (Hegghammer, 2006). An empirical study by Rink and Sharma that compared survey results of Christians and Muslims in Kenya with different levels of religious radicalization suggested that there is no evidence that radicalization can be explained by political or economic hardship. Rather, it is related to individual-level religious identification, and exposure to radical networks (Rink & Sharma, 2018). On the other hand, researchers such as Wilson, after interviewing a number of imprisoned Islamic State (ISIS) fighters in Iraq, have contrarily argued that radical individuals are not necessarily hugely religious and are less knowledgeable about Islam than expected (Wilson, 2015). The same was demonstrated in Jordan. Based on a series of interviews conducted by Proctor, researchers discovered that 16 out of 23 interviewed fighters were not particularly religious before going to join the fight in Syria and that it took a longer time for someone who is learned about religion to join extremist groups than someone who is ignorant about its rules and principles (Proctor, 2015).

Religious ideology has also been looked at from another perspective, as it is a crucial cultural factor that plays an important role in the day-to-day life in countries like Jordan. Some researchers argue that the problem of extreme religious interpretations lies in religious text itself. The abstraction of some terms such as "Jihad", which translates to a fight or a quest (Bakker, 2006), carries several connotations, including inner seeking to become a better Muslim, to thrive to improve as a human being, but it also suggests that the duty of a good Muslim is to fight injustice, permitting the use of violence against unjust situations and leaders (Bakker, 2006). The lack of safe channels for young people to get explanations on religious principles is the result of the fear of religious leaders, teachers and parents of discussing religious issues in case they are interrogated by the authorities (Harper, 2017). Furthermore,

there is an acknowledged lack of proper religious orientation and weak religious content presented in the school curricula in Jordan, adding to the confusion about the main principles in Islam (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018). One perceived outcome in this state of ignorance is that young people seek answers on the Internet, where they are presented with a high quantity of manipulated Islamic messages, as well as extremist organization recruiters (Harper, 2017) who employ young people's ignorance on religious concepts like Jihad to brainwash them (Bondokji et al., 2017).

Economic pressure is another considered driver. The Islamic State (ISIS) tackles economic needs and frustrations resulting from economic deficiency by promising salaries, homes and marriage, alongside life purpose, honour and social significance (Harper, 2017). However, similarly to the ideology factor, findings concerning economic drivers and radicalization have been diverse and inconsistent. In international research, for example, the study conducted by Al-Bura'i in Malaysia suggesting a correlation between economic factors, such as unemployment and corruption (Al-Bura'i, 2002), was debunked in subsequent studies (Berrebi, 2003). The study by Hegghammer in Saudi Arabia suggested that the factors related to ideology and politics were more important than the social and economic drivers in the Al-Qaeda recruits he studied (Hegghammer, 2006), while in Africa and Central Asia, the economic factor seemed to play an important role in the decision to join terrorist groups (Proctor, 2015). In Jordan, some studies pointed to economic pressures and poverty as possible factors in driving young people to seek alternatives for employment, money and marriage, and therefore responding to calls by terrorist organizations who offered all that in return (Bondokji et al., 2017; Bondokji & Harper, 2017, 2017; Muhsin, 2012). Yet one study revealed that fighters from Jordan came from mixed socio-economic backgrounds and they were not necessarily poor (Proctor, 2015). A study in Jordan also stated that in most cases in Jordan, fighters were their family's principal breadwinner (Bondokji & Harper, 2017), which may indicate that the pressure of providing for one's family and frustration from the socio-economic challenges could drive individuals to become radical.

Relative deprivation is a theory in research on drivers of radicalization. Supporters of this theory propose that relative deprivation, which refers to the difference between what one feels eligible to own and what one is essentially able to acquire and keep (Gurr, 2015), has a more pivotal role in radicalization than that of direct needs or poverty. The theory suggests that feelings of deprivation and frustration in one's own life are as important as direct possessions

and needs. The theory is in line with research on al-Shabaab and Somali youth, which has discovered that poverty was not a causal element but indicated that the aspirations of resolving low self-esteem due to feelings of frustration and helplessness, and obtaining a sense of purpose were highly significant in their decision to join a terrorist group (Muhsin, 2012). In Jordan, the numerous cases of nepotism, which is supported by the country's tribal system, are perceived as depriving young people of equal opportunities in finding good jobs, in acquiring seats at governmental universities and within the political structure. Such cases have been assigned to contribute to feelings of relative deprivation, identified as a possible driver for some of the fighters to join extremist organizations (Bondokji & Harper, 2017). Feelings of deprivation have not only caused individuals to feel underprivileged or unable to access provisions, but, more importantly, they comply with feelings that living under such conditions is unjust (Osborne & Bondokji, 2018). At the same time, culture deprivation has also been brought up as a factor that has been neglected in research on radicalization. The lack of cultural activities, clubs, libraries and recreational facilities in areas where the population size is relatively high in Jordan is perceived to add to feelings of marginalization alongside the economic challenges (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018).

In some countries, economic factors related to unemployment have been identified as a reason for some juvenile individuals to join terrorist groups (Schmid, 2013). Additionally, some researchers have suggested that it is not necessarily that unemployment causes extremism, but rather the psychological factors that result from unemployment, including frustration, the lack of purpose (Osborne & Bondokji, 2018), low self-esteem, social and economic marginalization and humiliation at home for failing to get a job or to the support the family (Bondokji et al., 2017) that should be regarded as solid factors capable of increasing susceptibility to joining terrorist groups. Research also argues that underemployment and not unemployment drives some individuals to join extremist organizations (Bondokji & Harper, 2017), indicating that many of the fighters were employed before leaving to join radical organizations, but with low salaries or seasonal jobs (Bondokji & Harper, 2017).

Education is another debated factor in the study of drivers towards radicalization. Historically, a study conducted by Berrebi profiling 350 active terrorists in the period between 1966 and 1976 revealed that from Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Ireland, Italy, Germany, Spain, Iran, Turkey, Palestine and Japan, two-thirds of the terrorists in the study had received more than average and some type of university education, suggesting that individuals with a higher

level of education are more likely to join terrorist groups (Berrebi, 2003), while amongst the fighters that joined terrorist groups somewhere in recent years , this finding does not fully apply. Recent studies on radicalization revealed that the educational level of fighters in terrorist groups varied, with some having graduate degrees and some failing to finish higher education (Bondokji & Harper, 2017).

The same applies to fighters from Jordan. Fighters joined from mixed educational backgrounds, and those that were educated came from different speciality areas such as medicine, engineering and Sharia Law, among others (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018), making this factor equally indefinite. Some researchers suggested that the different educational backgrounds of fighters suggest that the focus should not be solely on the amount of schooling but also on the content (Berrebi, 2003). Curricula in Jordan have been criticized for lacking elements that enhance critical thinking (Muhsin, 2012), for containing radical discourse and for nurturing discrimination towards women, Christians and Shia (Osborne & Bondokji, 2018). Religious leaders explain that the absence of proper religious schooling in schools in Jordan increases young people's susceptibility to extreme and wrong interpretations of Islam (Proctor, 2015).

Injustice was identified as a highly powerful motive to join armed groups by several scholars (Bondokji et al., 2016; Schmid, 2013). Evidence from a study in Palestine suggests that injustice is one of the factors that attracted the highly educated, explaining that above-average educated individuals can be more conscious of, and provoked by, cases of injustice and discrimination; they feel a need to get involved in a form of political activism (MoSA & ISD, 2012), and individuals perceive themselves as agents of social transformation (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018), which in turn can lead them to join radical organizations or to commit terrorist acts (Berrebi, 2003). In Jordan, the study of Proctor revealed that injustice seemed to be a more important factor in the decision to join terrorist groups in Syria and Iraq than religion; the motive in this cases responded to political enmity and masculine obligations to defend the weak against injustice (Proctor, 2015). In this case, joining an extremist group seemed to present a strong pull factor that was amplified through social media and provided individuals with the chance to fight and reinstate the honour of the dishonoured (Bondokji & Harper, 2017; Proctor, 2015). Local injustice, on the other hand, was identified as a possible push factor driving young people to join terrorist groups, depicted in the distrust in the government's capacity and intention to improve social life that many young Jordanians feel (Speckhard,

2017), the unequal enforcement of the law (Bondokji et al., 2017), the pervasive culture of nepotism (Osborne & Bondokji, 2018), corruption and cronyism (Bondokji et al., 2017; Osborne & Bondokji, 2018), mistreatment by the authorities (Speckhard, 2017) and the growing reality that succeeding in education does not improve their prospects (Osborne & Bondokji, 2018).

Political grievance is another considered factor as there is general agreement on the relation between political grievance and radicalism (Bondokji et al., 2016). As explained by several researchers, repression by the state was long perceived as unjust (della Porta, 2013), resulting in the creation of subcultures that perceive violence as the only way to make a difference (Goodwin, 2004), and it has long resulted in altering events (Beissinger, 2002; della Porta, 2016; Sewell, 1996). Furthermore, repression has created intense feelings of sympathy towards violence (della Porta, 2013). In literature from the region, the relation between political factors such as oppression and repression is rarely discussed (Bondokji et al., 2016). In Jordan, several restrictions against self-expression in relation to frustrations from political disenfranchisement were set by the government, and such repressions have been heightened in recent years with hundreds of students and journalists who had no affiliations with religious terrorist groups being detained for sharing their ideas, which were considered to "disturb public order" according to the new anti-terrorism law (Muhsin, 2012). Such repressions can be considered factors, while not yet discussed in literature, in adding to the feeling of injustice that was identified as being highly relevant to radicalization (Bondokji et al., 2016; Schmid, 2013). Weak social and national identity: joining a fight and being affiliated with a group that is united under one clear political, national or religious cause can make conducting an act of violence in serving a cause acceptable, and the desire to connect with people who share one identity and opinion can provide a strong motive and a sense of belonging (EU commission, 2005). An analysis conducted by Gøtzsche-Astrup explained that destructive experiences that result in instability, uncertainty or loss of meaning in one's life may create a need to search for a new group identity that embraces solid norms and principles, including spiritual values that support extreme acts such as terrorism (Gøtzsche-Astrup, 2018). Young people in Jordan are perceived as susceptible in this regard because they do not understand what the collective represents or if one belongs to it, making it more difficult for them to form a self-identity aside from their family (Harper, 2017). Young people in Jordan demonstrate weak national identity (Bondokji et al., 2016) and one of the fundamental concerns is that they have no attachment and they show little interest in Jordanian politics (Muhsin, 2012). This leaves youngsters who

are in search of an identity open to calls offered by the Islamic State (ISIS) for an opportunity to find a group to belong to as well as a purpose and a role in life (Bondokji et al., 2017).

Mental health disorders and self-cleansing are drivers that have been widely debated on the topic. While some researchers explained that mental health disorders do play a part in aggregating the tendency towards radicalization, such positive findings have been based on very weak evidence (Silke, 1998). There is agreement that political violence cannot be warranted by psychopathology (Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2008b). Most researchers concluded that terrorists do not have mental health problems and are not psychologically abnormal (Horgan, 2005). Lyons and Harbison added that terrorists even have a healthier mental status than other violent perpetrators (Lyons & Harbinson, 1986). In Jordan, there is a rising indication that people who are trying to rehabilitate from substance abuse, as well as abuse victims or criminals who wish to self-cleanse, can be enticed by groups like the Islamic State (ISIS), as they impose solid fundamentalist limitations (Speckhard, 2017). It has further been noted that people dealing with anxiety disorders who are relying on medication and alcohol to deal with stress may feel persuaded by the offers from the Islamic State (ISIS) of a fundamental lifestyle (Harper, 2017; Speckhard, 2017).

Situational mobilization factors are perceived to play a role in recruitment. Researchers have pointed to diverse elements that have played an important role in spreading the ideology and in recruitment that this research perceives as situational mobilization factors. Such factors are bound by tangible possibilities: for example, the vicinity in the case of Jordan to Syria and Iraq, which makes it more possible for individuals to reach conflict zones, at low cost and solely by crossing borders. This may explain the high number of fighters who joined from Jordan, especially in the early years of the conflict before Jordan imposed intensive security measures on its borders (Rabasa, 2010). Another factor that has facilitated and exposed the opportunity to join terrorist groups is modern technology and the Internet. Social networks have helped to delineate and propagate grievances (Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2008a) and are considered a key medium for enlistment, and for deployment (Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2008a). The exposure to radical narrative and ideology can increase the likelihood of them joining terrorist groups (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018). The Internet in the world today has increased the reach of radical audio-visual content in Arabic, which is the original language spoken in Jordan, to promote the ideology and recruit members based on well-planned communication strategies prepared by terrorist groups (Avis, 2016). The Islamic State (ISIS) has capitalized on the use

of the Internet, and Twitter alone has been used with a frequency of 90,000 tweets a day to send messages about events, news and calls for recruitment (Proctor, 2015).

Media coverage (Bondokji & Harper, 2017) posted and shared through social media networks, including Facebook, YouTube, Twitter and other platforms (Proctor, 2015), plays an influential role by presenting the struggle and the suffering of Sunnis in Syria and by calling for fellow Muslims to protect the weak and fight against injustice. Other recruitment tools have included peer-to-peer recruitment. Researchers revealed that some of the fighters had left to join the Islamic State (ISIS) under the influence of their peers who had also left to join terrorist groups (Bondokji et al., 2016; Bondokji & Harper, 2017).

The literature review demonstrated that drivers can have a dual property: for example, if a bad socio-economic background is considered a push factor, the use by a terrorist organization of that factor to recruit fighters by offering better socio-economic conditions transforms the property of the factor into a pull factor. In this research, the discussion will not be restrained by boundaries set to categorize push and pull factors but will rather compile general comprehensive themes that are able to draw a general situational picture about the knowledge and gaps based on previous scholarly works.

5. Summary

The literature review in this research started by looking at the current wide range of definitions of the term "radicalization" and its associated terms "terrorism" and "violent extremism". Despite the popularity of the terms, several variations of the definitions exist. The confusion and the different angles in describing a phenomenon or a process that is connected to specific unjust preconditions, a goal, or a political or social pursuit cause important challenges in establishing a clear understanding that would assist in countering the phenomenon, and suggest that we still need to study and analyse the challenges that stand against the ability of scholars and security forces to form a true definition for radicalization.

The literature review identifies a lack of strong empirical evidence on the drivers and identifies two key issues that have precluded conclusive empirical evidence about

radicalization. The first is the lack of comprehensive social, cultural, political, economic, geographic and religious contextual considerations, which has frequently led to conflicting findings and weak evidence. Generalizing has been impossible as several studies on drivers have been contested at a later stage by new researchers, who have examined the variables within countries of different contextual backgrounds and found that several variations fluctuate in the results. Additionally, the literature review reveals that studies have largely neglected some contextual factors, such as the tribes that are considered essential to the culture and society of the Middle Eastern region. This suggests that contextual considerations are inevitable, and that in-depth case study analysis can provide more valuable knowledge than research that seeks an exploration of knowledge to generalize the results.

Second, the literature review shows that researchers have intensively investigated a wide range of factors in an attempt to reveal "push" and "pull" drivers that can increase the vulnerability of individuals to making radical choices. The literature review presents many of the debated drivers in international research and in Jordan. However, the efforts to identify the drivers have mostly come to the same conclusion: there is no single cause; rather, there is an indeterminate, complicated and – at best – tenuous combination of internal and external elements that can lead to the radicalization of individuals. This emphasizes that researching social causality by exploring single variables has faced several methodological and scientific challenges and it has proven to be inadequate. Therefore, alternative methods are urgently needed to seek additional reliable knowledge that would help assess the complex set of contextual drivers that lead to radicalization.

Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations

1. Introduction

This chapter serves to construct the theoretical foundation of this research. The gaps identified in the literature review indicate several conceptual disputes about the concept of radicalization, as well as a critical need for an empirical and contextual approach that utilizes untraditional methods to understand the phenomenon, and to explore interrelations between the complex set of drivers that lead individuals to become radical. Accordingly, the research moves from the review of the literature to consulting with the established theoretical models on the topic. Five of the most widely presented theoretical frameworks on radicalization are selected for an in-depth review. The chapter begins with a detailed description of each of the theoretical models and moves on to comparatively analyse the areas of similarities and differences. As a second step, in order to fill the gaps in the empirical knowledge that imply a need for contextual consideration and diverse methods in approaching the topic, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space is considered for this research. The theory is foreseen to serve the purpose as it entails conducting contextual empirical investigation that comprises a complex set of social, economic, cultural and symbolic factors to reveal underlying structures and patterns that provide knowledge about the existence and structure of a phenomenon. The theory is accompanied by the use of multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), which is a statistical analysis that produces geometric representations open for qualitative interpretation as it visually reflects the details of the social space under investigation.

The theoretical considerations chapter comprises two main sections. The first reviews the five radicalization theoretical models and presents a critical discussion on the models. The second presents Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space, its history, the construction of the theory, the theory in practice and its relevant GDA/MCA techniques.

2. Radicalization models

Researchers from interdisciplinary fields have established a number of models that compete to explain the process behind the phenomenon of radicalization. A review of five of the widely presented models reveals key areas of similarities and of limitations.

2.1. A review of five of the radicalization models

Wiktorowicz's Model for Joining Extremist Groups (Wiktorowicz, 2005) is one of the most detailed models of joining extremist groups. His model suggests that an individual must go through "a persuasion process" to become radical. He emphasizes four main concepts in this process. The first is "cognitive opening", which happens when an individual faces a crisis in life that he labels "exogenous conditions": an economic crisis, should an individual lose a job, or face blocked mobility; a social/cultural crisis when an individual acquires a feeling of racism, cultural weakness or humiliation; or a political crisis, which takes place under discrimination or repression. Wiktorowicz suggests that facing a crisis changes one's perceptions and results in a state of grievance, which in turn leads the individual in the second concept, "religious seeking", in which the individual seeks to acquire meaning from what religion offers. However, Wiktorowicz stated that recruiters in radical organizations rather vigorously create well-studied triggers serving as cognitive openings and do not necessarily wait for a crisis to happen. "Frame alignment" is the third concept under which the individual decides whether the ideology presented by the terrorist group is in line with his/her interest. The fourth concept is "socialization", which describes that period during which the individual becomes indoctrinated with a new identity of different values that become internalized. Wiktorowicz perceived the decision to join a radical organization as a difficult and irrational decision that entails enormous risks and costs, especially if the group that the individual decides to join calls for endorsing violence or for sacrificing oneself for the cause. Wiktorowicz also said that the choice to join a terrorist group is not a decision that is born abruptly. There is rather a persuasion process that a person passes through to reach such a position. This persuasion process was presented by Wiktorowicz and its aim is to serve as a framework that enables possible patterns to be revealed across the backgrounds of the individuals who decide to join the same terrorist group. Wiktorowicz emphasized the importance of socialization in the model. He perceived socialization as a key factor that leads to the indoctrination of individuals into radical Islamic groups. Conversely, the preceding elements that he included in

the model played an important role in increasing the potential of an individual to enter this socialization period. Ideological indoctrination, which takes place when the socialization with members of the groups happens, is considered a critical stage during which the individual makes a decision of sacrifice to serve the objective of the group. The model was supported by a case study that he conducted by focusing on the Islamic movement Al-Muhajiroun. The movement was established in the United Kingdom and was known to support violence to achieve its goals. The group was also connected with Al-Qaeda and it encouraged a military coup to create an Islamic State. His case study revealed that racism in this case was the reason that led many individuals towards cognitive opening, during which they searched for a response and sought religion. Al-Muhajiroun happened to be an intense movement at the time of this crisis. The movement had enticed these individuals through their messages and solid reputation. The individuals started to seek more information about this movement and found out that the group provided lessons that facilitated socialization with members of the group and eventually backed the internalization of the ideology. Wiktorowicz presented this case as one example for his proposed model, yet he also called for each of the stages in his model to be investigated in greater depth. He suggested that additional research should be conducted to understand the several aspects that interact with the process of persuasion, including why a crisis may result in varied responses and what the conditions are that could interact with a crisis to lead to cognitive opening and the search for religion. Wiktorowicz also raised questions on what makes specific movements gain more recognition than others that share the same ideology. He suggested that certain elements, such as prior knowledge and beliefs about the ideology, the period of exposure, its strength and the changes that a person faces, including the change of environment and the major events that take place, would all interact with the process and play a role in its enforcement.
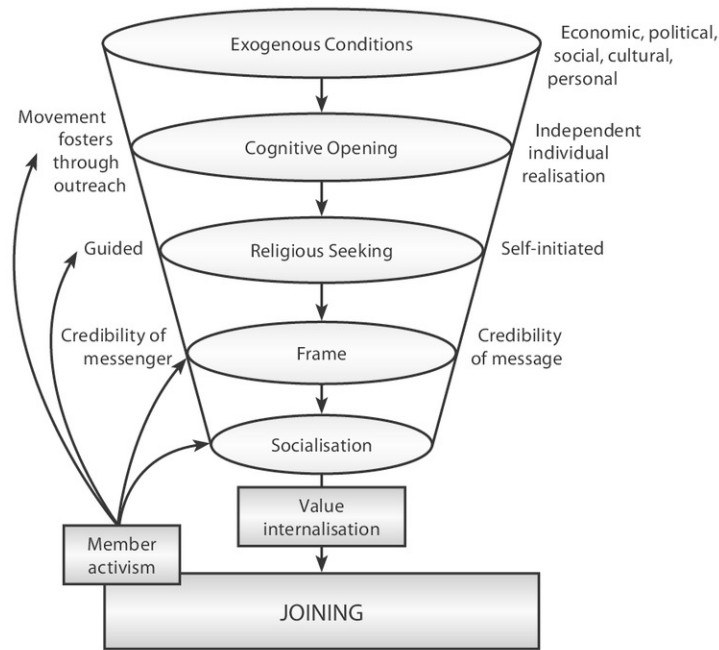
(Figure 1) Wiktorowicz's Model – Joining Extremist Groups

Borum's Four-Stage Model for the Process of Ideological Development (Borum, 2003) focuses on "moral disengagement". The model highlights the individual's agency in the process explaining that the process of radicalization is initiated when the individual encounters adverse socio-economic challenges that may include poverty, being unemployed, living under bad conditions or socio-political conditions that restrict liberties and reflect instability or low integrity, describing this stage as the "not right" stage. The process then develops into a feeling of injustice, becoming the "not fair" stage when the individual realizes that unfavourable conditions apply only to a certain group or segment in society and not to everyone, which generates bitter feelings of deprivation. The individual then arrives at the third "it's your fault" stage, in which s/he identifies a target enemy that is responsible for these conditions. The fourth stage is the "demonizing" stage in which violence towards an enemy becomes justified. The person or group is identified as evil and unjust. Borum explains that dehumanizing this person or group by describing them as bad or evil facilitates and justifies violent assaults. Borum created his framework to assist law enforcement and intelligent experts to form a better understanding of how the ideas develop in the mind of an extremist. He believed that an organized framework provides a more sophisticated and precise outline that can predict possible threats. Borum explained that understanding the ideology of a group that endorses terrorist acts is important because it explains how, within its teachings, an ideology can endorse

or encourage an extremist act. However, he clarified that many in fact seek an ideology or a cause to justify the initial need to conduct a violent act and not the other way around. Therefore, Borum's focus was more directed towards what the individual thinks during the process. He suggested that their perspectives are not only guided by their belief in the ideology but are rather postulated after being exposed to specific knowledge, and what they go through in the course of their lives. He pointed to an internal map of reality that may not necessarily represent reality itself. It is rather a mental-behaviour phenomenon based on social cognition. Understanding this internal map can help in predicting their potential actions. Borum gave an example of the several recent conflicts and power struggles between the different fundamentalist Islamic leaders themselves. He pointed out that Islamic leaders have struggled and argued together in their pursuit to gain power over the leadership of the aspired to establishment of the Islamic State (ISIS). Should the ideology be the only motive, such power struggles would not have existed. Borum gave another example related to the term "suicide bombing", which is usually utilized by terrorist groups. While "suicide" is a word that an outsider would use to describe such an attack, the individuals who conduct the attack perceive it as heroic and not suicidal. The difference lies in the purpose, views, sentiments and reactions, which are internal and differentiate between a suicide and a martyr. Accordingly, Borum suggested that the reasons behind endorsing an ideology may not always be one's faith, but rather involve broader factors that need to be taken into consideration to understand and counter the phenomenon. Borum believed that countering the phenomenon is ascribed to understanding behaviours. He reflected this concept in his model. An in-depth understanding of how an individual perceives situations is crucial in providing an insight into how a person would react to a specific predicament. He aimed for his model to serve as a map of an internal realistic perception of the circumstances that one encounters. Understanding the internal map helps in anticipating how a person may react under specific circumstances.

(Figure 2) Borum – Four-Stage Model for the Process of Ideological Development

The New York Police Department (NYPD) Intelligence Division (Silber & Bhatt, 2007) Model of Jihadi/Salafi Radicalization includes different stages. The first stage, "pre-radicalization", refers to the stage that precedes the process. The model perceives the individuals as common, usually young Muslims or recent converts with no criminal backgrounds. The second stage is the "self-identification" stage in which the individual examines ideological principles in response to facing a personal crisis that challenges their beliefs. Being exposed to radical ideologies in this phase allows the individual to connect with like-minded people and to adopt the new identity. "Indoctrination" is the third stage in which the radical ideology deepens and the individual surrounds herself/himself with individuals who share the same level of belief, and starts to construct ideas that are politicized to serve Muslims' goals, as proposed by extremist leaders. The last phase, "Jihadization", is reached when the individual is ready to announce becoming an official violent fighter in the name of Islam. The stages are regarded as unique. The NYPD model does not imply that all individuals who enter the process will have to go through with the stages that follow – many rather stop or withdraw completely at different stages of the process. The model was proposed with a linear orientation; however, it was explained that linearity is not always the case. What the model confirms is that the individuals that go through all the stages of the model are quite likely to engage in planning or undertaking a terrorist action. The NYPD model was established to generate an understanding of how intentions are formed gradually from the pre-radicalization stage to becoming a terrorist. Intentions were perceived to be increasingly important given the current available tools that could facilitate terrorist attacks. The model was established in an attempt to study how these intentions are formed, to understand how they become reinforced and how they eventually lead an individual to plan or commit a terrorist attack. The model specifically focuses on terrorism that is based on the Islamic ideology in response to the attacks of September 11. It focuses solely on the cases of residents or citizens of the United States. The model aims in theory to serve as a reference for establishing strategies that would assist law enforcement officers and policymakers in their efforts to counter the threat. The NYPD model considers the majority of those who get involved or who adopt the ideology to be common individuals that possess an unremarkable status: for example, they are individuals who occupy ordinary positions. They are not noted as having any criminal record but rather lead a common normal life. The need for self-identification within a radical group is induced by factors of an internal and external nature that lead them to consider such an extremist ideology. Such factors include social, economic, political or personal triggers, including losing a job, facing discrimination, perceiving political injustice or losing a close family member. Such factors lead them to seek

members who share their views. The Internet is considered a facilitator that allows such individuals to browse anonymously in search of responses that lead them to several channels where radical ideologies can be accessed, where an image of an Islamic fighter is well marketed and associated with heroism by radical groups using the Internet. They begin to associate with the new members and slowly internalize the ideology that leads them to assume a new identity. Self-identification is followed by a more serious stage, namely Indoctrination. Indoctrination signifies moving from being connected with like-minded people to seriously adopting the extremist views shared amongst the members in a manner that is gradually and continuously strengthened. While the first stages of the model are expected to occur gradually over the course of years, the last phase, which involves the actual terrorist act, happens quickly. In a couple of weeks to a maximum of three months the plot is set, training is conducted and the terrorist attack takes place. The NYPD model was tested against a dozen cases. The results confirmed that the steps were evidently similar across all the tested cases despite the different situation and environment surrounding the individuals in each of the cases. The results suggested that the proposed model can be considered a valid tool for prediction. The NYPD model was set to discuss the cases pertaining to the United States. It was clarified that within different contexts where terrorism is home-born the triggers would vary to include different factors such as repression, struggle, vengeance or frustration. Such factors were not relevant to the cases of terrorism in the United States, where the cases were relevant instead to the search for an identity and a purpose in life. A failure to integrate immigrants has resulted in a sense of loss of identity and created confusion amongst the young people who have found themselves locked between their religious heritage and the secular West.

Pre-Radicalisation	Self-Identification	Indoctrination	Jihadisation

(Figure 3) NYPD Model of Jihadi/Salafi Radicalization

Moghaddam's Staircase to Terrorism model (Moghaddam, 2005) illustrates a six-stage terrorism-specific staircase, the "Staircase to Terrorism", in which the individuals can advance to become terrorists. As a first step in the model, which is titled "Psychological interpretation of material conditions", Moghaddam suggests that relative deprivation is perceived when an individual compares the group that he/she belongs to with other more advantaged groups. This feeling of deprivation drives individuals to seek alternatives that would improve their situation. When such individuals fail to find those alternatives – which should normally be provided in a liberal just system in society – they become easy targets of the messages presented by extremist groups. Extremist groups encourage the individuals to displace their rage, "Anger displacement", towards the enemy that the organization defines. The step that follows is "Moral engagement" in which the individuals connect with like-minded people. "Solidification of categorical thinking" is the step they realize should they join a radical organization in which they would play a role. One of the roles is committing a terrorist act, which is the final step of the model, "The terrorist act". Moghaddam, in an effort to establish a profound understanding of the process that leads to becoming a terrorist, approached the topic from a psychological perspective and presented the concept using a metaphor of a staircase that illustrates the ascending steps. The staircase narrows as it moves up to reach the final step. Moghaddam explains that the normal person, under circumstances that result in feelings of relative deprivation or injustice, would typically remain on the ground level of a staircase. This normal person represents the majority of a population. However, there are cases where an individual under the same circumstances would become a potential terrorist, ascending up the staircase, one step at a time, to acquire a position within a terrorist organization. This second type of individual believes that they are helpless and that they have no voice in society. Therefore, they seek terrorist organizations that present what they consider to be a legitimate social group and provide a chance for such individuals to redirect their anger towards another group that they consider evil and responsible for the perceived injustice that they face in society. Moghaddam explained that taking a step up the stairs is related to the imagination of the individual, meaning that the individual would be psychologically ready to move up the stairs if they perceived a specific added value that it would provide. The danger of this psychological process is related to the choices that the individual would have. Choices would decrease as the individual advanced in the process until their only choice became the terror act that would destroy oneself, others or both. Moghaddam pointed out that in situations where a high number of people felt the same unjust treatment and relative deprivation, only some of the disgruntled individuals would take the first step up the stairs. At this first stage, individuals are still in a position to

assess and reassess what they believe would change and improve their situation. In a society that stipulates a lack of opportunities for mobility in which an individual feels helpless and unable to change the situation, they would most likely take a second step up the stairs. On reaching the second stage, individuals who bear serious grudges and resentment are manipulated by the radical organization into moving their anger towards a defined enemy. Individuals who are able to move their aggression towards this enemy are the ones that move up the stairs to enter the next level. The third step is marked by gradual adherence to following the ideology of the terrorist group. During this stage, violence starts to be considered a justified option. Individuals who become fully engaged are the ones that move up the stairs and become ready to get involved in a terrorist act. In the fourth stage, individuals learn to distinguish profoundly between the terrorist group that is considered legitimate and the other group that they claim to be evil. In the fifth and final stage, individuals are selected, trained and guided to conduct terrorist acts. Moghaddam pointed out that terrorists, especially those that conduct suicide bombings, usually implement their attacks while being in close proximity to their victims. What enables these individuals to stay psychologically disconnected from the possible pleading of the civilians under attack, or from other elements, is the preparation carried out within these groups. Terrorist groups focus on establishing a strong and exaggerated categorization. This psychological distancing serves to gradually convince their members that there is a huge difference between them and other humans that they wish to attack. Myths are embedded within their discourses to convince their members that the attack will serve to reach and convince people, who will eventually rebel against the authorities and disrupt social order. The victims are usually unprepared to deal with such difficult attacks because they are rarely aware that an attack is going to take place. Therefore, they also fail to act in a way that might assist in calling off the attack. Moghaddam's model was established to depict the process but also to highlight the importance of creating a strong contextualized democratic society that will provide space for individuals to have a voice and to improve their situations in order to prevent them from seeking alternatives that could lead them to join terrorist groups or commit terrorist acts. Moghaddam explained that terrorism is an issue of morality that has psychological inclinations. He stated that modern technological means fail to assist in such cases of moral dilemmas. Neither technological means nor the use of force, he explained, can solve the problem of young people engaging with these groups. Instead of relying on short-term policies, he recommended the use of scientific research findings to prepare long-term strategies that confront foundational problems in fighting terrorism.

Fifth Floor
The Terrorist Act and Sidestepping Inhibitory Mechanisms

Fourth Floor
Solidification of Categorical Thinking and the Perceived Legitimacy of the Terrorist Organization

Third Floor
Moral Engagement

Second Floor
Displacement of Aggression

First Floor
Perceived Options to Fight Unfair Treatment

Ground Floor
Psychological Interpretation of Material Conditions

(Figure 4) Moghaddam's Staircase to Terrorism model

Marc Sageman's four-stage radicalization process (Sageman, 2008) is a non-linear model that consists of four stages that interact and reinforce each other to cause radicalization. One of the stages is situational "mobilization through networks". It involves confirmation of the ideas of one person by others who share the same ideas, and is crucial for radicalization to occur. The other three stages are cognitive. The first is "moral rage" that results from identifying incidents as a violation of one's moral standards. The second is the "specific interpretation of the world" that happens as one sees the world as having a united strategy aiming to fight Islam. The third is "resonance with personal experience" reflecting personal experience of violations such as discrimination. In his model, Sageman suggests that terrorists are normally young individuals searching for adventure and glory. He disagrees with the normal belief that socio-economic factors, deprivation or mental illness can influence the decision of individuals to join terrorist groups. He believes instead that recruitment specifically into violent Islamic groups is mostly done through friends and family members who gather first among each other in small groups, which later pursue the path of violence. Such groups, before the terrorist attacks on the US in 2001, were able to travel freely and build relations with terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda and others that are established in different countries through face-to-face interactions. However, following the terrorist attacks in the US in 2001, physical connection became almost impossible due to the strong cross-country travel restrictions and surveillance. Small groups that are stimulated by the ideologies and organization of stronger terrorist groups have become connected instead through the Internet. Such groups continuously seek to take part in larger terrorist organizations by planning and conducting their own violent

acts. Sageman considered seeking glory to be an important factor and motive in the radicalization process of young individuals. He said that publicity covering attacks that take place in different countries in the world, and the media coverage that mentions the individuals who have conducted the terrorist attacks, who have been captured or killed, have involuntarily fed the pursuit of glory that terrorists seek. Terrorists perceive publicity as a reward rather than condemnation and consider it a declaration of victory in the war of terror. Sageman advised leaders and experts to re-evaluate their public messages and to resist conducting activities with high-publicity press and media events should an attack occur to avoid feeding this pursued recognition and glory. He stressed the need for the media to portray a common criminal instead of a potent terrorist that would be perceived as a victory and glory by terrorist organization members. What constitutes the radicalization process in Sageman's model is a non-linear interaction of several elements. Moral rage was the first element that Sageman mentioned in his proposed model. He explained that understanding what causes moral rage is important in preventing individuals from entering the radicalization process. He mentioned that according to his investigations, the moral rage that was expressed by terrorist group members was mostly based on the attacks on Muslims by Western countries: for example, the US invasion of Iraq, and the history of foreign attacks on Palestine, Bosnia, Chechnya and Kashmir. Within their speeches and communications, terrorist groups have widely cited the statements made by Western leaders during such attacks on Muslim countries and citizens. They have used the statements to continuously fuel moral rage among their group members. Sageman explained that for moral rage to play a role in the radicalization process, it needs to interrelate with what it implies. Interpretation, which is the second element in his proposed model, represents how individuals perceive the attacks conducted by Western countries. The attacks were not interpreted in abstraction but through a political lens as a continuous declaration of war against Islam. Sageman explained, however, that it was not a religious motive that led terrorist group members to respond but rather the pursuit of glory and victory. When questioned in courts, terrorist members were far from being knowledgeable about concepts of Islam. They were charged instead by their emotions and not religious knowledge. They pursued victory in war and glory and this was their motive. Sageman then explained that resonance with personal experience, which is the third element in his model, is what reinforces the moral rage and interpretation elements in the radicalization process. The resemblances between the interpretation proposed by terrorist groups and the daily life experiences and challenges facing Muslims reinforce resentment. Individuals facing social or economic challenges, or political or religious discrimination, can better relate to what terrorist groups endorse. Such conditions

would deepen their convictions in the process. Unjust life conditions and discrimination lead some individuals to seek connections with other members who face their same struggles; they connect to vent and share their frustrations on the Internet, which has facilitated the process. The fourth element in Sageman's model is mobilization through networks and it signifies the transformation of a small number of Muslims into terrorists, based on the circumstances that lead them to be become angry and to connect together in small groups that become radicalized and willing to take part, as small connected groups, in larger terrorist groups, and in the cases of some by conducting terror acts themselves. They become enthusiastic about following the models of other members who in their eyes have become glorious heroes who offered themselves to serve the greater cause. Their decision becomes virtually collective. Sageman pointed out that there are several Islamic online forums that serve as virtual spaces to promote extremist ideas and actions. Such forums recruit the young, and increasingly there are also more women participating in the discussions and, albeit in fewer numbers, in the violent acts.

(Figure 5) Sageman's four-stage radicalization process

2.2. Discussion

The presented radicalization models in this study vary in the structure, in the number of stages in each model and in their linearity (Table 1). The five models are sequential except for Sageman's model, which contemplates the idea of the interplay between the different stages in the process of radicalization. The commonalities between the five models include the perceived bad social conditions that lead to psychological grievance. The models further imply that the interaction with other like-minded people and the exposure to extremist groups' ideologies are key aspects that lead to the adoption and internalization of the new extremist identity that legitimizes violence.

(Table 1) Radicalization models

Models	Wiktorowicz	Borum	NYPD	Moghaddam	Sageman
Stages	Linear	Linear	Linear	Linear	Non-Linear
1	Exogenous conditions	Grievance (it's not right)	Pre-radicalization	Psychological interpretation of material conditions	Mobilization through networks
2	Cognitive opening	Injustice (it's not fair)	Self-identification	Perceived options to fight unfair treatment	Moral rage
3	Religious seeking	Blame and attribution (it's your fault)	Indoctrination	Displacement of aggression	Specific interpretation of the world
4	Frame alignment	Distancing/ Devaluation (you're evil)	Jihadization	Moral engagement	Resonance with personal experience
5	Socialization			Solidification of categorical thinking. Perceived legitimacy of the terrorist organization	
6	Joining an extremist group			The terrorist act sidestepping inhibitory mechanisms	

While the models illustrate initial parameters in the process of radicalization they remain limited in their capacity to propose new academic knowledge, which is important to contribute to the understanding of the phenomenon and to form strategies that aim to counter the phenomenon. Among their limitations is the fact that they don't explain why only a few individuals that share the same background would choose to take such a radical violent path

(McCauley & Moskalenko, 2017). Injustice, deprivation, connections with like-minded people and exposure to radical calls could lead to radicalization, however many, or even the majority, of those who face the same circumstances become radical or open to committing violent acts. This limits their potential in setting counter-radicalization and preventative measures. The models do not contribute to the main inquiry, which asks why there are several inconsistencies in the results related to the factors that lead individuals to become radical across different countries and even in one society. The pre-radicalization conditions vary widely and are considered complex. The models proposed do not engage with ways to possibly reveal additional knowledge on the drivers that lead individuals to become radical.

The models' final stages, which imply the internalization of the new identity, do not consider cases of fighters that decide to withdraw from the terrorist groups. The decision to withdraw from a terrorist group may be as important in revealing additional knowledge about the initial motives and expectations of the fighters and may have the potential to assist in countering the phenomenon and in the rehabilitation of the returnees. The models do not discuss cases of "lone-wolf" terrorists who share a similar status to radical fighters in that they commit terror acts based on an extremist ideology, but they act independently and do not align themselves to extremist groups. "Lone-wolf" terrorists are equally dangerous in the potential damage that they cause with their ideology-based offences.

The models propose guidelines that remain speculative due to the lack of a systematic scientific examination (Borum, 2011). It is through empirical research that one can contribute to the legitimacy and development of these abstract models.

3. Pierre Bourdieu's social space theory

Following the identification of the gaps in the literature on radicalization and the analysis of the radicalization models, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space was selected to guide the investigation of this research. As we will see in the following sections, Pierre Bourdieu's social space theory has several aspects that can fill the gaps in the literature on radicalization. The theory is abstract, generic and can be utilized to explore different areas of research within different circumstances. It concedes that no global rule applies to social fields across different

societies; therefore, contextually focused empirical research is necessary to explore the respective rules and conditions of a society, which is one of the main basic aspects identified as being important in developing new knowledge about radicalization.

As elaborated in the following sections, social space theory advocates moving from conventional research methods to the construction of a social space by operationalizing interrelations between a comprehensive set of social, economic, cultural and symbolic capitals, to reveal hidden structures and patterns otherwise difficult to uncover in society. This aspect of the theory also fills the gaps identified in research on radicalization, and provides an alternative technique, multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), to analyse the complex set of variables involved in the construction of society and in relation to the phenomenon.

3.1. The history of the concept

Bourdieu is an empirical sociologist who has established repute and recognition within the French intellectual scene, an era that started developing in the late 1940s and 1950s and was marked by several intellectual disputes between phenomenological and structural intellectuals, where Bourdieu was anchored and presented his own theories (Simon & Turner, 2011). Bourdieu's work was perceived to be influenced by the rich eighteenth-century Age of Enlightenment that has overtaken the intellectual traditions in France for the past 250 years (Grenfell, 2014). He shared a view built on Auguste Comte's (1798–1857) belief that social laws are in fact laws of nature, and he shared a radical reformist stance with Montesquieu, Tocqueville and Voltaire and Rousseau's 1970s view of the "noble savage" when he affirmed the inevitability of the differentiation and distribution within distinct structures in society that result in symbolic violence (Grenfell, 2014).

It was also possible to observe the relations between the work of Marx, Weber and Durkheim and Bourdieu's theories and practice. However, the concept of social space that he established was considered novel in its series of presupposed breaks with Marxist theory (Bourdieu, 1985). Bourdieu's theories diverted from the tendency to privilege substance at the expense of relationships. Bourdieu also abandoned the concept of the economy, which he perceived to reduce the potential to understand the multidimensional social space (Bourdieu, 1985). As the third break, Pierre Bourdieu's concept separates itself from objectivism and

intellectualism, which ignore the symbolic struggles that he perceived as key to constructing and defining the hierarchy within the social world (Bourdieu, 1985).

Social differentiation and the autonomous distinct spheres of actions, or the "social fields" as Bourdieu called them, reflect how Bourdieu followed Durkheim and Weber in endorsing the idea of the distinct, socially differentiated, rationally structured formations in modern history that can be analysed to provide a picture of the social world. Weber noted that cultural factors can result in numerous spheres based on their specific rationalities (Weber, 2012), while Durkheim explained that differentiation is a result of the competition led by social concentration (Durkheim, 1997). Bourdieu shared, to an extent, the same views as Weber and Durkheim when he specifically suggested that social fields are differentiated by the same rationalities that create them. In the literary field, for example, individuals, agents or "players", as Bourdieu called them, have in common the quality of arts appreciation: they love arts for the sake of arts (Bourdieu, 1996), while a scientific field would be constructed by individuals that have in common the quality of searching for the truth (Bourdieu, 2004).

Bourdieu's theoretical concepts on social space and field theory were developed gradually and they were continuously stimulated by empirical evidence. Bourdieu aimed to accomplish the best possible representation of his envisioned social space and he constantly relied on empirical work to refine his visions, which has set him apart from his German and British counterparts (Simon & Turner, 2011). Bourdieu opined that the existence of a social field, as well as the level of autonomy of a field in relation to other fields in society, can only be defined by conducting empirical research (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In fact, Bourdieu stated that his purpose was never to theorize for the sake of theorizing (Wacquant, 1989). Rather, he always worked in response to a tangible practical inquiry that he had and he was focused on the type of work that aimed to explain the social, political and cultural practices that he observed, to establish a meaning for the actions that people undertake (Grenfell, 2014).

Bourdieu spent several years of theoretical and statistical dedication and exploration by collaborating with several institutes and mathematicians. His reputation was first established when he was drafted into the army in Algeria in the 1950s, where he reassigned administrative duties in the general government (Grenfell, 2014; Lebaron, 2009). In Algeria, Bourdieu worked with the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies, where he published his

first book on the sociology of Algeria, which was based on a collection of large-scale labour force surveys during the liberation war of Algeria (Lebaron, 2009).

In the 1960s, after returning to France, Bourdieu collaborated with the centre of European sociology through several scientific exchanges, and specifically with the statistician Alain Darbel, with whom he focused on the cultural aspect of society in this period. In the study he conducted with Darbel, which was first published in 1966 and focused on the cultural aspect of society, Bourdieu aimed to explore why only a specific segment of society would go to museums, when museums offer their services, and have their doors open, to everyone. He wanted to understand the characteristics that distinguish this segment of society that chooses to go to museums from others (Bourdieu et al., 1991). Bourdieu metaphorically described museums as modern-age churches that open their doors to everyone but that also serve as a filter between the saved and the damned. He administered and used the results of simple surveys that were collected from museums in five different countries to study the profiles of individuals. He measured the expectations of the general public and examined the data using multivariate analysis to come to a conclusion, in which he demonstrated that the democratization efforts of the state in opening the museums to everyone were, in reality, not successful but rather a democratic illusion. He explained that visiting museums is relevant to two established classes in society. The first is an upper class that would visit museums or even feel it's an obligation to do so during their travels. This segment perceives themselves as culturally superior; they believe they are more aesthetically sensitive and they tend to have more financial means and social power, and are usually well educated. The other class accepts itself as a lower class that is culturally inferior. They would not visit museums where they felt discomfort or confused, or that they were in a place that would reveal their ignorance. They would rather avoid such visits even if they are offered to everyone in society (Bourdieu et al., 1991).

In the late 1960s, Bourdieu expanded his theory of the field, his structural vision, which became central to Bourdieu in his work. During that period Bourdieu perceived several limitations in the capacity of the most dominant quantitative methods to fulfil his concepts, namely the regression methods, which were widely used in social sciences (Lebaron, 2009). In the 1970s, Bourdieu continued to work with Darbel, as well as his statistical technician Salah Bouhedja, and he was also inspired by a recognized group of French mathematicians, known under the name of Nicolas Bourbaki, whose efforts to formalize and quantify social sciences

were abundantly inspired by modern mathematics, specifically algebra. It was during those years that Bourdieu stressed his views, suggesting that specific relations between dependent variables, for example the variables on political opinion, and independent variables, which may include age, religion or sex, tend to obscure the complete structure of interrelations capable of establishing form and power in society (Bourdieu, 1979). Bourdieu often pointed out that there is a need for scientific tools that would better assist in grasping the relational dimensions that would represent social reality.

In the 1970s and 1980s, data analysis using a geometric approach was emerging, through Jean-Paul Benzécri, around correspondence analysis (Roux & Rouanet, 2005). Bourdieu built an affinity with this approach, specifically when the breakthrough in geometric data analysis (GDA) was accomplished through the application of correspondence analysis to tables representing individuals by variables, synthesizing numerous contingency tables to two fundamental clouds: the cloud of properties and the cloud of individuals (Lebaron, 2009). Bourdieu committed to the geometric modelling as the basis of all empirical inquiries. In his theory of practice, Bourdieu described the major practical elements of his theory, which are almost impossible to describe without referring to others (Walther, 2014). Bourdieu used this approach practically to explore the major hypotheses since 1976. Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) was applied to produce the multidimensional geometric data that represented his concepts of the social fields. In his book *Distinction*, Bourdieu stated that if "quantification" is to happen in research in sociology, it must be multidimensional, and most importantly it has to be initiated by operationalizing the main dimensions of what he called the "social space", specifically via the different types of capital: economic, cultural, social and symbolic (Bourdieu, 1979).

Bourdieu continued to use geometric data analysis (GDA) across his work, including in *Le Patronat* in 1978, *Homo Academicus* in 1984, *La Noblesse d'Etat* in 1989, *Les Structures Sociales de l'Economie* in 1990 and 2000 and *Une Révolution Conservatrice dans l'Edition* in 1999, and has inspired other researchers in testing sociological hypotheses to use the same method, such as Sapiro in 1999, Rosenlund in 2000, Lebaron in 2001, Duval in 2004 and Hjellbrekke et al. in 2007 (Lebaron, 2009).

3.2. The construction of the theory

Bourdieu's theory of practice was classified as a grand theory, meaning that it is abstract, generic and can be utilized to explore different areas of research in different circumstances (Walther, 2014). Bourdieu explained that no global rule applies to all fields; therefore, contextually focused empirical research is necessary to explore the respective rules and conditions of a society (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). His theory of practice challenged the limitation of the pure social structure concepts of social theory, which suggest that patterns of social life represent structures under which individuals are placed. Individuals in this case play a passive role in forming and changing such social structures (Hays, 1994). This theory of practice was to explain what he perceived as an "ontological complicity" between structures that are objective and structures that are internalized (Grenfell, 2014).

Bourdieu's theory of practice perceived the social world as a multidimensional space that contains fields, constructed based on an interplay between the fields themselves, the habitus and the capital of the agents (Bourdieu, 1985). Therefore, the field, capital and habitus are the three main elements that constructed his theory.

The field is the first construct in the theory of practice, which Bourdieu has perceived as a space within the broader social space of society. He described it as a representation of competitive struggles (Bourdieu, 1975) and as a network of positions (Bourdieu, 1979). The word "field", in French "*champ*", which was used in Bourdieu's writings, had three main implications (Grenfell, 2014). The first is the football field metaphor where a game takes place: the field has boundaries of different shapes based on the game they play while the game has specific rules, inner structures and players who take positions that vary in terms of importance and can be presented in a visual form. The conditions in the field affect the players and the course of the game as a whole. The players themselves have to have certain skills and advantages that will enable them to play and they need to learn the rules in order to take part in the game and to maintain strategies that will enable them to improve their performances within the field (Grenfell, 2014).

The second is the science fiction fields, in which the fields are established, metaphorically, as the cosmos – universes that run according to their own laws, and have their

own logic relevant to their practice. Barriers separate the situation inside a field from outside of it and protect the individuals inside while they abide by an arranged set of laws that maintain the field itself. The fields vary in shape based on their history, which can be researched. Individuals vary in their level of dominance and decision-making power. Bourdieu also explained that there are relationships between the separate fields that can be analysed to understand their similarities and differences. Unlike the fictional spacecraft that runs under great authority, the power of the field is reproduced continuously and reinforced by its members (Grenfell, 2014).

The third is the physics force field in which Bourdieu demonstrated vectors that extend between the objects in the space. He depicted forces that magnetically connect the object points – assigned by taking into account the capital and habitus – to construct the fields in the overall social space, and postulated that cultural and economic capitals are represented as two poles in the social field. He illustrated the economic-related pole to be horizontal due to having more influence in the construction of the field than the cultural capital in society (Grenfell, 2014). However, while the pole provides a general outlook of the fields themselves, the interrelations inside the fields that are distinct reveal more about society and its construct.

From a practical point of view, the reproduction of a field is enacted through a set of valuable capital and habitus of agents as well as the practices and actions that they perform in conformity with the rules and roles of the specific field (Bourdieu, 1977). Practice, as he explained, is the interplay between field, capital and habitus, and he presented it in the equation

[(habitus) (capital) + field] = practice (Bourdieu, 1986).

Within the fields battles take place between the individuals to achieve a stronger relative position and more domination within the field itself, and this provides doxa to the field, a fundamental presupposition of the field (Bourdieu, 1977) and a sense of place as well as a sense of limitations to what is possible and what is not, in terms of social behaviour (Bourdieu, 1972).

Capital is the second construct of Bourdieu's social space theory and encompasses four basic types, namely economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986 in (Walther, 2014)). Bourdieu considered it impossible to justify a structure in society or its function in the social world without restoring the different forms of capital, and not merely in

the economic form of capital of economic theory (Lauder et al., 2006). Therefore, Bourdieu's suggestion to employ the term "capital" in a wider sense in which properties of different kinds in the social life interact in a complex set-up of networks forming the fields, where anthropological and cultural capitals are also considered in the structures (Grenfell, 2014).

Economic capital represents income. Economic capital can refer to the possessions that can be converted into forms of money (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu explained that economic capital is of importance in that it can be easily converted into other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1998), meaning that money can buy books, for example, or it can improve access to high-quality education. Economic capital can be transferable across generations, meaning that parents with high economic capital can provide their children with economic or other forms of capital. Cultural capital is the type of capital that is inherited by a family or in the education system that can be demonstrated in the qualifications that one achieves in education (Walther, 2014). It occurs in three types, the first being embodied capital, which is relevant to the level of intellect of the individual (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). It requires hard work over a period of time to accumulate embodied capital, therefore it cannot be assigned to another in a physical state (Bourdieu, 1983). The second type is objectivized, in that it can be represented in the form of books and artistic productions that can be physically transferable. The third is institutionalized and is demonstrated by certificates and recognized skills that one possesses, and it results in competitions among people over the level and the institution that the certificate is acquired from (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital refers to resources that are grounded in connections and memberships in society (Bourdieu, 1986). Mutual memberships require maintenance and offer immaterial support in the form of resources among their members. Symbolic capital is capital that accumulates from external and internal satisfaction and recognition (Walther, 2014). Bourdieu did not perceive it as an independent type of capital but rather as an outcome that results from the other capitals and it can be both external and internal (Bourdieu, 1972).

Habitus is the third construct in Bourdieu's theory. To Bourdieu, habitus reflects the embodied collection of the intact past and one's present circumstances that shape one's current and future opinions and practices (Bourdieu, 1990). It is represented by a collection of schemes of thought, speech, opinions, feelings and actions that define the communicative, spoken and applied exhibitions and expressions of an individual (Bourdieu, 1990). Bourdieu explained that habitus is not a random disposition but it is certainly unintended. We act "intentionally without

intention" (Bourdieu, 1990) p. 12), meaning that it is generated and portrayed in the practices and representations of individuals unconsciously, without the need to work to acquire such dispositions (Bourdieu, 1990). To Bourdieu, habitus means that an individual would have the same opinion or would act in a specific manner when facing similar situations, representing a coping strategy in the face of the unexpected and/or changing situations (Rehbein, 2011). Yet, while habitus has a strong presence, it can change or evolve based on the present context and the added experience that the individual goes through (Mayrhofer et al., 2007). Habitus also suggests that agents would behave in a relatively similar manner within one social field, as if the field has defined rules of values that the agents compete to master (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Habitus was not used with ease by sociologists and it is one of the concepts that received a good share of debate and criticism (Swartz, 1997). However, to Bourdieu, it was central to his theory of practice. He made it clear that habitus influences practices and at the same time is involved in the reproduction of social fields (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

To Bourdieu, fields, the represented virtual groups that would enable in-depth exploration of how society is structured, should not be assumed simply by the inclination to consider a social class based on, for example, economic status, as such groupings do not represent reality but rather theories or concepts (Grenfell, 2014). He suggested that what brings individuals closer together and encourages the forming of a distinct group is in fact a full set of properties that would describe each and every individual (Bourdieu, 1985). It is one of the concepts in which Bourdieu distanced himself from Marx's class perception in the analysis of structures (Grenfell, 2014). This consideration by Bourdieu explains how people in a specific virtual group would share similar routines, habits, opinions and actions (habitus) without necessarily being conscious of the objective conditions of the group they belong to. Variation in the embodied properties that form the autonomous habitus can be explained once the distinct groups are created and analysed (Bourdieu, 1986). In mapping the social space the points represented are not the clusters of individuals but points that represent practices, dispositions, and the composition and volume of a set of capitals (Bourdieu, 1986). Once the space is constructed, Bourdieu defines certain elements relevant to the object of the research question to analyse it (Grenfell, 2014).

3.3. Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA)

Bourdieu said, "Those who know the principles of multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) will grasp the affinities between this method of mathematical analysis and the thinking in terms of field" (Bourdieu, 2001), as mentioned in (Lebaron, 2009). Bourdieu aimed in his work to achieve a visual data representation of global effects based on the interrelations between a complex set of variables in society; that is why he committed to this method, which he perceived as serving the purpose when compared to the limited regression techniques (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1966). Bourdieu relied on the visual data representations that resulted from the multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) in his empirical studies to represent social reality (Lebaron & Roux, 2013), and he perceived it to enable the revealing of strong empirical evidence (Lebaron, 2018) and to allow exploration of the underlying structures and hidden knowledge in the social structures, otherwise difficult to uncover (Bourdieu et al., 2005).

Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) results construct a visual data representation and MCA is considered to belong to the geometric data analysis (GDA) framework of data analysis. The term "geometric data analysis" (GDA) was proposed by Patrick Suppes in 1996, however this approach was first used by J.-P. Benzécri in multivariate statistics in the 60s (Blasius & Greenacre, 2006). Technically, using geometric data analysis (GDA) – which can apply to principal component analysis (PCA) and multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) – involves the construction of a prototype in a low-dimensional geometric space, a Euclidean space (Blasius & Greenacre, 2006), which relies on using a mathematical model that searches for eigenvectors, representing a diagonalizable matrix (Benzécri, 1973). What is also unique about this technique is that it expands the potential of geometric exploration beyond the presentation of contingency tables (Greenacre, 1981) as mentioned in (Barnett, 1981). Once a data set is accumulated – whether using principal component analysis (PCA) or multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) – a geometric model is constructed as an outcome that reflects a high number of experimental structuring factors. This model makes it possible to observe, explore and analyse interrelations and structures in society, and in relation to possible dependent variables relevant to the researcher's inquiries (Blasius & Greenacre, 2006).

Geometric data analysis (GDA) is unique in three main aspects (Lebaron, 2018). First, geometric data analysis (GDA) is founded on the ability to describe a large set of – in reality – interconnected variables. Therefore, it is considered appropriate in research that aims to

combine different perspectives to understand a social reality. Second, it allows a structure to be built that combines both variables and individuals, thereby providing a better solution than the traditional deductive methods. Third, the method is able to relate statistics to observations of a qualitative nature, leaving room for the researcher to accommodate objective and subjective aspects in examining the data (Lebaron, 2018).

Additional technical aspects of multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) and geometric data analysis (GDA) are provided in the methods chapter of this research (Chapter 5: Research methods), while the actual data processing using MCA based on the collected questionnaires in this research is included in the surveys chapter (Chapter 8: The survey).

Chapter 4: Research objectives and conceptual framework

1. Introduction

The research has presented a review of the literature on radicalization and an examination of the radicalization models, both of which offer several opportunities for further investigations. The literature review features a dispute over the definition of radicalization, and points out that there is a dearth of empirical evidence resulting from the lack of contextual considerations and the limitations of the traditional research methods in the study of drivers. Meanwhile the theoretical models on radicalization illustrate initial parameters in the process of radicalization but they vary in the structure, stages and linearity and they remain speculative due to the lack of a systematic scientific examination. Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space has provided several perspectives that can be developed as solutions to the current gaps in research on radicalization specifically as it advocates a context-based empirical approach and as it suggests using non-conventional methods to explore interrelations between a complex set of factors to reveal hidden patterns and structures that are open to interpretation to analyse structures in society and in relation to a phenomenon. Building on the attributed factors causing the gaps in research on radicalization, and with insights from the proposed radicalization models and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space, this chapter presents the objects set out for this research.

The research objective chapter is organized in three sections. The first presents the specific areas in which this research is directed to add value, the second presents the main questions that the research aims to address, and the third presents the conceptual framework of the research that aims to illustrate the research design and a summary of the steps in the plan to achieve the research objectives.

2. Research objectives

This research aims to contribute to research on radicalization in two main areas. The first area responds to the dearth of empirical evidence attributed to the lack of contextual considerations.

The literature review in this research has revealed that contextual factors matter as elements that can increase or obstruct the phenomenon of radicalization. Neglecting contextual factors can result in weak or disputed evidence. Accordingly, this research would bring value in the sense that it offers a strong domestic perspective aiming to compensate for the insufficient efforts in analysing national specificities and contextual factors in radicalization studies. The research specifically focuses on one country, Jordan, a country identified as having the highest number of individuals to have joined Islamic organizations in recent years in Syria and Iraq. Details about the case selection are included in Chapter 5: Research methods.

The second area responds to the dearth of empirical evidence attributed to methodological challenges. The literature review reveals that researchers have continued to examine single factors' correlations with the radicalization of individuals. However, due to the high number of complex factors that are involved in the process, most research efforts have led to conflicting findings and weak evidence. Accordingly, this research forsakes the examination of the correlations of single factors to inspect the structure of interrelations of a comprehensive set of factors within the Jordanian context, following the approach of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space and its visual representations using multiple correspondence analysis (MCA).

The research specifically addresses two main questions:

I. What does radicalization mean within the Jordanian context, and how does this add to the current knowledge about the concept, the drivers that lead to the radicalization of individuals and to the available radicalization models?

II. What does the geometric social space representing the interrelations between social, economic, cultural and symbolic factors tell us about society in Jordan and its radical tendencies?

3. Conceptual framework

The research path was designed and conducted as illustrated in Figure 6. This is followed by an outline of the steps undertaken to construct the research.
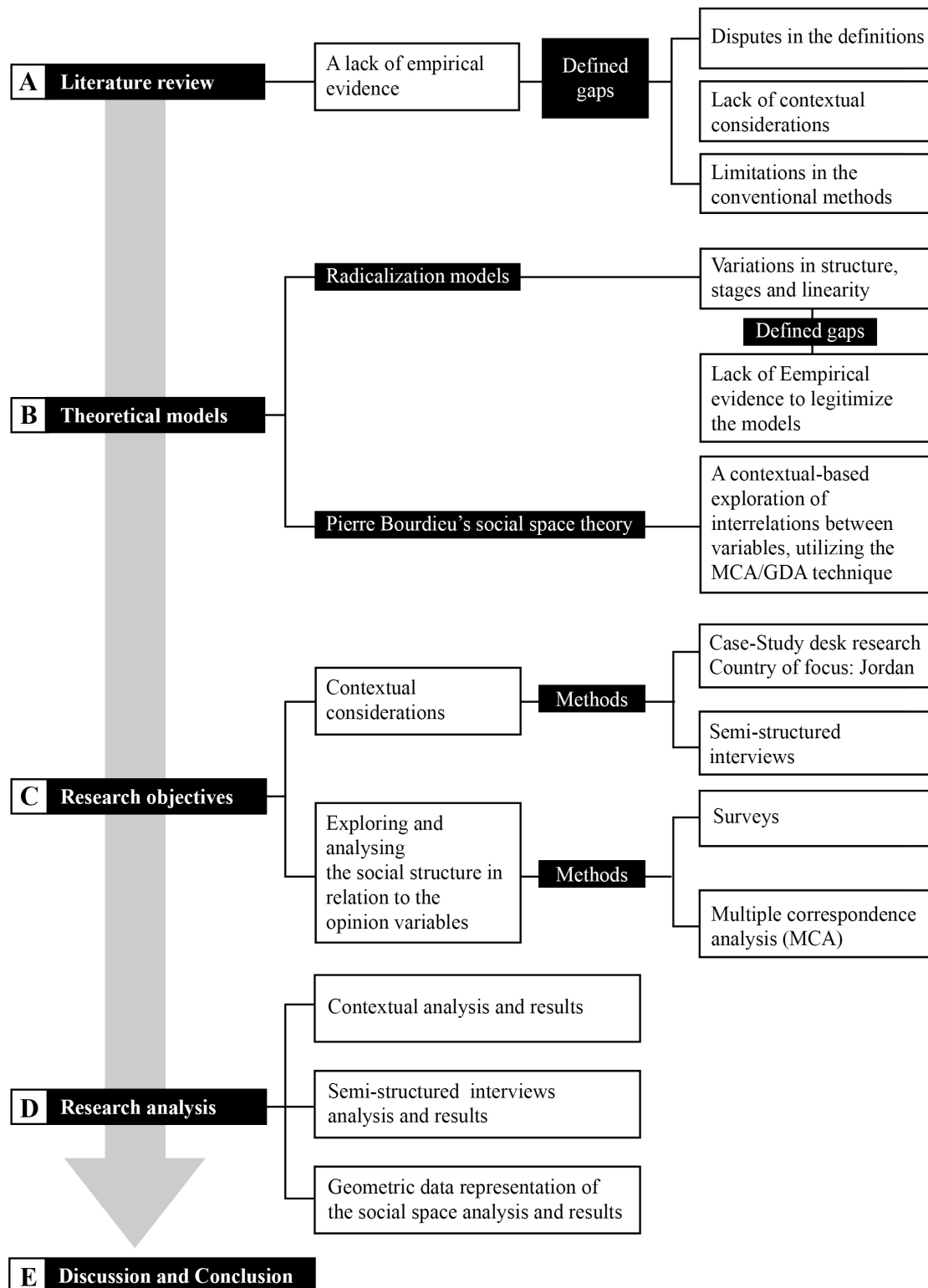
(Figure 1) The conceptual framework

The research steps summary:

A. The literature review:

A literature review is conducted to define the main areas of dearth and dispute about radicalization in academic studies (Chapter 2: Literature review). The literature review revealed three mains areas of dispute:

- The disputes over the definitions.
- The lack of contextual considerations.
- The limitations of the conventional research methods in analysing complex factors that lead to radicalization.

B. The theoretical framework:

The theoretical framework (Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations) is conducted in two parts, involving:

- An examination of five of the most widely known theoretical models on radicalization. The examination revealed that the current models vary in their structure, stages and linearity, and calls for empirical evidence to legitimize their precision.
- A presentation of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space, which is utilized as the main theoretical framework for the research, being perceived as fit as it entails conducting a comprehensive contextual examination, and advocates using the multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) technique to study interrelations among the factors and hidden structures in relation to the phenomenon.

C. The research objectives:

The research objectives (Chapter 4: Research objectives and conceptual framework) focus on two main areas:

- Acquiring in-depth contextual knowledge using:
  - The case study desk research analysis method (Chapter 5: Research methods).
  - The semi-structured interview method (Chapter 5: Research methods).
- Creating a social space using:
  - The survey method, with the involvement of the experimental vignette method (EVM) (Chapter 5: Research methods).
  - Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) (Chapter 5: Research methods).

D. Research analysis:

The research analysis, discussion and results are presented in three chapters:

- The case study desk research analysis (Chapter 6: Case study desk research).
- The semi-structured interview analysis (Chapter 7: The semi-structured interviews).
- The survey analysis (Chapter 8: The survey).

E. The discussion and conclusion:

The discussion and conclusion chapter presents the final results and remarks on the research in relation to the current academic knowledge. It also provides policy recommendations for Jordan's strategy to counter violent extremism and presents areas for future research development (Chapter 9: Discussion and conclusion).

Chapter 5: Research methods

This chapter presents the methods allocated to fulfil the research objectives, which aim to respond to the dearth of empirical evidence attributed to the lack of contextual considerations and to the methodological challenges. The methods respond to the two main questions: What does radicalization mean within the Jordanian context, and how does this add to the current knowledge about the concept, the drivers that lead to the radicalization of individuals and to the available radicalization models? And what does the geometric social space representing the interrelations between the social, economic, cultural and symbolic factors tell us about society in Jordan and its radical tendencies?

The research objectives have led mostly to utilizing a qualitative approach, due to its exploratory and contextual nature, as elaborated in the following sections. However, a quantitative technique was employed in the second part of the research, the multiple correspondence analysis itself, to reveal information open to enhanced profundity in the interpreting of the data. Three main methods are presented in this chapter. The first is the case study, which is a contextual-based practice recognized for its capacity to fulfil profound research objectives, by delivering strong explanations of phenomena within the boundaries of their existence and in building or examining theories. The second is the semi-structured interview method, which aims to investigate people who live the phenomenon, their ideological and political knowledge, as well as their perceptions, values and beliefs regarding the role they play in co-constructing the social reality of the phenomenon. The third is the survey method combined with the experimental vignette method (EVM), and analysed using the multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) technique to explore the structure of interrelations among the different factors surrounding the phenomenon. The reasons behind the selection of each of the methods, their properties, limitations and the sampling and pretest techniques are considered in the following sections.

The methods chapter is divided into five sections. The first presents a reflexive note from the researcher, the second explains the qualitative and quantitative approach of the research, the third elaborates on the case study method, the fourth presents the semi-structured interview

research method, and the fifth explains the survey method including the utilization of the experimental vignette methodology (EVM) and multiple correspondence analysis (MCA).

1. A reflexive note from the researcher

Reflexivity in social research has been increasingly brought up and contested in academic discourse. While some "exploit it as a weapon to undermine truth claims" (Finlay & Gough, 2008), others have "celebrated (it) as part of our human capacity" (Finlay & Gough, 2008). This research embraces both potentials of reflexivity in utilizing the qualitative approach of social research. As elaborated in the following sections of this chapter, several best practices were implemented to secure maximum transparency and precision in recording, analysing and documenting the different steps of the process to minimize the subjectivity that is inevitable, to an extent, within the qualitative approach. However, before moving on to discussing the best practices and limitations of each of the methods utilized, I feel obliged to turn the focus on to some subjective information about my background as a Jordanian, a female researcher and a researcher coming from a Christian family, investigating this Islamic-based topic in my country. I mention my religious background with no intention to illuminate my religious orientations but rather to explain the fact that my family name "Al-Khoury" literally means "the priest". This suggests that every interviewer that I met with, including the Muslim religious leaders, knew instantly of my religious background the minute I introduced myself. Do I believe that this has negatively affected the responses? No. In fact, I am convinced that being a researcher of Christian descent has allowed me to raise banal questions such as "what is the difference between a radical and a religious person?" and to receive detailed answers that reflect a serious intention and passionate concern to explain what may be considered common knowledge to many Muslims in Jordan. I conducted the interviews anticipating that some questions may be raised about my personal interest in the topic, and also about conducting the research in a foreign country; however, luckily the participants expressed openness to the idea of the scientific approach in analysing the topic. Being a researcher from Jordan has facilitated raising contextual questions using the mother tongue and the dialect of the country and I cannot say that I have faced any significant challenges as a female researcher. However, setting appointments with religious leaders who I felt have tried to politely avoid the interview several times took time and insistence to arrange, and they were the last to be interviewed.

The main challenges that I faced concerned the survey data collection due to the sensitivity of the topic itself. I have learned since arriving in the country that independent research and data collection on such a topic require approval from the intelligence department, which is usually a long process and it can easily be rejected due to security concerns. My supervisor in Jordan was also hesitant to get involved in the data collection process to avoid any possible problems with the intelligence department. It took several meetings with the university presidency office and detailed presentations of the content of the research, the interview and the survey questions to receive an endorsement for the project. The university ultimately put me in touch with a local NGO authorized to carry out data collection, which enabled me to distribute the surveys across the country. Minor adjustments to the survey questions were requested. For example, I wanted to include questions that better capture the religious beliefs and religious practices of the participants. However, I was requested to limit the questions and ask only about whether the respondent was fully committed, not regularly committed, or not committed at all to religious practices, which in the end helped reveal sufficient knowledge on the project.

Another issue that I'd like to comment on is relevant to my personal sentiments about terrorist organizations that have posed threats in Jordan and the region. I approach the topic with a genuine quest to understand the phenomenon and with equal sympathy towards young people who are susceptible to calls from terrorist organizations and the victims who have suffered their brutal attacks. I realize the importance of approaching the topic scientifically, with no prejudice towards religion or the phenomenon, therefore the discussion on the Salafi and Jihadi and Jihadi/Salafi ideologies in this research has been limited to delivering the historic background rather than assessing religious text, sectors or leaders – which would be a topic for religious expert scholars. Conversely, the word "progressive", which was used to describe young people in the study who have conveyed cultural exposure and a tolerant mindset, was also assigned abstractly. The results confirm the openness of this research to all possible means of countering terrorism as both enhancing the quality of religious teaching and enhancing the cultural capital were discovered to be valid preventative measures to reduce the susceptibility of youth towards radical calls – as elaborated in detail in the following chapters.

Next, I introduce the characteristics of each of the methods used and the steps conducted to overcome the limitations.

2. The qualitative and quantitative approach

Selecting suitable research methods depends primarily on the research objective and thus the research questions. This research aims to achieve profundity and to acquire in-depth knowledge that has been undetected in research on radicalization, but it also aims to use alternative methods to discuss how different factors can affect the social constructions of a society and the response to radical calls. Accordingly, both qualitative and quantitative approaches were considered.

In response to the first research question, "What does radicalization mean within the Jordanian context, and how does this add to the current knowledge about the concept, the drivers that lead to the radicalization of individuals and to the available radicalization models?", an exploratory qualitative approach was considered suitable (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Qualitative methods are generally inductive (Mayring, 2000). They're applied in cases where a researcher aims to acquire reflective understanding of a case or context (Bryman, 2016). Additionally, a qualitative approach allows open-ended questions to be raised that provide the chance of discovering new traits of a phenomenon (Silverman, 2006), a method that was used in this research as elaborated in the following sections.

The fact that qualitative methods allow the researcher to seek and interpret words, points of view and experiences of individuals (Mayring, 2000) leads to them being criticized for being quite subjective when compared to the highly standardized quantitative methods (Bryman, 2016). Several best practices can still be applied, however, to enhance the reliability of results. For example, in order to increase the validity of the qualitative methods, this study commits to explaining the detailed and transparent steps of the research process (Silverman, 2006), justifies the theoretical considerations and empirical tactics selected (Pole & Lampard, 2002) and presents examples to support the conclusions drawn (Pole & Lampard, 2002). The research thoroughly explains how the data were documented, organized and analysed in relation to the theories and to the research questions (Bryman, 2016), and presents descriptive information about the participants while maintaining the assured anonymity, how the sample was selected and how pretests were conducted, and clarifies the general settings where the data collection took place (Mayring, 2010).

For the second research question, "What does the geometric social space representing the interrelations between the social, economic, cultural and symbolic factors tell us about society in Jordan and its radical tendencies?", the use of the quantitative analysis technique, multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), was foreseen to be extremely valuable as a research attempt, as it aimed to use new methods to understand the societal structures that are associated with radical tendencies, whereas the literature review has revealed that the conventional methods are limited. The method is also advocated in Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space (Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations), which adds confidence to the approach. The quantitative methods rely on important standardized measures (Silverman, 2006). They are considered highly structured in a way that can guarantee, by default means, enhanced validity and reliability (Bryman, 2016). The strictly standardized procedures of the quantitative methods enable their application to a big sample (Silverman, 2006) and generate outcomes that can be generalized (Patton, 2002).

The shortcomings of quantitative methods lie in their tendency to involve little or no interaction with individuals in research (Silverman, 2006), which limits the possibility of acquiring information that cannot be obtained with a random sample or in numerical format. They can reduce the possibility of exploring some important properties of a phenomenon (Silverman, 2006). This research, which involves both qualitative and quantitative approaches, in which analysis is conducted separately first and then jointly, aims to compensate for the limitations of both methods and to enhance the research findings on the phenomenon.

3. The case study method

A single-case study approach is considered a preferred and essential method in a lot of social science research (Flyvbjerg, 2013) and this is also the case for this research. Case studies respond to "how" and "why" research inquiries (Stake, 2005; Yin, 2014), and they aim to obtain in-depth descriptions around a phenomenon (Kidder, 1982) as they probe not only the demographics and statistics but even more closely the experiences and perceptions of the participants (Mabry, 2008). They involve the collection of knowledge contributed by individuals, groups, processes and relations (Yin, 2014), by increasing rather than narrowing knowledge (Gomm et al., 2009). Case studies permit the establishment of comprehensiveness

in real-life framework data collection (Merriam, 1988; Yin, 2014). They can focus in one particular setting (Cousin, 2005; Eisenhardt, 1989), and can be conducted within their actual context (Boblin et al., 2013; Yin, 2014). By which adding depth and emphasis to the investigation of dynamics in society. The data accumulated in case studies are perceived to be rich (Siggelkow, 2007) and to have produced prominent knowledge in recent years (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007), which is sought in this research.

Case studies are considered among the most interesting research approaches with themes that can involve internal establishments (Galunic & Eisenhardt, 2001; Gilbert, 2005), practices conducted in groups (Edmondson et al., 2001) as well as strategies (Mintzberg & Waters, 1982). Case studies have more commonly collaborated in establishing theories in social science research (Hoon, 2013) and they have been used to test (Pinfield, 1986; P. Anderson, 1983), build, examine and advance theory in different research subjects (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Gersick, 1988; Harris & Sutton, 1986; Mintzberg, 1979). This aspect is also important to this research, which also aspires to reflect on the current radicalization models, where the analysis of models revealed inconsistencies and limitations (Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations).

Case studies can be built on a single-case or a multiple-case approach. In this research, the single-case approach was preferred to secure elevated affluence in explaining the phenomenon, an aspect that is further assured in the single-case study approach (Dyer & Wilkins, 1991; Siggelkow, 2007). In multiple-case study research, the researchers assess similar and different elements between two or more cases in the study (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Stake, 1995), and conduct comparative analysis between the data that result from the study of each case and across cases (Yin, 2014), which can normally confirm whether the results of each and across the cases are valuable or not (Eisenhardt, 1991), and if they're strong and reliable (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Yet researchers also note that guaranteeing higher-quality results depends in the end on the research inquiry, explaining that it would be a waste of time to conduct multiple-case studies just to add reliability if it's not the main goal of the research, bearing in mind that multiple-case studies can be highly time-consuming and costly (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

The limitations of a single-case study approach lie in its ability to extract the case from the context in which it happened (Boblin et al., 2013), meaning that it would be difficult to

generalize the results across other contexts (Tsang, 2014). Nevertheless, the objective of this research aims particularly to compensate for an identified lack of contextual consideration in research on radicalization, therefore the single-case study approach is seen as being fully adequate in adding value to the research objective regardless of this limitation.

Several best practices of the case study method were taken into consideration in this research. The case study method requires careful attention in the presentation of the results, which can be extensive and condensed. It is important to avoid the inclusion of unnecessary data that may overcrowd the research. It is also important to connect the findings to coexisting knowledge, to ensure reliability (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Eisenhardt, 1989). Some researchers have recommended using a narrative arrangement, and this is also important to scientists, as it facilitates connecting the findings to research gaps and debates on the topic (Wells, 2004). Other recommended practices include the use of consistent language across the different sections of the research and the use of tables and figures where possible to allow the opportunity to recognize and replicate the different steps of the research, and to compare findings as desirable in the future (Boblin et al., 2013).

The selection of the case itself is important for providing valuable knowledge relevant to the research questions (Perry, 1998). The case should be selected for the potential of its population to provide important knowledge about the topic (Poulis et al., 2013). In this research one case is selected, namely Jordan, a country known to have exported the highest number of fighters to join terrorist groups in Syria and Iraq (Ghimar et al., 2016). This is an important aspect that made it valuable in its potential to provide new knowledge about the phenomenon.

In case studies, the research design allows the creation of subunits within the wider case to investigate in-depth features (Yin, 2014). Case studies offer flexibility in the research design and in the choice of (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015; Meyer, 2001; Stake, 1995) and they enable the collection of evidence using various sources of information, each of which has its own sample and data collection strategy analysis relevant to the research objective (Creswell & Poth, 2016). This subunit approach and the multiple selection of methods were implemented in this research in order to achieve its objectives. The case study began with a desk research and analysis of a collection of 50 documents, local and international academic studies, as well as governmental and non-governmental reports aimed at constructing holistic knowledge about the conditions in Jordan and in relation to the radicalization phenomenon, with a thematic scope guided by three

key objectives: to form an understanding about the Salafi and Jihadi/Salafi ideologies that led to the establishment of radical organizations, and attracted supporters and fighters from Jordan; to examine the current knowledge on the severity of the radical phenomenon in Jordan and the prevention strategy applied to control the phenomenon; and to establish knowledge about the current contextual challenges facing society and young people, which may have supported the decision of many from Jordan to join radical organizations. An elaboration of the desk research analysis is included in Chapter 6: Case study desk research.

The research then utilized the semi-structured interview and the survey methods involving the experimental vignette method (EVM) and multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), as discussed in the following sections.

4. The interview method

One of the main objectives of this research is to investigate people who live the phenomenon, their ideological and political knowledge, as well as their perceptions, values and beliefs regarding the role they play in co-constructing the social reality of the phenomenon, and their potential capacity to envision latent solutions (Mabry, 2008). Accordingly, the interview method seemed appropriate for many of the properties they retain.

The interview method, specifically semi-structured interviews, has the capacity to draw deep and rich opinions and experiences (Bryman, 2016). The participants are asked open-ended questions, devised to explore meaning and to gain new insights into the topic (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006), and they give attention to each of the individual interviewee's opinions (Pole & Lampard, 2002). The interviews are conducted with a conversational approach that allows flexibility, which is important in exploratory studies (Silverman, 2006).

While a research study can conduct interviews with a structured, semi-structured or unstructured aprroach, the semi-structured approach was preferred for this research as it permits the construction of an initial direction to the interview, which garantees orientation in the conversation during the interview towards serving the objective of the research (Patton, 2002). At the same time it does not jeopardize the flexibility of the interviews in allowing the

participants to express opinions and experiences, without interruption, to provide new and deeper insights on the topic.

Interviews, just like the other research methods, present some limitations, one of which is the fact that they are socially constructed, and can possibly provide opinions that are not fully truthful (Pole & Lampard, 2002). However, this did not undermine the importance of opinions to this research, which seeks disregarded contextual aspects in research on radicalization. That said, the research aimed to minimize this limitation by interviewing, when possible, more than one individual from the same area of expertise. Additionally, in the coding of the transcripted interviews, key concepts were cross-referenced to highlight the areas that were richly expressed or opposed by the different participants to weigh their importance in relation to the topic.

The interview questions were designed to meet the research objectives, specifically to answer the first question: What does radicalization mean within the Jordanian context, and how does this add to the current knowledge about the concept, the drivers that lead to the radicalization of individuals and to the available radicalization models? The questions were drafted following an in-depth review of local and international academic literature on the topic, the theoretical radicalization models and a desk research that provided insights into several contextual historic, demographic, social and economic specifics that were included in designing the open-ended questions for the interviews. An interview guide was prepared where some questions were presented to all the participants, including questions asking how the participants defined radicalization, terrorism and violent extremism, the difference between a religious person and a radical, the possible local drivers that led individuals to join radical organizations and opinions on how to counter the phenomenon. Other questions were prepared based on the expertise of the interviewee. For example, if the interviewee came from the education sector, questions about the recent changes in the school curricula to counter radicalization were raised; if the interviewee was a religious leader, the role of religion, mosques and extremist religious leaders was raised. A list of interview ground rules and questions is provided in Appendix B: Interview ground rules and questions.

The interviewees in this research were selected using purposive sampling, which allowed the selection of individuals based on particular characteristics (Collins, 2010). Insights from the desk research such as changes in the anti-terrorism law suggested an opportunity to

interview public policy and research experts. Restrictions on freedom of expression suggested an opportunity to interview media experts. The ideology trait of the topic and the efforts to monitor religious discourse suggested an opening to interview religious leaders. Amending the schools' curricula raised the prospect of interviewing governmental representatives from the Ministry of Education. Jordan's efforts to involve non-governmental organizations in its reform efforts directed attention toward interviewing NGO representatives, and the nature of the research being focused on young people provided an opportunity to interview youth activists. Hence, the individuals were selected with insights from the desk research for their potential to provide rich information about the topic (Patton, 2002). A list of the selected interviewees and a description of their roles in relation to the topic are included in Table 2.

#	Role	Description
1	Public Policy Professional I	Public policy expert and general manager at a local policy studies NGO. Renowned columnist. Researcher and political analyst on issues related to radicalization, violent extremism and countering radicalization.
2	Religious Leader I	Muslim mosque preacher and Islamic studies expert. Social activist at various Islamic centres. Writer, academic researcher and trainer.
3	Religious Leader II	A founding member of the Zamzam initiative, established by the liberal wing of the Muslim Brotherhood. A member of the former Islamic Action Front. Academic professor in civil engineering. Former trainer for school and university students on religious activities.
4	Researcher I	Independent researcher. Worked on analysing and drafting recommendations related to the Jordanian governmental strategies on fighting radicalization.
5	Curriculum Expert I	Curriculum expert at the Ministry of Education. Member of the national committee working on the reform of the geography, history and civic education schools' curricula against radical inclinations.
6	Curriculum Expert II	Curriculum expert at the Ministry of Education. Working on the development of the new high school content against radical inclinations.
7	Media Expert I	A writer and film-maker. Former office manager at the Prime Minister's office. Produced a number of films on public opinion, political issues of concern and the government's performance.
8	Media Expert II	Media and digital criminology expert. Trainer on journalism for human rights, ethics and radicalism in media coverage. Works for Jordan's official national newspaper.
9	Youth Activist I	Youth activist and coordinator of a national youth leadership programme. Founder of the youth shadow government project run under the umbrella of the Ministry of Youth.
10	Youth Activist II	Youth political activist and writer.
11	NGO Representative I	Project manager at an international NGO working on the development of media content that promotes tolerance for the prevention of radicalization and terrorism.
12	NGO Representative II	Head of a regional NGO focusing on cultural and business education in support of youth and local communities. Creative and youth educational experiences expert.
13	NGO Representative III	Head of a local NGO on youth civic education. Developed the civic education content on democratic principles presented in extracurricular sessions in schools across the country.

| 14 | NGO Representative IV | Programme manager working on community coherence and prevention of the adoption of extremist ideology, targeting university students, mothers, university lecturers, Ministry of Education staff and teachers, mosque leaders and preachers. Electronic radical recruitment expert. |
| 15 | NGO Representative V | Project manager at an international NGO in Jordan with previous experience in working on counter-radicalization of youth programmes. Worked as a journalist for two local radio stations. |

(Table 2) Participants in the semi-structured interview

The semi-structured interview questions were pretested on three volunteers from Jordan to increase their validity, namely a university research fellow, a youth NGO worker and a religious researcher, to assess how the questions would be perceived, to make sure that the language used was clear and contextually appropriate and to generate a rough idea of the time needed to complete the interviews. Minor modifications were made following the pretests based on the feedback of the three volunteers. A consent form was presented and signed by the interviewees at the beginning of the interview (Appendix A: Interview consent form). The form included a brief about the research topic and its objectives, information about the name of the researcher and the university affiliation, and it clarified several elements related to the recording, privacy and confidentiality, and the right of the interviewee to make reasonable changes to the consent form and/or to choose not to answer any of the questions. The interviews took place either at the respective offices of the interviewees or in public places. Each interview took between 30 and 45 minutes; however, in some cases the duration reached an hour following the feedback and due to willingness of the interviewee to talk more about the topic. The interviews and the consent forms were all presented and conducted in Arabic, the native language of the researcher and all the interviewees. The interviews were carefully translated from Arabic to English and processes using the computer-assisted qualitative analysis software ATLAS.ti 8.

5. The survey

The survey method was selected to answer the second research question: What does the geometric social space representing the interrelations between the social, economic, cultural

and symbolic factors tell us about society in Jordan and its radical tendencies? Surveys enable information to be collected that is generally numerical in nature and suitable for statistical analysis (Shoemaker et. al, 2009) as mentioned in (Hansen & Machin, 2013). It also enables the collection and study of a broad range of variables from a large number of people (Hansen & Machin, 2013). The data collection is conducted by asking people questions, the responses to which create the final data to be processed and analysed (Fowler, 2009). A quality survey is dependent on the careful planning, development and implementation of three important aspects that were considered in the design and implementation of this research: the survey design, the sampling and the collection (Fowler, 2009).

Like other research methods, surveys have potential drawbacks, one of which is their ability to provide only a "snapshot" of the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours, and little about the dynamics, of the people concerned. This shortcoming was resolved by the choice made to utilize the experimental vignette methodology (EVM), elaborated in the following sections, for the questions that focus on capturing the habitus, which reflects the opinions and judgments of the participants on sensitive issues in society, to overcome this limitation. Surveys have also been criticized for their breadth in that while correlations can technically be measured in surveys, researchers have suggested that it remains difficult to determine whether the results of one aspect are influenced by others that are not included in the survey (Hansen & Machin, 2013). In this research, correlations in the traditional sense are not assessed. On the contrary, the analysis moves away from the study of correlations between dependent and independent variables and uses instead multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) to study the interrelations between a complex set of variables (Chapter 5: Research methods), and this required, as recommended in Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space, the collection of a comprehensive set of social, economic, cultural and symbolic variables to guarantee the best possible representation of different aspects of the Jordanian society.

The sample for the survey distribution focuses on young people aged between 18 and 30. Two main aspects were taken into consideration in the decision to select this age group as a sample in this research. The first is related to the demographics acquired in the desk research, which revealed that 62.9% of the population are under 30 years old (Department of Statistics, 2017). The second relates to the high susceptibility of this age group to radical calls as reports indicate that the majority of foreign fighters are in their twenties (Dodwell et al., 2016; Perliger & Milton, 2016; Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018), which makes them an ideal sample to study.

The number of individuals in the 18–30 age group is estimated at 2,500,000 in Jordan, based on which a sample size of n = 2000 was set, providing a confidence level of 92.7% and a margin of error equal to 2.19%.

Another aspect that was assessed strategically concerns the dissemination of the questionnaires in a manner that is relevant to the distribution of the population across the country. The desk research suggests that four cities – Irbid, Zarqa, Ma'an and Salt – yielded the highest number of radical fighters who attempted to join the Syrian and Iraqi conflict (Harper, 2017; Speckhard, 2017). Therefore, it was important to assign a sample that included the four identified cities, but without jeopardizing the normal distribution of youth in the country. Hence, "quota sampling" was used as a technique to ensure sample representativeness and to consider features and portions relevant to the research objective (Collins, 2010). As a result, the final sample size was assigned based on the population ratio in 13 clusters covering all of the Jordanian governorates, while the target number of questionnaires was calculated based on the ratio of the population in each of the clusters. Table 3 provides a summary of the target number of questionnaires set per cluster.

(Table 3) Number of questionnaires based on the population distribution

City	Population	Percentage of population	# questionnaires required
Amman	4,247,611	41.20%	824
Irbid	1,911,600	18.54%	371
Zarqa	1,474,000	14.30%	286
Mafraq	593,900	5.76%	115
Balqa	531,000	5.15%	103
Karak	341,900	3.32%	66
Jerash	256,000	2.48%	50
Madaba	204,300	1.98%	40
Aqaba	203,200	1.97%	39
Ajloun	190,200	1.84%	37
Ma'an	171,100	1.66%	33
Tafiela	104,000	1.01%	20
Salt	80,189	0.78%	16
Total	10,309,000	100.00%	2000

Several best practices were applied in the design and distribution of the questionnaires across the country. An introduction in the questionnaires included information about the researcher, the university and the research objectives. The surveys were conducted anonymously and on a voluntary basis. The expected duration of 5 minutes was set and added to the interview. A pretest was conducted to make sure that the questions reflected the intended

meaning. Some amendments were reconsidered based on the feedback on the questionnaires that were distributed by the researcher to acquire direct feedback on the questions, clarity and intention. The surveys were translated and distributed in Arabic by the researcher. A local non-governmental organization assisted in the distribution and collection of the data to and from the defined target audience through its network of local partners across the country. The data were inserted using Google forms and reports were extracted on a daily basis to ensure a good balance of two of the main elements: the number of questionnaires collected in each governorate and the male-female distribution. Once the data had been gathered, Excel documents were extracted from the Google forms platform and inserted in R to initiate the data processing and analysis, which is elaborated in the data set section of Chapter 8: The survey.

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space requires the examination of a comprehensive set of social, economic, cultural and symbolic capitals, as well as the habitus. Therefore, a comprehensive survey was designed to ensure this aspect, bearing in mind that a highly structured and detailed questionnaire is a prerequisite for an effective survey (Wiseman et. al, 1970) as mentioned in (Berger, 2011). The first section gathered information about each participant's background. It comprised closed questions on sex, age, if the participant was currently a student, residency and religious habits. The second section gathered information about the participants' capitals. Economic status was revealed by asking about employment status and income. Social status was identified by asking about the participants' membership in tribal families, as well as their activism and volunteerisms, which are foreseen to enhance their group connections and memberships. Cultural capital was obtained by asking about education level, number of languages, the participants' exposure through travelling, their music and sports skills and hobbies, and their interest in local and international TV programmes, books and music. Symbolic capital, which reflects external and internal satisfaction, was uncovered by raising questions on the participants' satisfaction with work conditions, politics, cultural and sports services and life in general in the country. The third section aimed to capture the viewpoints of the participants on topics of a sensitive nature, based on recent events that took place in the country, and demonstrated low tolerance in society. Pierre Bourdieu called this perception the "habitus". A complementary technique, the experimental vignette methodology (EVM), was utilized to enhance the survey's capacity to capture the opinions of the participants; its properties and application are explained in detail in the next section. A copy of the survey questionnaire is attached in Appendix C: Survey questionnaire.

5.1. The experimental vignette methodology (EVM)

The experimental vignette methodology (EVM) was utilized in the second part of the survey, which aimed to obtain information about the habitus, an element that is considered key in Pierre Bourdieu's social space theory. The habitus in this research is meant to reflect the opinions of the participants on sensitive issues within the Jordanian context, which can be acquired through the vignette experiments that are able to record meaning, opinions, judgments and actions.

Vignettes have been commonly used as a corresponding technique together with other data collection methods. They have specifically been utilized to enrich standing data or to produce new data never produced by other research methods (Barter & Renold, 2000). Employing vignette experiments in survey research has become popular in recent years due to their capacity to add internal validity to the widely used survey method, which is known to offer high external validly; hence, each method was considered to counterbalance the other method's limitations (Gaines et al., 2007; Schlueter & Schmidt, 2010; Sniderman & Grob, 1996).

Empirical research that aims to obtain information about beliefs, values and norms has always presented difficult methodological challenges in social research (Finch, 1987). Surveys and interviews have been criticized for their inappropriateness for the study of human behaviour and attitude, as the questions presented in questionnaires are usually too abstract to serve such a purpose (Alexander & Becker, 1978). The most refined and attentive survey researchers have explained that it is extremely challenging to capture values in a credible manner. The vignette experiments have served to fill a gap for such research methods, in that they allow the presentation of stimuli that are considered less abstract than the usual survey questions (Alexander & Becker, 1978). Vignettes offer a richer representation of real life and an enhanced mental picture and can result in responses that better represent the judgment of the research participants on the proposed questions (Alexander & Becker, 1978).

The experimental vignette methodology (EVM) has the advantage over the traditional survey method in that it is considered useful in exploring the subjective beliefs of the participants (Hughes, 1998). It raises questions that are more realistic and less abstract than the traditional research questions (Steiner et al., 2016). The design of the experiments permits a

simultaneous demonstration of various descriptive and contextual specifics that provide realistic scenarios demonstrated to respondents (Atzmüller & Steiner, 2010). The descriptions contain specific measures that can minimize the ambiguity in the raised question, and the respondent's chance of interpreting meaning that could affect their responses (Alexander & Becker, 1978).

The experimental vignettes are also important in acquiring information about the participants' values in relation to sensitive topics (Bradbury-Jones et al., 2014; Finch, 1987), by presenting the topics through fictional characters or circumstances (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014), thereby enhancing the potential to reveal moral codes (Barter & Renold, 2000). The respondents are less likely to present bias in their response than they are when asked direct questions (Alexander & Becker, 1978). The fact that vignette experiments inquire about real situations using hypothetical parties makes the questions less threatening or offensive, and it distances the individual from direct personal experiences that could have existed in real life, and would have affected their demonstration of their true judgments (Finch, 1987). Vignettes are designed to include brief and systematically constructed scenarios or stories that can describe a person, a situation or an object (Bradbury-Jones et al., 2014). Depending on the research objective, the experiments can be offered to the participants in diverse formats, for example as written vignettes – used in this research in a discourse, as a narrative, in pictures or animated as audio-visual materials (Atzmüller & Steiner, 2010). The designed stories are then presented to research participants to request their feedback or opinions on the stories (Hazel, 1995).

There are different ways to realize the participants responses to vignette experiments. One is to directly invite the participant to react and respond to the presented scenarios, an approach that has been applied in different research studies (Kirmayer et al., 1997; Ouslander et al., 1993). However, some discrepancies have been discovered between what participants think the right answer should be and what they would actually do in reality (Hughes & Huby, 2012). An alternative, which was considered to overcome this discrepancy and was considered in this research, was to request the participants to give their opinions on the situation as if they were outside consultants (Alves & Rossi, 1978). The latter was foreseen to provide higher validity to the vignette questions.

The way the responses were presented also varied among the different vignette experiments. Some researchers used open-ended questions and others used closed-ended questions. A flexible approach may also be considered taking into consideration the requirement of the research, the research objective and the type of respondents (Hughes & Huby, 2012). In this research, a list of proposed responses was presented to the vignettes to serve the factorial approach of the data analysis (Alves & Rossi, 1978). The responses needed to eventually be embedded in the complete data set of ordinal data. However, to allow flexibility for the participants, the option to propose other responses was provided and the additional results were coded and included within the responses or as separate categories that were considered in the analysis. A detailed explanation about the data processing is included in the survey analysis chapter of this research (Chapter 8: The survey).

In the design of the vignettes, it is also important to consider the length, as participants are expected to answer hastily over time should they be too long (Nosanchuk, 1972). Participants are also expected to answer to all the questions if they are shorter (Lawrie et al., 1998). In this research, the length and multiple-choice responses aimed to encourage the highest number of participants to respond with attention given to the presented vignettes.

Guided by the specification and limitations of the method and the recent incidents that simulated radical reactions in Jordan, five vignettes were generated and embedded in the survey to meet the research objective, which aims to measure the opinions of the participants on sensitive issues and to assess the opinions in relation to the capital within the overall social space structure of society in Jordan. The first vignette described a Jordanian governmental measure to close down a website and detain two of the owners for publishing satirical content on topics including religion. The second placed the respondent in a position to propose suggestions for improving the school curricula. The third represented a situation in which an individual has bought a ticket to attend a classical music concert. However, two days before the event, the individual hears that the orchestra conductor might be a member of an international organization that advocates gay rights. The fourth described an assault by five individuals on the conductor of the orchestra for his presumed support of a gay organization. The fifth presented a story of a 22-year-old individual who travelled to join a terrorist group in Syria, and raised questions about the motive of the individual behind joining the terrorist group. The data processing and coding of the list of responses to the vignette are discussed in detail in the survey chapter of this research (Chapter 8: The survey).

5.2. The Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA)

The decision to use multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) represented by using geometric data analysis (GDA) to analyse the data collected in the survey method is inspired by the techniques used by Pierre Bourdieu as he developed the theory of social space (Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations). Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) is an exploratory unsupervised learning algorithm (Johnson & Wichern, 2007). Unlike the regression modelling tools that focus on the relations between the explanatory/independent variables and the frequency or the odds of response/dependent variables, MCA avoids statements of causation, and rather uncovers underlying patterns and hidden structures with high potential for meaningful interpretation. These patterns represent the major forces of social differentiation that manifest themselves in divisions and oppositions and provide insights into how such forces describe the society under examination; that is why it was foreseen as being particularly useful for this research.

As a method, geometric data analysis (GDA) can be applied to provide a representation of principal component analysis (PCA) and multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) (Blasius & Greenacre, 2006). The difference between PCA and MCA is not methodological but rather technical as PCA relies on numerical variables, while MCA is based on categorical variables (Benzécri, 1973). GDA visually demonstrates the interrelations between individuals (cases) and variables (questions) in which the data sets are operated with structuring factors (Blasius & Greenacre, 2006). The traditional statistical methods that handle structuring factors include ANOVA, MANOVA and regressions, however their use would signify a change in the GDA construction and therefore they have not been integrated (Roux & Rouanet, 2005).

Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) is applied to an index matrix that comprises a homogeneous set of categorical variables (Greenacre, 2017). Categorical variables are defined by a finite set of categories representing questions to which there are a number of responses or modalities (Blasius & Greenacre, 2006). Each individual is given an equal weight and can have only one response or modality in the category set (Blasius & Greenacre, 2006).

In the data set prepared for MCA analysis, we can allocate *I* to represent the list of individuals *n* in the study, and *Q* to represent the list of questions in the study, which are considered variables. This would result in an MCA table comprising *I X Q*. In the table, the modality, which can also be called the category of question *q* selected by individual *I*, is represented by an in cell of *(i,q)* (Le Roux & Rouanet, 2010).

MCA produces two clouds of points corresponding respectively to the index matrix that consists of lines and columns of individuals' responses to each of the modalities. One cloud represents the individuals, the other cloud represents the categories (MCA) (Lebaron, 2009). The cloud of individuals can reveal specific possible segments in the dominant classes, based on their distance or dispersions in subgroups (Le Roux & Rouanet, 2010). In the cloud of individuals, if two individuals answer in exactly the same way by selecting the same modalities in the same category sets, the distance between the individuals is zero (Blasius & Greenacre, 2006). However, when the individuals provide different answers, which is mostly the case, the steps that take place in MCA as defined by (Le Roux & Rouanet, 2010) include the following:

When a respondent *i* chooses category *k* for question *q*, and when another respondent *i'* chooses a category *k'* for the same question *q*, n_k and $n_{k'}$ are set as the numbers of respondents who have selected *k* and *k'*. Correspondingly, the measure of distance between *i* and *i'* for question *q* is demarcated by

$$d_q^2(i, i') = \frac{1}{f_k} + \frac{1}{f_{k'}}$$

(In this case $f_k = n_k/n$ and $f_{k'} = /n_{k'}/n$.) Correspondingly, the general distance *d(i, i')* between *i* and *i'* is demarcated by

$$d^2(i, i') = \frac{1}{Q}\Sigma_{q \in Q}d_q^2(i, i').$$

The distances between the respondents outline one of the main operation results, the cloud of individuals, established based on *n* points in a geometric space, involving *K - Q* dimensions (the general number of categories - the number of variables).

The categories cloud starts with a step that determines and provides an initial interpretation of the principal coordinates (axes). The principal coordinates result from the examination of the eigenvalue λ_1, λ_2 … of individuals' and categories' contributions (*Ctr*).

Principal coordinates provide a general interpretation of the social space in relation to the research questions and constitute the basis for the categories plot.

The construction of the clouds of categories themselves follows the subsequent statistical measures that are also relevant to the participants' responses; if $n_{kk'}$ symbolizes the number of respondents who have selected both k and k', then the distance on the geometric graph $d(k, k')$ is set by

$$d^2(k, k') = \frac{n_k + n_{k'} - 2n_{kk'}}{n_k n_{k'}/n}$$

representing the number of individuals who have chosen one response only, either k or k', divided by the common speculative occurrence.

A cloud can be projected with maximum variance orthogonally on the first principal dimension (axis) of the cloud, with an alteration of the cloud on the first eigenvalue, indicated by λ. A sequence of principal axes defines by best fit by increasing the number of dimensions and accordingly decreasing the eigenvalue $\lambda_1 > \lambda_2 > \dots$ The interpretation is conducted by examining contributions, based on the share of axis variance in relation to a point. If y^k represents the abscissa of (category) modality k of weight f_k in relation to the dimension (axis) of variance λ, the contribution of k is

$$\text{Ctr}_k = (f_k/Q)(y^k)^2/\lambda$$

In MCA, with K_q signifying the number of modalities (categories) of question q, the contribution of question I in a cloud is

$$Ctr_q = (K_q\text{-}1)/(K\text{-}Q)$$

In applying MCA, it is important to remember that based on the research objective and questions, one can assign and differentiate between the active variables (questions) and supplementary variables. Active variables are those with categories involved in creating the distance between the individuals, usually many and complex, and they affect the determination of the principal axes, and consequently the clouds of categories, while supplementary variables are rather superimposed on the plot, which allows the researcher to assess their positioning in relation to distances created between the active categories and to the fields constructed on the same plot (Greenacre, 2017). The actual data processing is included in detail in Chapter 8: The survey.

Chapter 6: Case study desk research

1. Introduction

Contextual profundity is one of the main objectives of this research. Therefore, the case study approach is utilized as a contextual-based practice recognized for its capacity to fulfil profound research objectives and for delivering strong explanations of phenomena within the boundaries of their existence. Case studies are also used to build and examine existing theories, which, following the theoretical review of the radicalization models, this research also aims to reflect on (Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations). The research focuses on one country, i.e. Jordan, a country known to have exported the highest number of fighters to join Islamic groups in Syria and Iraq, and on young people, who are considered the most rapidly expanding population that could adopt social extremism (Chapter 5: Research methods).

The case study starts with a situational desk research analysis of a collection of approximately 50 documents, local and international academic studies, as well as governmental and non-governmental reports aimed at constructing holistic knowledge about the conditions in Jordan and in relation to radicalization. The desk research presents a non-exhaustive review about the Salafi and the Jihadi/Salafi ideology. However, as explained in the reflexive note of the research, the aim is to provide a background to the ideology and not to critically assess any religious aspects, as this would be better conducted by theology experts and is beyond the objectives of the research. The thematic scope of the desk research is guided by three key points presented in three sections. The first is to form an understanding about the Salafi and Jihadi/Salafi ideologies that have attracted supporters and fighters from Jordan in recent years to Syria and Iraq. The second is to examine the current knowledge on the severity of the radical phenomenon and the prevention strategy applied to control the phenomenon in Jordan. The third is to establish knowledge about the demographics as well as the current contextual social, economic, cultural and symbolic challenges due to their perceived role in enhancing the susceptibility of youth – who are the focus of this research – to adopt radical ideologies or to join terrorist groups.

2. The Jihadi/Salafi current

The Jihadi/Salafi current is neither an organization nor a structure of administration. Rather, it is a network of scattered groups that have no official connection between them other than one ideology and some personal relations. Therefore, the current has been described as amorphous (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018). Scholars themselves argue about its definition. Some define it as a reformist movement that seeks to revive Islam and its heritage, some as a protest movement that stands against whatever conflicts with religion's role and rituals (Abu-Rumman, 2014). The recent establishment of the Islamic State (ISIS) represented a form of acknowledgement to many of these scattered Jihadi/Salafi groups (Abu-Rumman, 2014). However, this does not suggest that all Salafi and Jihadi/Salafi groups identify with the Islamic State (ISIS). Traditional Salafi members, for example, disagree and reject connecting Salafism with Jihadism as they do not perceive the Jihadi as Salafi but as individuals who practise Takfir, which is when you perceive others as infidels (Abu-Rumman, 2014). Al-Halabi, who is a Jordanian Salafi leader, explains that Salafism is "the call to knowledge, worship, doctrine, behaviour, education and ethics", and he excludes politics, organization, activism and Jihad from Salafism (Abu-Rumman, 2014). Additionally, Jihadi/Salafi such as Al-Nusra Front, who ran its operation at a parallel time as the Islamic State (ISIS), refused a merger and had clashes with the Islamic State (ISIS) over disagreements at the affiliation and leadership levels.

Reviewing the history of the Salafi and Jihadi/Salafi situation in Jordan, we learn that some important Salafi leaders and influencers were Jordanians. Yet those leaders have mostly committed to, established and led groups outside the country. One of the most prominent leaders is Abu Qatada, who is a Jordanian Islamist preacher of Palestinian origin, known for his commitment to, and support for, Al-Qaeda. He was sentenced to death in Jordan for preaching about recruitment to armed groups in Algeria and he was particularly condemned for influencing Jihadists, specifically in the hijacks of the planes in the September 11th attacks in the United States (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018). Abu Qatada sought asylum in the United Kingdom. Jordan signed a treaty with the United Kingdom to guarantee a fair trial for Abu Qatada in Jordan; however, in Jordan, Abu Qatada was set free from prison in 2014 due to the lack of sufficient proof of affiliation with terrorist activities (Counter Extremism Project, 2018). Abu Musab al-Zarqawi is another Jordanian home-born Jihadi/Salafi who was condemned for playing a critical role in expanding the Jihadi/Salafi ideology (Abu-Rumman,

2014). He was released from prison in Jordan following a Royal Pardon in 1999. He first travelled to join armed groups in Afghanistan, and with the American invasion he moved to Iraq and became the leader of Al-Qaeda, where he led hundreds of terrorist attacks until he died in a United States troops attack in 2006 (Abu-Rumman, 2014). Al-Zarqawi caused wide death and destruction in Iraq, and in Jordan he planned the 1999 Radisson Hotel bombing and organized a triple hotel bombing that killed 57 people (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018). Another important Jordanian figure is Abu Muhammad Al-Maqdisi, who is also considered the most widely known Salafi figure in the world. In London, he became one of the most prominent theorists of this ideology in the Arab world (Abu-Rumman, 2014). He went in and out of prison in Jordan several times due to the lack of evidence on his involvement in terror attacks. In 2014 he was released again after agreeing to provide the Jordanian authorities with information about the Islamic State (ISIS) (Counter Extremism Project, 2018). Abu Muhammad Al-Maqdisi mentored Al-Qaeda in Iraq and he was one of the leaders who were against the bloodshed of Muslims; he was also against the establishment of the Islamic State (ISIS), and against violence and suicide attacks (Abu-Rumman, 2014).

The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), also known as the "Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)" or the "Islamic State (IS)", is a Jihadi/Salafi movement that announced its Caliphate and name on 29 June 2014. The group was first established in the early 2000s and was a key contributor in the Iraqi revolution during the occupation of the United States. However, due to the negative perception of this group among the public and the strong pressure exerted by the United States and the military forces in Iraq, the group weakened. It was in 2011 that it began to appear again with its involvement in the Syrian Civil War (Hashim, 2014). ISIS is a terrorist organization that controlled large areas of land in Iraq and Syria between 2014 to 2017. It has constantly claimed affiliations and inspired attacks in different countries in the service of its "radical, anti-Western brand of fundamentalist Sunni Islam" (Auerbach, 2020). The Islamic State (ISIS) also gained global attention for the numerous attacks that it conducted before and after the announcement of its Caliphate in 2014. Since its establishment, the Islamic State (ISIS) has practised the establishment of an Islamic Caliphate based on an extremist version and construal of Islam and Sharia Law, and for this reason, as a political body, the Islamic State (ISIS) cannot be separated from the ideology on which it was established (Bunzel, 2015). The Islamic State (ISIS), received announcements of loyalty to the Caliphate from combative groups all over the world in 2014 and 2015 (Johnston, 2016; Zachary & Masters, 2014). The first assault took place in October 2002 when associates of the group killed

Laurence Foley, a USAID worker in Jordan (Hashim, 2014; Zachary & Masters, 2014). In 2012, the number of Islamic State attacks increased significantly. In 2012 and 2013, two campaigns in Iraq were implemented: one campaign in 2012, which was called "Breaking Walls", arranged the liberation of its associates from prison, and another campaign in 2013 was called "Soldier's Harvest" and aimed to attack security forces in Iraq (Hashim, 2014; Zachary & Masters, 2014). After the declaration of its establishment in 2014, major attacks included the occupation of Mosel; an attack on the Baji oil field and the confiscation of the border junction between Iraq and Syria in June 2014; and the murder of 700 people from the Sheitaat tribe and the execution of the American captive James Foley in August 2014. Internationally, major assaults have included a string of attacks in Paris, France in November 2015 causing the death of 130 civilians and injuring 100 more; an attack on a police station and on one of the US franchise chain Starbucks in Jakarta causing the death of seven and injuring 23; and two bomb assaults that took place at Brussels airport and another in a metro station murdering 31 and injuring 340 others. The economic income of the Islamic State (ISIS) came from the illegitimate trade of oil products and from operating the conquered oil factories, the money extended from external supporters and the money made from abductions and smuggling. The Islamic State (ISIS) has also relied upon the funds raised from taxes and blackmail of the masses who have resided in the land they controlled (Brisard & Martinez, 2014). With regard to land, the Islamic State (ISIS) did accomplish the seizing and directing of several towns in northern Syria and western Iraq. Their strongest Syrian base was in Raqqa (Brisard & Martinez, 2014) and they also controlled the Iraq-Syria border along with the border overpass between Iraq and Jordan (Arango & Gordon, 2014). The slow overthrow of ISIS required the intrusion of 70 countries between the years 2017 and 2019 (Frantzman, 2019).

It is important to note that ISIS was not the only established Salafi-based organization at the time. Al-Nusra Front was another organization established in Syria in 2012 that aspired to establish an Islamic State and to live by the Sharia Law, yet its focus was more targeted towards overthrowing the government run by President Bashar Al-Assad's regime, which was attacking Sunni Muslims' peaceful demonstrations at the time. Once the Islamic State (ISIS) had announced its establishment, it also announced the merger of Al-Nusra Front as part of its group. However, leaders of Al-Nusra Front rejected the merger and declared the group's commitment to Al-Qaeda (Hashim, 2014). While the Islamic State (ISIS) has expanded with much wider operations, this research also considers Al-Nusra Front because many of the individuals from Jordan have moved to join Al-Nusra Front and not ISIS. ISIS declared plans

to use unapologetic terrorist methods and expanded operations while Al-Nusra called specifically for support to combat the unjust Al-Assad regime and its attacks against Sunni Muslims in the three-year civil war. The research proceeds with an analysis of the possible implications that may provide deeper insights into the motives of the fighters to join one of these organizations.

3. Jordan and the radical landscape

Jordan is a young Arab monarchy in the Middle East that has ruled itself for just over 60 years. This governmental structure followed the First World War that stripped power from the Ottoman Empire, which had previously ruled the region for centuries (Boulder, 2002). This control was transferred to the allied powers, which then divided the region and set borders for Jordan as well as the rest of the modern Levantine countries (Boulder, 2002). Jordan is bordered by Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Israel and Palestine and the borders of Jordan dedicate little to no social capital or natural resources to the country; however, despite this lack of resources, Jordan has survived as a rentier state through the sheer amount of foreign aid and some Arab countries (Ryers, 2014). Today the country is surrounded by conflict at every border. Jordan's regional vicinity to geopolitical conflicts including Iraq and Syria fuels narratives and influences strategies relevant to the country's vulnerability to radical calls (Speckhard, 2017).

Despite being formally banned, followers of Salafism in Jordan are suspected to be increasing in numbers as Salafi preachers quietly disseminate their ideas through education and preaching rather than within the political arena (Counter Extremism Project, 2018). Salafi groups are usually mobilized in poor rural areas where the government has not yet managed to set control measures and monitor or assign specific preachers (Counter Extremism Project, 2018). Certain geographic clusters in Jordan, including the cities of Irbid, Zarqa, Ma'an and Salt, have been cited as hotbeds for radical ideologies and as having produced the highest number of fighters in Syria and Iraq (Harper, 2017; Speckhard, 2017). The recent incident of confrontation with security forces in Irbid revealed that several of the fighters in Syria and Iraq had belonged to specific cells in Irbid camp (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018). Salt is a city known to house several individuals who have not only joined the Islamic State's (ISIS) radical organization but they also in joined groups in Kurdistan in 2000, and Al-Qaeda in Iraq in the

years that followed. Several individuals were in fact arrested over the years in Salt city for radical-related charges (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018). Ma'an is another identified hub for the Jihadi current and is one of the cities known for its "coalition of the outlaws". Several individuals from Ma'an have joined Al-Qaeda forces in Iraq, and several have departed to join the Islamic State (ISIS) and Al-Nursa from there in recent years (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018). Zarqa is another city known to be a fertile ground for radical ideologies and is attributed with hosting a high number of Palestinian refugees with Jordanian-Palestinian identities who hold a grudge and a dream to return to the "homeland" (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018).

Jordan does not offer access to information about the number of foreign fighters that have joined or returned from Syria and Iraq, therefore information about these statistics is only available in independent studies and in experts' reports (Speckhard, 2017). Several reports state that since 2011, between 38,000 and 40,000 foreign fighters gathered to join the Islamic State (ISIS) from over 110 countries before and after the announcement of the Caliphate in June 2014 (Barrett, 2017; Speckhard, 2017). Of these individuals, 7,054 joined from the Middle East, where Jordan is located (Barrett, 2017). Between 3,000 and 3,950 individuals from Jordan moved to Iraq or Syria between 2011 and 2015 (Barrett, 2017; Speckhard, 2017), up to 1,500 of whom have been killed (Speckhard, 2017). These records have positioned Jordan as a country with one of the highest per capita contributions of foreign fighters in the world, followed by Tunisia and Saudi Arabia (Harper, 2017; Speckhard, 2017). Two hundred and fifty Jordanian foreign fighters came back to Jordan (Barrett, 2017) and 400 Jordanians were arrested by the authorities for trying to cross the Jordanian borders to join Jihadi groups (Counter Extremism Project, 2018). Individuals moved to Syria and Iraq in two phases. The first occurred at the beginning of the conflict in 2011 during the three-year civil war, when the al-Assad regime reflected sectarian connotations and attacked peaceful protests by Sunni Muslims (Harper, 2017) to defend those who shared their religion, practices and demographics. The second wave then commenced with the official establishment of the Islamic State (ISIS) in 2014 (Neumann, 2013). Since then, fewer individuals have managed to travel to Syria and Iraq, as the Jordanian government has imposed intensive security measures (Angel Rabasa et al., 2010).

Statistics reveal several inconsistencies in the characteristics of fighters who have joined from Jordan: while many are impoverished or underemployed, others are highly educated and come from thriving families or have received secular education (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung,

2014; Speckhard, 2017). In a recent study of 760 Jordanians who belong to the Jihadi/Salafi movements, including the Islamic State (ISIS), Al-Nusra Front and Al-Qaeda, who have joined or attempted to join, conducted violent activities or activities contravening the Terrorism Prevention law, 77% were under the age of 30 – an age group that is also considered susceptible as reports suggest that the majority of foreign fighters are in their twenties (Dodwell et al., 2016; Perliger & Milton, 2016) – 66.1% were married, 26.4% had attended higher education and 71.2 were employed (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018). Some exceptional cases of fighters from the Jihadi/Salafi current included a son of a former member of parliament, who was also a medicine student that died committing a suicide attack in Iraq, a middle-class psychology graduate who worked in security and failed while trying to reach the Islamic State (ISIS) through Turkey, a Jordanian military pilot who died in a suicide attack after joining the Islamic State (ISIS), and two sons of Abdel Majid Majali who fought in Afghanistan, one of whom was considered a leader in the group and responsible for the recruitment of many in the city of Karak (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018). There is also evidence of the participation of female foreign fighters, two of whom have returned (Speckhard, 2017); however, information about their motivations is less available (Harper, 2017).

Women are usually disregarded and alleged to be passive in literature on radicalization (Osborne & Bondokji, 2018). None of the research conducted on women foreign fighters was conducted in Jordan, despite the increase noted in the number of female fighters who have not only joined extremist organizations as Jihadi brides but also to participate in a range of activities including suicide bombing, combat and safeguarding (Osborne & Bondokji, 2018). Women face similar socio-economic frustrations to men in Jordan, if not more, and are vulnerable to additional pressures, therefore in this research women are considered to be equally susceptible to drivers as men and might be attracted at their own will to join terrorist groups. From another perspective, research has also pointed out that mothers are able to detect early signs of radicalization in their families, and can assist through their traditional role in revealing information and preventing radicalization at an early stage. Mothers have been recognized as playing a role in persuading some foreign fighters to return home (Osborne, 2017).

Thought security among members of society was brought to the attention of researchers following the carrying out of a number of studies on the topic in Jordan. A study conducted on a sample of 304 university students in 2015 suggested that, apart from their support for radical

organizations, young people also had radical views on individuals of different religions, countries in the West and extramarital sex (Al-Rawashdeh, 2015). Another study conducted in 2015 reported that Jordan's Salafi ideology had enticed 7,000 Jordanian disciplinarians, many of whom adopt radical ideologies and express sympathy with Jihadi movements (Vidino, 2018). In 2016, a study was conducted for the University of Jordan in which students revealed that 6% of the student participants felt that organizations like the Islamic State (ISIS), Al-Qaeda and Al-Nusra Front represented them; the number amounted to 1,094 students (Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan, 2016). However, it is important to understand that sympathy on the part of Jordanian respondents with radical groups does not equate to sympathy with the violent acts committed by them. A drop in the number of supporters from Jordan following the violent acts conducted by certain radical organizations suggests that Jordanians may be less supportive of violent attacks even if they are sympathetic with radical ideologies. Some 290,000 Jordanians (an estimate of 7% of the population) have expressed support for radical groups, however the same study was conducted again and the percentage went down to 3% after the release of the video showing the murder of Jordanian pilot Muath al-Kasasbeh by the Islamic State (ISIS) (Speckhard, 2017). This study mirrors a previous study that was conducted before and after Al-Qaeda attacks in Jordan in 2005. Before the attacks, 67% of the survey respondents viewed Al-Qaeda as a valid resistance group. This number dropped to 20% after the attacks (Rubin, 2010). Additionally, the percentage of respondents who considered Al-Qaeda to be a terrorist organization increased from 11% to 49% following the attacks, and 24% were undecided (Rubin, 2010).

With the establishment of the Islamic State (ISIS), Jordan has successfully managed to prevent large-scale attacks with its extensive security measures. Jordan was in fact one of the member countries in the international coalition formed to defeat the Islamic State (ISIS). In 2015, Jordan declared conducting 56 air strikes, killing 7,000 Islamic State (ISIS) members and destroying 20% of the Islamic State's (ISIS) forces (Counter Extremism Project, 2018). However, small-scale attacks have been noted to increase since 2015 (IRI, 2018) and have caused new worries about instability in the country (Muhsin, 2012). The local security threats have conducted their attacks through established extremist cells in the country or through individual actors known as "lone-wolf terrorists" either connected with extremist organizations or inspired by radical ideologies (Vidino, 2018). The Jordanian Council on Foreign Relations, as mentioned in the (Counter Extremism Project, 2018), stated that the price of the desired weapon used by violent extremists (Kalashnikov rifle) went down by $500 from the original

price of $2,000 between 2012 and 2014, reflecting the weapon's rising availability amongst individuals or possible hidden cells.

Extremist attacks in Jordan were unprecedented. Before the establishment of the Islamic State (ISIS) Jordan had rarely witnessed extremist attacks. The only major attack took place in November 2005 when triple explosions hit three hotels in Amman. The attacks were executed by Al-Qaeda Iraqi suicide bombers and killed 57 people (Counter Extremism Project, 2018). However, the main reported attacks since 2015 have included the following. On 3 February 2015, Jordanian pilot Muath Al-Kaseasbeh was declared dead in a video presenting his brutal burning in a cage by the Islamic State (ISIS) in Syria. The pilot had participated in a coalition attack on the Islamic State (ISIS) and was captured after his plane crashed in Syria. The video enraged the public in Jordan, and it increased public support for the government to conduct additional attacks on the Islamic State (ISIS). Jordan also executed two Al-Qaeda members whose release had been demanded by the Islamic State (ISIS) following the execution of Al-Kaseasbeh (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018; Speckhard, 2017). In November 2015, a Jordanian police officer killed five individuals, including two security contractors from America, one from South Africa and two Jordanians, at a security training centre near Amman. The attacker had reportedly been influenced by extremist Islamism but the local authorities designated the attacker psychologically disturbed (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018; Speckhard, 2017). In December 2016, Islamic State followers engaged in a shooting battle with the police in the city of Karak in the southern part of Jordan. The attack resulted in the killing of 10 people, including seven security officers, two Jordanian civilians and a tourist from Canada (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018; Speckhard, 2017). In September 2016, a local Islamist preacher recognized for his radical views shot dead Christian journalist Nahed Hattar, who was facing trial for sharing a blasphemous cartoon on his Facebook page (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018; Speckhard, 2017). In June 2016, an Islamic State suicide bombing hit a desert military base in the north and six were killed in the attack (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018; Speckhard, 2017). In June 2016, an Islamic State-inspired shooter stormed through an intelligence department office near Jordan's largest Palestinian refugee camp, resulting in the death of three officers and two employees of the intelligence department (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018; Speckhard, 2017). In March 2016, a raid in the city of Irbid resulted in a major shoot-out and the death of one police officer and seven suspects plotting attacks against civilians in Jordan in the name of the Islamic State (ISIS) (Shteiwi & Abu Rumman, 2018; Speckhard, 2017). In August 2018, a hideout for suspected fighters in the city of Salt was discovered in a raid that caused the death

of four police officers. The hideout contained explosives that were meant to be used in attacks against civilians and security points (IRI, 2018). In 2019, there was an incident involving one individual when a 22-year-old Palestinian attacked a number of tourists in Jerash, a city in the north of the country (US Department of State, 2019).

<mark>Jordan has been committed to fighting</mark> and preventing extremism. Internationally, Jordan takes part in the UN's Group of Friends of Preventing Violent Extremism, the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism and the Proliferation Security Initiative. Jordan has been a major non-NATO ally and a member of the Organization for Islamic Cooperation, the United Nations and the Arab League. The country has also been a member of the Anti-Money Laundering and Counter Terrorist Financing Unit and a member of the Defeat-ISIS Coalition (US Department of State, 2019). Locally, since 2004, Jordan has experimented with several tools for tackling and managing violent extremist behaviour and ideology. In 2016, Jordan formed a comprehensive strategy coordinated by a designated department under the Prime Ministry with the collaboration and support of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to target sector-specific bodies, including security, academic and public organizations, to prevent extremism, promote tolerance and provide opportunities for rehabilitation and reintegration for those who have been identified as radical (Vidino, 2018). The country established a Community Peace Centre, which aims to deradicalize low-risk radicals (Lang et al., 2017a). Recent efforts also included building social cohesion in civil society, providing the opportunity for non-governmental and civil society organizations to conduct work in the different governorates to explore the grounds of terrorism and propose constructive choices for young people, including opportunities to enhance their critical thinking, encouraging engagement in civil society and increasing awareness of Internet protection. Jordan also seeks expert consultations to understand the role of women in preventing terrorism (US Department of State, 2019).

While Jordan has shown commitment to creating a comprehensive strategy aimed at preventing and combatting terrorism, the main investments and efforts implemented by the government have been unapologetically militaristic and have focused on early detection of extremist cells and on border security as opposed to a comprehensive reform (Muhsin, 2012). Some initiatives were not well thought of in terms of their insertion into civil society: the change in the school curriculum, for example, which was one of the first evident attempts not only in Jordan but also in the Middle East to prevent young people from drifting towards radical

ideologies. Yet the initiative was met with several protests, reaching a point where teachers in some conservative communities have set fire to new textbooks to express their refusal to accept what some Islamists interpreted as a warning of international interference and a declaration of war on Islamic principles (Haddid, 2016).

On 1 June 2014, the anti-terrorism law was amended with the aim of broadening the government's authority against any suspected terrorist acts or individuals and the definition of terrorism was broadened widely. For example, Article 2 describes a terrorist act as any act that would "cause disorder by disturbing the public order", and Article 3 states that certain acts included under the Penal Code such as "disturbing relations with a foreign country" are also considered acts of terrorism (Alkarama Foundation, 2017). The law further states that using media or publishing materials with the intention of "facilitat[ing] the commission and promotion of terrorist acts" can be considered an act of terrorism (Alkarama Foundation, 2017). These strict regulations, which have broadened the government's authority with vague boundaries, and the regulations imposed on media and public discourse have raised concerns over its implication of restricting the right to freedom of expression (Lang et al., 2017b). While officials described the changes as crucial to protecting society against terrorism, advocates of freedom of expression and speech and the Jordan Press Association have condemned the changes as they do not set clear positions that differentiate between terrorist criminals and journalists who have the right to voice their opinions without fear (Counter Extremism Project, 2018).

Following the murder of the captured Jordanian pilot by the Islamic State (ISIS) in 2015, Jordan conducted a series of arrests of suspects in Jordan. Seven hundred suspects were detained in the two months that followed the attack in Karak (Muhsin, 2012). In March 2017, Jordan enacted the execution of 10 individuals sentenced to the death penalty for terrorism-related crimes. Execution as a punishment, which Jordan retains, has been condemned by human rights organizations (Amnesty International, 2017).

The Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs controls mosque discourse requires that preachers present to the public government pre-approved sermons. Islamist preachers are required to be certified before acquiring the position of Imam in a mosque (Vidino, 2018, p.). Muslim preachers can be and have been detained for spreading messages containing radical content. The Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs stopped 25 Islamic preachers from

presenting their sermons in 2014 for that reason. Additionally, 180 Muslim scholars were assigned under royal decree to publish an "Amman letter" that rejects Jihadi/Salafi ideology and calls for a version of Islam that is tolerant and that endorses peaceful coexistence and is apolitical in nature (Hudson Institute, 2007).

4. Demographics and challenges facing society and youth in Jordan

In 2019, the population of Jordan was estimated to be 10.07 million, with 95–97 % of the population being Arabs (Department of Statistics, 2017). In 2008, Jordan opened its doors to 1.95 million refugees from Palestine, most of whom became citizens, and in the last two years 500,000 Iraqis and over 500,000 Syrian refugees have escaped conflicts and moved to reside in Jordan (World Population Review, 2019). About 93% of Jordanians are Sunni Muslims. Christians, who are mostly Orthodox or Catholic, amount to 6% of the total population, and they reside mostly in Amman or the Jordan Valley (World Population Review, 2019).

The largest city in Jordan is Amman, the capital. It is inhabited by around 4 million people, with a population density of 3,143 people per square kilometre. Some 41% of the population in Jordan live in the capital. The population density and the population distribution across the different cities are shown in Table 4 based on the Jordanian (Department of Statistics, 2017).

(Table 4) Estimated population by governorate, end of 2017

City	Population	Percentage
Amman	4,247,611	41.20%
Irbid	1,911,600	18.54%
Zarqa	1,474,000	14.30%
Mafraq	593,900	5.76%
Balqa	531,000	5.15%
Karak	341,900	3.32%
Jerash	256,000	2.48%
Madaba	204,300	1.98%
Aqaba	203,200	1.97%
Ajloun	190,200	1.84%
Ma'an	171,100	1.66%
Tafiela	104,000	1.01%
Salt	80,189	0.78%
Jordan	10,309,000	100.00%

Jordan is a youthful society (Table 5), with 62.9% of the population being under 30 years of age (Department of Statistics, 2017).

(Table 5) Estimated population by sex and age group, end of 2017

Age Group	Population	Percentage
0–4	1,183,430	11.5%
5–9	1,264,870	12.5%
10–14	1,092,790	10.6%
15–19	1,025,110	9.9%
20–24	1,023,120	9.9%
25–29	898,340	8.7%
30–34	794,290	7.7%
35–39	704,290	6.8%
40–44	606,670	5.9%
45–49	512,010	5.0%
50–54	378,370	3.7%
55–59	264,650	2.6%
60–64	180,700	1.8%
65+	380,360	3.7%
Jordan	10,309,000	100.00%

Tribalism is an essential part of the Jordanian culture and society. Tribes have existed for thousands of years – long before Islam or Christianity – and are influential in socio-political aspects and political decisions today. Tribes reacted to the establishment of the monarchy with several rebellions until common grounds were established. They are known to be related by birth or marriage (Godelier, 2010), and they differ from ethnic groups in that they organize themselves in specific social and political systems with inherited power. In addition, they emphasize equality and fiercely protect any member who is threatened by another tribe or an external power (Godelier, 2010). The tribal system is currently more dominant in rural areas than in urban centres, and members usually possess a high degree of loyalty and social sense of belonging that can be obvious in day-to-day life. Tribe members are often extremely loyal to their tribe, which can jeopardise or weaken Jordan's efforts to apply democratic practices (IRI, 2016): for example, in terms of the voting habits of Jordanians in the parliamentary elections, many citizens in Jordan vote in support of a family or tribe member instead of voting for the candidate that represents their ideology (NDI, 2017). Tribes in Jordan have also been found to increase corruption in the country as government officials tend to support and favour their own tribe's members when providing services. A tribe member is more likely to seek support, benefits and leadership from another tribe member, which can weaken the relationship

between the citizens and the government. Young people have often said that favouritism is one of the main problems in society, which may prompt a desire to seek alternative opportunities as the government fails to provide equal opportunities, services and benefits in a just and equal manner to all citizens (IRI, 2016).

Economically, in the 1980s, Jordan experienced a crisis that embedded the country in debt and resulted in major economic cutbacks. Many workers returned from the Gulf, and the crisis seemed to destabilize the regime. In response, the regime held the first parliamentary elections in 22 years in September 1989 and lifted martial law in 1991 in an effort to make citizens feel involved in the decision-making process (Bani Salameh, 2017). At present, the country has to contend with many challenges and increasing pressures due to the high influx of refugees, which has compounded the ongoing strain on resources, infrastructure and employment opportunities. This strain has induced mounting dissatisfaction and frustration towards the government and Parliament. In fact, criticism of the most recent Parliament has heightened, with only 29% of Jordanians believing that the Parliament is effective (IRI, 2016).

Following the start of the conflicts in Syria in 2011 Jordan received around 657,000 Syrian refugees that were registered, placing Jordan as the second-largest host of refugees per capita in the world, at 89 refugees per 1,000 (UNHCR, 2018). A large number of the refugees live outside the dedicated refugee camps (Counter Extremism Project, 2018), with 32.7% residing in Amman, 20.7% in Irbid, 11.3% in Mafraq and 7.5% in Zarqa (Ghimar et al., 2016). This has added to the existing pressures and strained limited resources and the already struggling economy of low water supplies and unemployment as refugees compete for and accept low-paid jobs, housing, infrastructure and public health services (IRI, 2016). Jordan also hosts 10 Palestinian refugee camps with almost 370,000 inhabitants and 2 million registered Palestinian refugees (UNRWA, 2019). In recent years, the unemployment level in Jordan has increased, reaching 22.1% in 2014, especially in cities that have hosted a higher number of refugees (Counter Extremism Project, 2018). The rate of unemployment for young people in Jordan is higher than the overall rate, with 36% of young people being unemployed, which is double the overall rate of 16% (Muhsin, 2012). In February 2018, the government introduced severe price hikes, stressing the high prices of basic goods and services in the new economic and tax policies, thereby adding to the strong and continuous resentment of society towards the government and likely deepening the level of social inequality (Osborne & Bondokji, 2018). In the last two years, thousands of people have protested against the government, asking the

king to put an end to the corruption that has added to Jordan's increasing levels of debt. The king responded by changing some decision-makers in the cabinet, however while his response was perceived as helping to minimize the tension, it was not seen as a fundamental solution to Jordan's economic problems (Al-Makahleh, 2018).

Education in Jordan, especially in public schools, offers little opportunity for critical thinking (Yom & Sammour, 2016). Islamic connotations and symbolism dominate the curriculum while the interference from the government in minimizing the Islamic content has been met with protests and accusations of international interference in the Jordanian culture and religion from teachers and parents, making efforts to reform the curricula more challenging (Yom & Sammour, 2016). It would require a timely process and debates between the different governmental sectors and society to reform the curriculum (Yom & Sammour, 2017).

Jordan has undertaken several measures and has expressed its commitment to safeguarding and enhancing human rights in the country. In line with the Jordanian constitution statement, "Jordanians shall be equal before the law irrespective of their race, language or religion" (The constitution of Jordan, 2016), reforms in Jordan have aimed to secure civil, economic, social, political and cultural freedoms and rights. While the recent constitutional amendments have strengthened the division of authority between state offices, and have supported the role of the Parliament and the autonomy of the judicial system, and presented additional guarantees for civil rights and freedoms, the changes have not been solid enough and no legitimate evidence has been demonstrated to support such reforms (Bani Salameh, 2017). The Freedom House Report of 2018 rated Jordan's freedom status as partly free (Freedom House, 2018). From a political rights and civil liberties perspective, Jordan's electoral process has been criticized for several incompliances, including the king's wide executive power (Freedom House, 2018). The king holds the power to appoint and dismiss the prime minister, the cabinet, governors and the mayor of Amman. Furthermore, the constitutional amendments in 2016 have provided the king with additional power to appoint the crown prince and his replacement without the prime minister's or any other cabinet member's approval (Freedom House, 2018). The king also selects the leaders of the intelligence service, the armed forces and the gendarmerie (Freedom House, 2018).

With Jordan's efforts to enhance local governance and decentralization, local and municipal council elections were held in 2017 and 12 new governorate councils where created.

Nevertheless, the consultative councils were not offered legislative authority and the percentage of appointed seats reached 15%. In the capital, independent tribal candidates won most seats, the Islamic Action Front and its allies won the majority of the limited number of seats seized by party-based candidates and a quarter of the seats were appointed by government (Freedom House, 2018). The report also explained that the new election system disadvantages urban voters and magnifies the influence of those who are loyal to the monarchy, yet rural and tribal voters remain extremely over-represented in Parliament, as voters are highly influenced by their tribes. Vote buying was also reported to be a problem in the elections (Freedom House, 2018). Political parties in Jordan are not favoured by the system, aside from the Islamic Action Front opposition party, as parties established based on religion, gender, race or ethnicity are not tolerated (Freedom House, 2018). The fact that many positions are appointed constrains the political participation of citizens; while cultural prejudices set constraints on women's involvement and participation in politics, some female candidates won seats in Parliament outside the quota and reserved positions as they hold equal political rights (Freedom House, 2018).

The media law in Jordan has been criticized for being vague and highly restrictive (Freedom House, 2018). Additionally, the changes to the anti-terrorism law have added to restrictions that limit the opportunity for self-expression, to speak honestly and to criticize the system, as hundreds of students and journalists who had no affiliations with religious radical groups have been detained for sharing their ideas, which were considered to "disturb public order" according to the new law (Yom & Sammour, 2017). Criticism of the king, defamation, blasphemy and what has been included under the law broadly as "harming Jordan's relations with foreign states" are penalized under the law. News websites encounter difficult challenges and requirements in trying to register (Freedom House, 2018). The government in Jordan monitors Muslim sermons and clerics are pre-authorized. Christian groups can live and work freely and they have a legal status in the country (Freedom House, 2018). Individuals from other faith groups do not hold a legal status but are allowed to practise their religions, while individuals who consider themselves agnostic or atheist are requested to state their religion on official documents (Freedom House, 2018). Muslim converts are not prosecuted but several obstacles are set to bother them (Freedom House, 2018). At Jordanian universities, there is a level of academic freedom, but the intelligence system allegedly observes academic activities and events at universities (Freedom House, 2018). Administrators work together with the state to examine academic material for sensitive content. Jordanian law limits free assembly. Prior

notification is required before any protest, otherwise violations of the law will result in time in jail or fines (Freedom House, 2018). Jordanians of Palestinian origin are frequently not considered for security forces or public sector job opportunities (Freedom House, 2018). Gay, bisexual and transgender people face discrimination and intimidation, and recently the government rejected the registration of NGOs supporting LGBT rights (Freedom House, 2018).

Recent events in Jordan have indicated extremely low tolerance for religious and cultural diversity and freedoms. The assassination of Christian leftist author Nahed Hattar in September 2016 is one example. Nahed Hattar was a Christian leftist who was killed by a gunman outside an Amman court, where he was on trial for blasphemy after sharing a cartoon on social media that mocked the Islamic State's (ISIS) perception of God. Authorities and several Jordanian Muslims considered the cartoon to be offensive, so while many Jordanians protested against his murder, a significant portion of the population viewed the cartoon as insulting to Islam (Hamed, 2016). The second recent example is the heavy opposition to Jordan's attempts to reduce the use of religion in the school curriculum in October 2016, which was met with several protests. Teachers in some conservative communities set fire to the new textbooks while some Islamists interpreted the change as a warning of international interference and a declaration of war on Islamic principles (Haddid, 2016). A third example is the ban on a scheduled concert in June 2017. The Minister of the Interior banned a Lebanese rock group, which is known for endorsing gender equality and sexual freedom, from performing in Jordan. The ban satisfied the requests of not only Muslim but also Christian religious leaders in Jordan. The group's lead singer is openly gay, and the band has addressed subjects that conservatives in Jordan consider taboo, such as gender roles and sexual and religious freedoms (Emam, 2017).

Discourse regarding youth in the region suggests a fear of their potential. Young people are often perceived as a threat by the government (Osborne & Bondokji, 2018). They are identified as the most rapidly expanding population that could adopt social extremism, as violence and unrest have increased in the region (NDI, 2017). According to a 2016 study by the University of Jordan, 6% of students reported that they felt represented by terrorist groups such as the Islamic State (ISIS) and Al-Qaeda, which has prompted concern about thought security among young people (JCSS, 2016). Youngsters in Jordan live with high levels of uncertainty about their future and this has been aggravated by the economic situation in the country (Osborne & Bondokji, 2018). The lack of any prospect of having their goals met has

been identified as a factor that increases the appetite of some to seek alternative connections, an issue that has been acknowledged and met by violent extremist groups (Osborne & Bondokji, 2018). Young people in Jordan often express their frustration at the lack of outlets for them to fill their free time with activities such as sports that appeal to them. While the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Youth and Sports were established with the goal of attracting young people and providing them with such services, a study conducted by Wana Institute (Bondokji et al., 2017) stated that young respondents felt that the Ministry of Culture plays no role in remote cities such as Ma'an and Salt. Young people have to travel to the capital to be able to attend a free cultural event or participate in an activity, a cost that they cannot afford, especially if they are unemployed. The Ministry of Youth and Sports has limited government resources and international funds are rarely channelled to support the provision of sports facilities (Bondokji et al., 2017). Jordanians – and youths in particular – are known to be highly engaged in social media, which is one of the main recruitment tools of the Islamic State (ISIS). Today, nine out of ten people own cellphones, and the country ranks third among Arab states in terms of engagement with social networking sites (Pew Research Center, 2013). In addition, 75% of Jordanians use the Internet (Sadiki, 2015), and a record high of 98.1% of the population possesses a satellite subscription (UNESCO, 2015).

University graduates in Jordan have little prospect of finding a job amidst the overfed civil service and public-sector opportunities. The rate for finding a job for a graduate is only almost double that of a youth who has only acquired high school diplomas (Yom & Sammour, 2017). The private sector in Jordan struggles to develop due to extreme policies and insufficient investment. With a high number of young people in Jordan graduating from college, the likelihood of finding a job appropriate to their education and skill in fact decreases once they graduate, leaving young people feeling deprived of the opportunity to live with dignity and support their middle-income families. Young people frequently express the view that corruption and favouritism stymie ambition and motivation because they see little opportunity to find decently paid jobs or university scholarships unless they are well connected (NDI, 2017).

The widespread belief in the existing corruption embodies young people's attitudes and hope towards change through political participation, and weakens the Jordanian identity and their attachment with their state and society. Young people express frustration derived from concepts of injustice and helplessness. The younger generation has become disenchanted with

politics and this contributes to the lack of social cohesion. Young people express frustration with the government, which gives little attention to their viewpoints in the decision-making process (Osborne & Bondokji, 2018), leaving them with no channel to have their voice heard and no outlet to express their frustration. Additionally, the minimum age for candidacy in Parliament is 30, an issue that has been contended for many years by youth activists who have expressed their frustration with a law that prevents a substantial number of Jordan's youth society from being represented in Parliament (NDI, 2017).

5. Summary

The establishment of the Islamic State (ISIS) represented a form of acknowledgement to many of the Jihadi/Salafi networks, however it did not mean unity with all Salafi groups. Al-Nusra Front, which is a Salafi group that was established in Syria two years before the Islamic State (ISIS), remained separate and focused its recruitment calls and operations on combatting the Al-Assad regime, which was attacking peaceful Sunni Muslim demonstrations during the three-year civil war. The Islamic State (ISIS) expressed its intention to acquire more land and to fight Western forces, including the US and Israel, using an unapologetic terrorist approach, while Al-Nusra Front remained focused on fighting the Al-Assad regime and refused to merge with ISIS. The Islamic State (ISIS) has caused more destruction and recruited more fighters, however this research considers Al-Nusra Front because this contextual consideration has an important implication for understanding the motives of individuals who moved to fight in Syria and Iraq from Jordan. The decision of individuals to join the Islamic State (ISIS) with its declared plans to use unapologetic terrorist methods and expanded operations may differ from the decision to join Al-Nusra Front, which called specifically for support to combat the unjust Al-Assad regime and its attacks against Sunni Muslims, a viewpoint that was also expressed by the religious leaders that were interviewed in this research (Chapter 7: The semi-structured interviews).

Today, despite being formally banned, followers of Salafism in Jordan are suspected to be growing in number as Salafi preachers quietly disseminate their ideas through education and preaching. Salafi groups are usually mobilized in poor rural areas like Ma'an, Karak and Zarqa, where the government has not yet managed to set control measures and monitor or

assign specific preachers. Jordan does not offer access to information about the number of foreign fighters that have joined or returned from Syria and Iraq, therefore information about these statistics is only available in independent studies and in experts' reports, which have positioned Jordan as a country with one of the highest per capita contributions of foreign fighters in the world, followed by Tunisia and Saudi Arabia. Statistics reveal several inconsistencies in the characteristics of fighters who have joined from Jordan. Some studies suggest that the Salafi ideology entices a number of sympathizers in Jordan, and that a number of young people have expressed what may be described as radical views against Western countries and individuals of different religions, which raises concerns about thought security. It is important to bear in mind, however, that the drop in the number of supporters from Jordan following the violent acts conducted by certain radical organizations suggests that some Jordanians may possess views that are in line with those radical organizations, but they are less supportive of the violent and terrorist acts they conduct.

With the establishment of the Islamic State (ISIS), Jordan has successfully managed to prevent large-scale attacks with its extensive security measures. Additionally, Jordan has created a comprehensive strategy to counter the phenomenon. Yet, the main efforts implemented have been strictly militaristic and have focused on early detection of extremist cells' border security. Other efforts included building social cohesion in civil society, seeking expert consultations to understand the role of women in preventing terrorism and a change in the school curricula, however they were perceived as being limited in terms of efficiency. The amendments to the anti-terrorism law and the excessive monitoring of mosque speeches have raised concerns over its implication of restricting the right to freedom of expression. The execution of individuals involved in terrorist acts as punishment has been condemned by human rights organizations.

Young people in Jordan have been identified as the most rapidly expanding population who could adopt social extremism, as violence and unrest continue to increase in the region. They are faced with several political, economic, social and cultural challenges that leave them hopeless, desperate and vulnerable. An educational degree does not guarantee an equal opportunity to acquire a worthwhile job. They have become disenchanted with politics as favouritism towards tribe members impacts negatively on employment. Freedoms are superficial, and the additional restrictions enforced by the anti-terrorism law have added several limitations to freedom of the press and of expression. Young people in Jordan often

express their frustration over the lack of outlets for them to fill their free time with activities, such as sports, that appeal to them. They are faced with a high level of uncertainty about their future. Many of these elements have been disputed but referred to in several literature analyses as factors that may increase the susceptibility of young people to joining radical groups. Therefore, a comprehensive assessment of these local factors using alternative methods, as proposed by this research, would seek to shed light on new knowledge that would assist in forming tailored strategies that exceed the elevated authoritative and militaristic approach to prevent radicalization and terrorism.

Chapter 7: The semi-structured interviews

1. Introduction

In this research, the semi-structured interview method is utilized to investigate people who live close to the phenomenon, their ideological and political knowledge, as well as their perceptions, values and beliefs regarding the role they play in co-constructing the social reality of the phenomenon, and their potential capacity to envision latent information. The interviews analysis specifically responds to the first research question (Chapter 4: Research objectives and conceptual framework): What does radicalization mean within the Jordanian context, and how does this add to the current knowledge about the concept, to the drivers that lead to the radicalization of individuals and to the available radicalization models?

The design of the semi-structured interview questions in this research (Appendix B: Interview ground rules and questions) was carried out following the review of local and international academic literature (Chapter 2: Literature review) and five of the most widespread theoretical radicalization models (Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations). Insights were also acquired from the situational analysis case study conducted in this research (Chapter 6: Case study desk research). The interviewees in this research were selected using purposive sampling, which enables the selection of individuals based on particular characteristics, mainly their potential to provide rich information about the topic (Chapter 5: Research methods). The research raises questions and draws insights from religious leaders, public policy specialists, media experts, and governmental and non-governmental development personnel, with details about their profiles outlined in Chapter 5: Research methods. Correspondingly, this chapter presents the results of the semi-structured interviews and discusses the outcomes in relation to the current academic knowledge and to the theoretical models proposed for radicalization.

The chapter comprises four main sections. The first presents the data processing that was conducted as part of the analysis. The second presents the results of the semi-structured interviews under three main themes: the definitions, the drivers, and assessment of the radical landscape and youth in Jordan. The third presents additional analysis and implications of the findings for our current knowledge on the topic. The fourth presents a summary and conclusion.

2. Data processing

The data processing of the semi-structured interviews was completed using the computer-assisted qualitative analysis software ATLAS.ti 8. Bearing in mind that qualitative transcripts cannot be fully standardized, the data were treated in three stages: data reduction and analysis, data displays, and drawing conclusions (Monette et al., 2010). The research utilized the thematic analysis approach to provide a strong qualitative and thorough account of the transcripts recorded in the interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In order to provide a general structure that secures a balance between the research questions and the transcripts under examination, the data reduction was initiated by setting three main themes relevant to the research objective: definitions of radicalization, the drivers, and the radical landscape and youth in Jordan. Conversely, the subthemes were inductively constructed from the transcripts. The process began by going through all the transcripts in the study. The transcripts were carefully read, and the emerging codes were grouped and organized by subcategory covering the several areas mentioned by the interviewees, and then placed under the three main themes that relate to the research questions. Several revisions – an acceptable practice during the process(Mayring, 2010) – were carried out in order not to affect the examination through any possible initial assumptions set by the researcher (Mayring, 2010). The subthemes were organized in tables under the main themes to emphasize the source of the viewpoint. The purpose was not to quantify but rather to shed light on some unique perspectives that were presented by specific interviewees in the research.

3. The semi-structured interview data results

3.1. Definitions

The first theme that this research approached was related to exploring the local definitions of radicalization and its relevant terms, how the participants perceived and differentiated between a radical in the name of Islam and a religious person, and what terms such as "violent extremism" and "terror" meant to the participants. The responses of the participants revolved around a set of subthemes that emerged from the analysis of the interviews (Table 6).

(Table 6) Definitions – interview themes, subthemes and sources

Main themes	Subthemes	Source
Definitions: religiousness, radicalization, violent extremism, terrorism	Condemning violent acts	All participants
	A huge difference between a religious person and a radical	All participants
	Islam does not call for violence	All participants
	Jordan's historically peaceful approach to Islam	Majority of participants
	The Wahhabi/Salafi influence was never home-born	Majority of participants
	The word "radical" should not be used to describe the phenomenon, "violence" is the correct word	Religious leaders
	Jihad does not equate to violence	Religious leaders, and some participants
	Seeking to join a religious organization in pursuit of an Islamic life and Jihad is different to seeking to join a terrorist organization	Religious leaders
	Violent extremism is an individual act, while terrorism is a part of a group	Majority of participants

The majority of the participants perceived radicalization to be a state or condition of adopting one ideology at the exclusion of another – like passing judgment on others by saying they are infidels. Sincere condemnation was expressed towards this antisocial, anti-human approach and towards the violent acts committed by individuals who fought for terrorist organizations. Conversely, the participants showed a tendency to stand in defence of the religious person, whom they perceived to be different from the radical. Some participants explained that evidence around fighters who joined the Islamic State (ISIS) from Jordan proves that some were less knowledgeable about Islam than one would expect. Some terrorists in Jordan were also discovered in possession of drugs in their houses, which is banned in Islamic teaching.

A radical is someone who is not committed to Islam and is not a Muslim. (Youth NGO representative 5, 2019)

Radicalization is the closed-mindedness that isolates and creates the possibility for one individual to pass judgment on another […] that is irrational, antisocial and has nothing to do with religion. (Cultural NGO representative 2, 2019)

Religion is the relation between the individual and God. People who fast and pray cause no harm. But if they move to calling the different others by infidels then it becomes a problem. (Media expert I, 2019)

There is evidence that many of the fighters who joined the Islamic State (ISIS) were not religious. (Public policy expert I, 2019)

Drugs were found at the houses of terrorists in the recent attacks in Jordan, and drugs are forbidden in Islam. This tells us that such people are not religious. (Youth NGO representative 5, 2019)

Islam, as the participants depicted, is a religion that calls for ethics, and it never calls for destruction. Religiousness is rather a harmless relationship between the individual and God and is considered a constitutional and human right. The participants explained that Islam in Jordan was never forceful or violent and that terrorist organizations were never home-born. In the Mediterranean region, the approach to Islam has always been peaceful, "colourful", tolerant and coexistent, and never the Islam of the sword. The participants explained that even individuals such as Zarqawi, a Jordanian extremist who played a critical role in expanding the Jihadi ideology and led several terrorist attacks, did not find Jordan to be the right place for his operations. It was the expansion of ideologies such as the Wahhabi/Salafi movement over the past 30–40 years in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina and recently in Iraq and Syria that had an external extremist influence in society. Its expansion in Jordan happened through the dissemination of books and television programmes and through the teachings of imams and preachers who were sent to Jordan from the Gulf. It also happened through the random construction of mosques by organized Wahhabi/Salafi networks. The vast economic developments in the Gulf area that influenced our region made some people believe that their extremist version of Islam is correct.

Religion calls for ethics. It calls to serve oneself, society and the other. Commitment to religion is commitment to ethics. Therefore, religion supports a positive role in society. (Youth activist I, 2019)

Islam does not ask to hurt others no matter what religion they come from. It is the troops that attack us that we should fight in defence. Even under such conditions religion condemns killing women and children, farmers and priests. It also condemns burning trees and crop, destroying homes and churches. All terrorist groups in recent years have done the opposite. This is not religion. (Youth NGO representative 5, 2019)

Religion is the relation between the individual and God. A Muslim has the right to practise religion any place and at any time without fear or worry. This is a constitutional and human right. (Public policy expert I, 2019)

Religion in Jordan is "colourful" and you see that in the way we used to dress, the music and the rituals. With the Wahhabi expansion everything turned to black, we started to see the rejection of arts, separation between males and females, we started seeing the black veil and we started to witness a lack of intellectual, cultured and artistic living. (Cultural NGO representative 2, 2019)

Our Islam in the Mediterranean region is Sufi, moderate, tolerant and coexistent. It establishes a relationship between the individual and God. It is not the Islam of the sword. It is the vast economic developments in the Gulf area that influenced our region and made people believe that their version of Islam is correct. (Public policy expert I, 2019)

In Jordan, most of the influencing factors were external. Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina and recently in Iraq and Syria. Jordan was never the reason such groups existed. Even individuals such as Zarqawi who is Jordanian, he did not find Jordan to be the right place to start the operations. (Researcher I, 2019)

The penetration of the extremist, Salafi and Bedouin ideology of Islam from countries in the Gulf over the past 30–40 years. It happened through the dissemination of books, TV programmes […] as well as through the imams and preachers who were sent to us from the Gulf. The random construction of mosques by organized Wahhabi/Salafi networks. Some Jordanians were also born and raised in the Gulf and knew only this version of Islam. (Public policy expert I, 2019)

Religious leaders, on the other hand, deprecated the use of the word "radical" and its integration with Islam, stating that there is no relation between the two words and that the word "radical" was wrongly attached to Islam. Religious leaders choose to use the word "violence", explaining that violence is the phenomenon that we need to investigate when we study individuals who joined terrorist organizations and it is a phenomenon that exists amongst

youths in all societies, not only among Muslims. They explain that Islam is a religion of mercy that can never be expressed in violent forms. Religious leaders pointed out that Jihad implies fighting injustice, but Jihad is conducted under highly specific conditions and has its own foundations, rules, jurisprudence and methods, in which force is not used against children, women, the elderly, religious people and nature. They say that Jihad is different from the violence phenomenon, which has its own set of triggers that are unconnected to Islam, even if it was falsely adopted by terrorist groups to achieve specific agendas. They explain that the model that was named the "Islamic State" (ISIS) was created in collaboration with regional and international intelligence agencies to tarnish the image of Islam and Jihad fighters.

There is absolutely no relation between radicalism and Islam and I don't like using this global term, which has been wrongly attached to Islam. I would prefer to use the word "violence". A phenomenon that exists amongst youth in all societies. (Religious leader II, 2019)

In Islam God said, we did not send you (Prophet Mohammed) except as a mercy for the entire world. Mercy can never be expressed in violent means. God also said whoever kills a person unjustly or causes corruption on earth it is as though he has killed all of mankind […]. (Religious leader II, 2019)

Jihad in Islam is at the top of the pyramid but it has its very specific foundations and rules, its jurisprudence and its methods. (Religious leader I, 2019)

In battles the prophet asked Muslims to fight those who fight us, not to kill a woman, a child, an elderly or a non-Muslim that prays, and not to cut down a tree, burn or destroy houses. If this is what Islam teaches we can never link Islam to a word such as "radical". (Religious leader II, 2019).

Religious leaders explain, however, that the pursuit of some religious Muslims to join Islamic groups is understandable. They explain that they do not agree with the assumption that all those who went to fight in Syria went with the intention of joining terrorist organizations. Many of the individuals from Jordan chose to join Islamic organizations with the objective of seeking an Islamic life and for Jihad. This is not radical or extreme, they explain. This is a

comprehensible ambition in their view. Evidence of that is that many of these Muslims returned home when they discovered that these organizations do not represent Islam.

I don't agree with the categorization that all those who went to fight in Syria went with an intention to join terrorist organizations [...]. I believe that the model that was named the "Islamic State" (ISIS) was created by the intelligence in collaboration with regional and international intelligence to tarnish the image of Islam and Jihad fighters. (Religious leader II, 2019)

Many of the individuals from Jordan chose to join an Islamic organization to seek an Islamic life [...] and for Jihad. This is not radical or extreme, this is an understandable ambition [...]. Many of these individuals returned when they discovered that these organizations do not represent Islam. (Religious leader I, 2019)

Another distinctive factor that is relevant to the context in Jordan is the difference between violent extremism and terrorism. Participants believe "violent extremism" is conducted by an individual in response to an offence they perceive towards religion, explaining that there is no need for official recruitment in a terrorist organization for an individual to commit a violent attack. Yet, this person kills in cold blood for being affected by ideologies such as the Wahhabi/Salafi ideology. Conversely, "terrorism" is perceived to be conducted as part of a group to achieve a wider political goal.

Violent extremism is the use of justified force. They kill in cold blood because they are convinced that they are doing the right thing. Violent extremists such as "lone-wolf" terrorists still exist. There is no need for official recruitment to commit violent attacks. (NGO representative IV, 2019)

Violent extremism is violent action conducted based on a radical ideology such as the Wahhabi/Salafi ideology. "Lone-wolf" terrorists can continue to commit violent acts even with the defeat of the Islamic State (ISIS) and might influence people close to them. (Media expert I, 2019)

Terrorism is organized with an agenda. It is not an individual but rather a group decision. (Media expert I, 2019)

Terrorism is similar to violent extremism, yet terrorism is more political and aims to achieve wider goals. (Public policy expert I, 2019)

Terrorism is political. It is not religious even if the ideology is religious. (Youth activist I, 2019)

Summary

Two approaches were identified in defining radicalization in this research. One was based on the responses of the majority of participants and one was based on the responses of religious leaders. The majority of the participants explained that radicalization is the adoption of an ideology that extends from having a relationship with God to rejecting and passing judgment on another. Religious leaders, on the other hand, provided a diverse perspective as they criticized the use of the word "radical" in the first place in describing the phenomenon of young people moving to join terrorist organizations in Syria and Iraq. Religious leaders deprecated the use of the word "radical" and suggested replacing it with the word "violence", explaining that violence is a global phenomenon and is not limited to youths who have decided to join terrorist organizations in the region. Religious leaders also pointed out that there is a difference between a religious young person who was manipulated into thinking that terrorist organizations such as the Islamic State (ISIS) were created with an aspiration to establish an Islamic State run by Sharia Law and a person who went to Syria and Iraq fully knowing the Islamic State's (ISIS) terrorist agenda. They explained that the pursuit of a religious person to join an Islamic organization and to live an Islamic life is understandable and it does not equate to the motive of a young person who joined an organization such as the Islamic State (ISIS) fully aware of its unapologetic terrorist agenda.

In defining violent extremism and terrorism, participants explained that "violent extremism" is conducted by an individual in response to an offence they perceive towards religion. Conversely, "terrorism" is perceived as being conducted as part of a group to achieve a wider political goal. This difference may have been established among the participants because Jordan has faced two different types of attacks in recent years, and both were based on some interpretation of the Islamic ideology. The first type was conducted by so-called "lone-wolf" terrorists – individuals who are intolerant of others in society. The second type was claimed by radical organizations such as the Islamic State (ISIS) and it featured attacks that

were organized tactically, decisions that were based on a group, and an aim to acquire a wider goal that bears an agenda that is political in nature.

3.2. Drivers

The second theme that this research approached was related to the exploration of the local drivers or factors that enhanced the susceptibility of Jordanian youth to joining groups in Syria and Iraq in recent years. The responses of the participants revolved around a set of subthemes that emerged from the analysis of the transcribed interviews (Table 7).

(Table 7) Drivers – interview themes, subthemes and sources

Main themes	Subthemes	Source
Drivers	It is a mix of factors and cannot be attributed to a few	All participants
	Mistaking a radical organization and an Islamic organization	Religious leaders
	Local factor: Being misinformed about the true concepts of Islam	All participants
	Local factor: The Palestinian-Israeli conflict	Some participants
	Local factor: Tribal families in Jordan	Some participants

Participants in the research were asked about their opinions on the drivers motivating individuals to join radical groups in Jordan. The participants unanimously explained that a mixture of factors is responsible, clarifying that some factors, such as poverty, are not definite indicators. Sudan has more poverty than Jordan, yet more Jordanians than Sudanese have joined the Islamic State (ISIS). Another example is injustice. Tunisia is a democratic country, yet many people from Tunisia have joined radical groups. The participants also explained that the specifics of the cities of origin in Jordan differ, as each of these cities has its own setting and situation that might have motivated individuals to join radical groups.

It is a mixture of elements. We cannot limit it to one factor […]. (Public policy expert I, 2019)

It is not the economic factor alone, many abandoned their jobs and joined the Islamic State (ISIS), the poor who have joined are very few. It is more complicated than that […]. (Researcher I, 2019)

Many point to the economic aspect or the political aspect as drivers towards radicalization but this is wrong. There are several social and psychological frustrations involved in the decision. (NGO representative IV, 2019)

Each of these cities has its own setting and situation that drove individuals to join radical groups. (Youth activist I, 2019)

Several drivers were pointed to as examples, including injustice and discrimination, unemployment, deprivation and the lack of economic opportunities, and the pursuit of an identity and a purpose in life. However, in their discussion about the local drivers, the majority of the participants pointed to three main contextual factors: religious education, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the tribal families in Jordan.

As regards religious education, religious leaders explained that some religious individuals joined radical groups to seek an Islamic life under the Sharia Law and they were manipulated into thinking that organizations such as the Islamic State (ISIS) would fulfil such pursuits. Yet the rest of the participants in this research emphasized that the decision to join radical groups is paired with the possession of weak or distorted information about the true concepts of Islam, and they considered it a main driver in the decision to join radical organizations. They believe that proper religious education – which is neglected and weak – would serve as a preventative factor against calls to join Salafi extremists and against the manipulated messages spread across social media channels. They explained that youths seek information though social media channels where recruiters attempt to influence and attract supporters and fighters, explaining that if religious institutions, the media, schools and universities provided strong informative messages, youths would not need to seek alternatives.

Being religious prevents becoming radical, religion needs to be understood well […]. This way I can protect myself and society from lesions such as extremism. Extremism is the incorrect understanding of religion. Being radical means you don't know religion in depth. You rather have a shallow and a narrow knowledge about it. (Youth activist I, 2019)

If you possessed good knowledge about religion you would not join terrorist groups. (Youth NGO representative 5, 2019)

If you are religious and well informed about religion you cannot be radical. (Curriculum expert MOE II, 2019)

Radicals may think that they are religious but the truth is that they are not! It is the wrong understanding that diverts individuals towards becoming radical. (Youth activist I, 2019)

Youths seek information though social media channels where recruiters try to influence and attract supporters and fighters. If the religious institutions, the media, schools and universities sent influential messages, one wouldn't seek alternatives. (Youth NGO representative 5, 2019)

The second driver that was mentioned by some of the participants is the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. One participant explained that this driver was neglected in studies on radicalization because of its possible political implications.

What is happening in Palestine should not be underestimated, the West tries to reduce the importance of this subject but in many places, you find that this is directly related to radicalization. Seeing that there is no existing project or plan to solve the issue in Palestine and that the situation is deteriorating, individuals believe that today we fight in Mosel and tomorrow we will fight to save Palestine. (Public policy expert I, 2019)

The participants explained that the Jordanian identity is linked to the Palestinian identity and conflict. They suggested that this is an important motivational factor that continues to affect Jordanians who see the Palestinians' situation deteriorating with no plans proposed by Arab leaders to solve the issue. Injustice in the region, and specifically in Palestine, leads individuals to question whether radical groups are, in fact, the only groups concerned about the situation and able to save Palestine. The participants explained that bitterness exists among youths concerning the injustice arising from the American-Israeli interference and acquisition of land in the region. This bitterness has fed, and will continue to feed, extremism. They also explained that the Jordanian identity is linked to the Palestinian case, regardless of age group, education level or origin. The Palestinian case has been used by extremist organizations to recruit fighters. Yet the participants explained that all that these radical organizations did was destroy land; they did nothing in reality to help solve the Palestinian case.

The Palestinian struggle is a very important issue. What we see through the media of violations of the Aqsa mosque and the violence against Palestinians generates a sense of injustice. People start to see "colours" when they hear promises by organizations such as the Islamic State (ISIS) to free Palestine. Given that this is the only solution to do something about the situation, they feel like they wish to take part and help. Yet, in reality this is not a solution, because they end up fighting for another agenda and killing other people. (Youth activist I, 2019)

Bitterness among youth over the injustice resulting from the American-Israeli interference and acquisition of land in the region. This bitterness has fed and will continue to feed extremism. (Public policy expert I, 2019)

The Jordanian identity is linked to the Palestinian case, regardless of age group, education level or origin. There are no exceptions. The Palestinian case was used by extremist organizations to recruit fighters […]. Yet all that these radical organizations did was destroy our land and they did nothing for the Palestinian case. (Curriculum expert MOE I 2019)

The third driver based on the participants' responses was that many individuals have joined radical organizations from the same tribal families in Jordan, who are known to be highly closed and to bear strong, influential ties. They considered some of these tribes to be possible nurturing hubs for Wahhabi/Salafi ideologies that can build and recruit fighters to radical organizations. The participants gave examples of some family names in Jordan that recruited many from the same family and close friends.

Recruitments took place within families, or extended families or the tribe, those were the majority. (Researcher I, 2019)

Salafism found a nurturing ground within tribes […]. (Public policy expert I, 2019)

It was within families; for example, in Karak it is known that it is one branch of the Majali family that recruited family and close friends to join the Islamic State (ISIS). (Researcher I, 2019)

Summary

The participants in this research have unanimously explained that a mixture of factors is involved in the decision of an individual to join a terrorist group, pointing out that we have seen drivers fluctuate in different countries. Several social, economic, cultural and political factors were mentioned by the participants as elements that can increase the susceptibility of individuals to joining terror organizations, and new local factors, rarely mentioned in previous research on drivers, were added. The new factors included mistaking a radical organization and an Islamic organization, being misinformed about the true concepts of Islam, which leaves the individual vulnerable to groups that manipulate religious discourse, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the helplessness towards the perceived injustice in Palestine, and tribal families in Jordan that served as hubs for recruitment.

3.3. The radical landscape and youth in Jordan

The third theme that this research approached was related to exploring the opinions of the participants of the radical landscape, Jordan's efforts to counter the phenomenon and the challenges facing young people in Jordan. The responses of the participants revolved around a set of subthemes that emerged from the analysis of the interviews (Table 8).

(Table 8) Jordan – interview themes, subthemes and sources

Main themes	Subthemes	Source
The radical landscape in Jordan	The recent defeat of the Islamic State (ISIS) does not equate to the defeat of violent extremism	All participants
	Comprehensive development is needed to prevent radicalization	All participants
	Reforming the school curricula	Majority of participants
Youth in Jordan	The situation is difficult and frustrating at all levels	All participants

Participants have unanimously stated that the recent defeat of the Islamic State (ISIS) does not equate to the defeat of the extremist ideology or violence. They explained that it is not only the organization that we seek to defeat but the overall situation that creates vulnerable individuals who would respond to such calls. The respondents also expressed concern over the x-fighters and their current location, which is unknown.

Radicalization hasn't ended, and I wouldn't be surprised if a new similar radical organization evolved under another name in the future. I would also be concerned about the several x-fighters. Nobody knows where they are at the moment. In our countries tyranny, marginalization, poverty, corruption and obstructed political processes still exist. The vicious repertoire that the Islamic State (ISIS) created will fade away should the people keep on suffering. (Public policy expert I, 2019)

From an organizational perspective, the Islamic State (ISIS) is defeated, but the extremism can reappear under a different name or in a different country. Several attacks took place after the defeat of the Islamic State (ISIS) in Jordan and this means that the problem is not over. (Youth NGO representative 5, 2019)

The problem is not the Islamic State (ISIS) but the ideology; as a ministry of education we don't fight the Islamic State (ISIS) but the ideology that it adopts. We need to empower students with knowledge and skills to fight extremist ideologies. (Curriculum expert MOE I 2019)

The participants agree that the government has made some steps towards preventing radicalization, yet they believe that more comprehensive and speedy efforts – including reforming the law and fighting injustice, committing to freedom of expression, and enacting economic and political development that involve young people in the decision-making process – would protect society against radical calls.

We are in need of a comprehensive reform. The government in Jordan works in a slow and selective manner […]. Economic reform is evidently failing. However, the educational system has witnessed significant reforms, and the Ministry of Endowment and Islamic Affairs has made important developments in monitoring speeches that promote radical ideologies. Security and commitment to human rights in treating prisoners in reform centres have advanced significantly. (Public policy expert I, 2019)

Law reforms move very slowly and add barriers to living with dignity. The current laws deny rights that are granted in our constitution, such as the right of access toinformation, to education, to free speech, […]. (Media expert II, 2019)

Laws in Jordan criminalize, punish and don't propose preventative solutions. […] Radicalization is also the result of the lack of information that expands the umbrella of injustice and unequal opportunities. These are rights that need to be protected by law. (Media expert II, 2019)

I am against sending someone to trial for sharing an opinion. Freedom of expression is one way to protect against radicalization, but the more you restrict and criminalize opinions, the more individuals will seek undercover search for networks that will adopt or appreciate their views. (Media expert II, 2019)

International conventions call for freedom of expression for a reason; the more you express your opinion the more committed you will become, more mature, and will in turn learn about the opinion of others even when disagreements exist. Allowing only one opinion is radical. (Media expert II, 2019)

When youth get involved in politics […] they fill an intellectual gap and find purpose. Their involvement reflects on their characters and on society […]. (Youth activist I, 2019)

With the religious education and being misinformed about religious concepts set amongst the main identified drivers in Jordan towards adopting radical ideologies, the respondents explained that minimizing the religious content – an effort conducted by the government in Jordan – does not solve the problem. Conversely, they suggested reforming the general curricula to develop critical thinking amongst students. They also suggested building the capacity of the teachers, who sometimes propose religious ideas that confuse students.

The curricula as a whole need to be improved to protect students and prepare them to face day-to-day challenges. (Educational NGO representative 3, 2019)

Apart from religious books, literature and scientific books do not need to contain religious content because the teachers in this case are not qualified to discuss or relate science to religion. (Curriculum expert MOE I 2019)

Religious content can be manipulated, that is why the teacher who did not study religion should not be explaining religious content to students […]. Some teachers may have

specific agendas and can influence the students in classes. Therefore, we try to develop the curricula in a way that limits the possibility of mixing science with religion. (Curriculum expert MOE I 2019)

In the previous version of the curriculum there was a lot of mention of Jihad, in the new version we clarified what Jihad means [...]. We explained, in depth, the difference between Jihad and terrorism and provided examples of both cases and supported the information with Ayat from the Quran. (Curriculum expert MOE II, 2019)

What is the point of minimizing religious content if you still have a religious mental set, especially among teachers? The country is unable to prepare teachers able to assist students to think critically. (Researcher I, 2019)

In their assessment of the situation of young people in Jordan and in presenting their opinions on the challenges facing youth today, the participants had a low opinion of the conditions in Jordan, describing the situation as difficult and frustrating on all levels, including the economic situation that deprives young people from the opportunity to find jobs, to make a decent living and to explore entrepreneurial possibilities. Many youths suffer marginalization that results from the centralization of jobs and activities in the capital. The participants also portrayed the political situation as depriving young people of the right to get involved in politics.

Youths in Jordan are in a terrible situation. They are frustrated. Opportunity is only available to members of certain families. There is no motivation for development. (Youth activist II, 2019)

Economic reform in Jordan does not take marginalization, poverty and unemployment into consideration. (Public policy expert I, 2019)

We support the graduation of students in areas where we have no gaps. The market is not capable of absorbing this high number of students. Important job sectors are not accredited, and the much-needed vocational education is not well catered for. (Youth NGO representative 5, 2019)

Youths are not offered facilities that could support their attempts to lead projects, as would be offered in developed countries. (Youth NGO representative 5, 2019)

Most of the job opportunities and recreational activities exist in the capital, this results in frustration among Jordanian youths who live in remote communities. (Youth NGO representative 5, 2019)

We have a problem with the political empowerment of youth in Jordan. While many non-governmental organizations are running several youth political capacity programmes in the country, the legislative system does not deliver the prospect for true participation. The right to vote in the Parliamentary elections is not enough. Youths under 30 years old are still not allowed to run in Parliament [...]. The right to political participation and decision-making must be comprehensive. (Youth NGO representative 5, 2019)

Summary

While the Islamic State (ISIS) has recently been defeated, participants have unanimously stated that the recent defeat of the Islamic State (ISIS) does not equate to the defeat of the extremist ideology. They agree that Jordan has made some steps towards preventing radicalization but they believe that more comprehensive and speedy efforts – including reforming the school curricula to enhance critical thinking, reforming the law and fighting injustice, committing to freedom of expression, and enacting economic and political development that involve young people in the decision-making process – would protect youths who face several socio-economic, political and cultural frustrations and challenges.

4. Discussion and conclusion

A number of insights can be derived from the responses of the participants. On the definitions, two contextual descriptions were revealed within the discourse. The first suggests that radicalization is the adoption of one ideology that considers different others as infidels. With this definition, the participants focused on the cognitive aspect, meaning that being radical does not necessarily mean committing a violent act; considering different others infidels is radical,

and this is close to the concept of Takfir that was adopted and rejected by different Islamic groups. The participants did not express seeing radicalization as a process but rather as a status, and they did not see it as an approach to establish social change, a form of activism, or to express frustration. This varies to an extent from the available definitions of radicalization that were being drafted with a strong focus on the possibility of conducting a violent act, where in fact the responses of the participants in this research suggest that radicalization exists as a phenomenon whether violent acts take place or not.

The second definition that was presented by religious leaders suggests that the use of the word "radical" does not serve any purpose, because the phenomenon that reflects youths joining terrorist organizations compares, in fact, to the "violence" phenomenon, which is a global issue of concern among young people and is not limited to the recent terrorist movements in the region. Conversely, they explained that individuals who seek an Islamic life, who were manipulated into thinking that terrorist organizations are Islamic organizations that seek to implement Jihad, do not belong to this violent youth culture, and their pursuits are quite understandable.

To that end, we see that religious leaders, as well as some other participants in the research, stress that terror is different from Jihad. The former involves fighting for a terrorist organization, knowing of its indiscriminate intentions and terrorist methods, while the latter implies the use of arms and forces to fight troops, and is conducted under specific regulations that forbid attacking women, children, the elderly and non-Muslims that have devoted their lives to monastic services, and ban the destruction of trees, crops and farmland. We know that terrorist organizations have falsely claimed recruitment for Jihad to justify their terrorist attacks, and this suggests that the fighters have been divided into two possible groups: fighters who knew what Jihad is and wanted to fight within its regulations but were manipulated into thinking that terrorist organizations had the same intentions, and fighters who possess weak or distorted knowledge about Islam and who joined knowing of the violent terrorist agendas of the organizations. This research perceives this as an important perspective because such scrutiny, which may enhance our understanding of the motives, and best draft strategies to combat terror and to rehabilitate the captured and returnees, is lacking from research on radicalization. Another insight that was drawn from the analysis concerns the distinction between a terrorist organization and an Islamic organization. The religious leaders in the

research explained that the aspiration to join an Islamic organization is an understandable pursuit, whereas the aspiration to join a terrorist organization is not.

Among the participants' responses to the questions in this research, four types of profiles emerged. In order to organize these profiles mentioned by the participants, Table 9 presents a contextual typology, followed by a description for each of the identified profiles.

(Table 9) Preliminary context-based typology of individuals

	Profile I	Profile II	Profile III	Profile IV
Religiosity	A religious person who seeks an Islamic life and living by Sharia Law, which may entail the possibility of Jihad	An individual exposed to weak or distorted knowledge about concepts of Islam	An individual exposed to weak or distorted knowledge about concepts of Islamic "lone-wolf" terrorists	A religious person whose religious practices would not include any violent actions
Radical act	Joined terrorist organizations misguidedly, thinking it is an Islamic organization that calls for Jihad	Joined terrorist organizations knowing of its terrorist methods	Conducted an attack without joining a terrorist organization	Would not join a terrorist organization or conduct any type of attack
Trigger	Exposure to terrorist group messages	Exposure to terrorist group messages	A perceived offence towards religion	Would not be affected by triggers
Perception of religious leader participants	Understandable pursuit	Not acceptable	Not acceptable	Was not referred to in the responses
Perception by other interviewees	Was not referred to in the responses	Not acceptable	Not acceptable	Peaceful
Main driver	Seeking an Islamic life under Sharia Law and Jihad	Exposure to misleading knowledge about Islam or specific sectors	Exposure to misleading knowledge about Islam or specific sectors	Would not be affected by drivers
Subdrivers	Possible socio-economic, cultural or political drivers	Possible socio-economic, cultural or political drivers	Possible socio-economic, cultural or political drivers	Would not be affected by drivers

Profile I: As described by the religious leaders, this individual is religious, possesses good knowledge about Islam and aspires to live an Islamic life that runs by Sharia Law, which entails the possibility of conducting Jihad. This individual was manipulated by the recruitment messages presented by terrorist groups, which used concepts like Jihad to attract individuals and to justify terrorist and suicide attacks. The motive of this individual is perceived as an understandable pursuit by the religious leaders who were interviewed in this research,

indicating that many such individuals have attempted to return home when they discovered that groups such as the Islamic State (ISIS) have terrorist agendas and do not represent Islam. The main trigger for this individual is the calls by radical groups. The driver is their pursuit to live an Islamic life under Sharia Law, and readiness to conduct Jihad if required. Subdrivers could include other possible local socio-economic, cultural or political factors, including injustice in Palestine and/or belonging to a tribe that promoted recruitment. Some of these individuals may have travelled to join Al-Nusra Front and not the Islamic State (ISIS), which recruited in the first place to defend Sunni Muslims who were attacked by the Al-Assad regime during the civil war.

Profile II: This individual, as the participants explained, possesses weak or distorted knowledge about concepts of Islam and has joined terrorist groups in Syria and Iraq knowing that they are organizations that intend to utilize terror as a method in their plans to expand as an organization. The main trigger for this individual is the messages communicated by terrorist groups, while the drivers include possessing weak, incomplete or distorted knowledge about Islam supported by subdrivers such as possible socio-economic, cultural and political factors (which will be examined in the next chapter of this research).

Profile III: The "lone-wolf" terrorist, as the participants explained, possesses weak or distorted knowledge about Islam. This person did not join terrorist groups in Syria and Iraq but shares a similar status to a terrorist for conducting an attack in the name of Islam. Perceived as extremist by all of the interviewees, including religious leaders, the "lone-wolf" terrorist attack is triggered by a perceived offence by members of society towards the Islamic religion. Main drivers include possessing weak or distorted knowledge about Islam and possible exposure of this person to manipulated knowledge about Islam, or certain sectors such as Wahhabi/Salafi ideology. Subdrivers may also involve a complex set of socio-economic, cultural and political factors.

Profile IV: The participant described a religious person who possesses good knowledge about Islam and its teachings and adopts a personal approach reflected as having a relationship with God that is internal and does not exceed to considering the others as infidels. This person, as described by many of the interviewees, would not be affected by triggers and calls to join Islamic or terrorist groups. The majority of the interviewees explain that this peaceful internal approach to religion has always been the prevailing approach to religion in Jordan, and that it

is was external influence – including the Wahhabi/Salafi expansion – that created individuals with more extremist approaches to religion.

This typology can also have an implication for the existing models of radicalization (Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations). The research proposes additional scrutiny by outlining a proposed framework that accommodates the diversity amongst the individual profiles that were identified in this research (Table 10).

(Table 10) Preliminary proposed model of radicalization

Individuals	Main drivers	Triggers	Results	
1 **Profile I** (Strong knowledge about Islam)	Seeking Islamic life, which can entail Jihad	Calls by terrorist groups	Try to join Islamic groups for Jihad	Attempt to withdraw if the organization doesn't represent Islam
2 **Profile II** (Weak or distorted knowledge about Islam)	Exposure to misleading knowledge about Islam		Join terrorist groups	
3 **Profile III "Lone-wolf" terrorist** (Weak, incomplete or distorted knowledge about Islam)	Exposure to misleading knowledge about Islam	Perceived offence towards religion	Commit a single violent act	
4 **Profile IV** (Strong knowledge about Islam – "Against violence" approach)	Not affected by drivers or triggers			

This scrutiny provides added insights into the existing radicalization models. The existing models on radicalization vary in their structure and linearity but they share common areas that include psychological grievance over the bad social conditions, as well as the interaction with like-minded people or exposure to extremist groups' ideologies as key aspects that lead to the adoption and internalization of the new extremist identities that legitimizes violence. This research considers the role of psychological grievance, which will be included in the next chapter in the investigation of the drivers, and acknowledges the role of exposure to extremist messages and groups in the choice to join radical groups, included in the analysis. However, the typography and the framework of this research is foreseen to add value in that:

It considers differences between the profiles as an initial step that provides more depth to understanding the diverse motives, and therefore can better assist in countering terror or in the rehabilitation of the captured or the returnees. The existing radicalization models' final stages do not consider cases of fighters that decide to withdraw from the terrorist groups. Conversely, this research reflects on the cases of the well-informed religious individuals who after joining terrorist groups to seek an Islamic life and to conduct Jihad decide to return back home once they have discovered that these organizations do not represent Islam. The reviewed existing radicalization models do not discuss cases of "lone-wolf" terrorists who share a similar status to radical fighters in that they commit terror acts based on an extremist ideology. In this research, "lone-wolf" terrorists are perceived as being equally important in understanding radicalization, with similar and diverse characteristics that are important to include in counter-violence strategies. Finally, the existing models on radicalization do not contribute to the main inquiry, which asks why there are several inconsistencies in the factors that lead individuals to become radical. This research acknowledges the complexity of the factors – which will also be assessed in the next chapter – but provides an example of how contextual investigation can identify new knowledge on the leading motives that preceded the often socio-economic and cultural drivers.

The semi-structured interviews asked the participants to reflect on the drivers that lead young people from Jordan to join terrorist organizations. The majority of participants explained that youths in Jordan face difficult socio-economic, cultural and political challenges leading to severe feelings of deprivation and frustration. Such feelings are perceived to influence the decision of individuals to join radical groups. However, they also explained that attributing single factors such as injustice or poverty would be an oversimplification that cannot be considered in the analysis of such complex phenomena. The responses of the participants, however, confirm that contextual insights into the drivers are of high importance as they disclose three contextualized drivers that have rarely been considered in research on the topic: the religious education, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the tribal families in Jordan. The next chapter in this research is dedicated to examining these complex and contextual sets of drivers.

The research also asked the participants to reflect on the radical landscape in the country, based on their expertise and experience in working with young people and on the topic. The

participants unanimously stated that the recent defeat of the Islamic State (ISIS) does not equate to the defeat of the ideology or extremism. The participants acknowledge the efforts expended by the Jordanian government in preventing radicalization. Yet they believe that more comprehensive and speedier efforts that would improve the challenges facing young people in society – including reforming the law and fighting injustice, committing to freedom of expression and not adding limitations the way they did with the anti-terrorism law, and enacting economic and political development that involve youth in the decision-making process – would better protect society against radical calls. With the religious education and being misinformed about religious concepts set amongst the main identified drivers in Jordan towards adopting radical ideologies, the respondents explained that minimizing the religious content – an effort conducted by the government in Jordan – does not solve the problem. Conversely, they suggested reforming the general curricula to develop critical thinking amongst students; they also suggested building the capacity of the teachers, who sometimes propose religious ideas that confuse students. The curriculum experts have explained that the intentions of the government were not to solely minimize religious content but to limit religious topics to the religious education curriculum because scientific teachers may not be qualified to explain religious connections, an issue that the government has not succeeded in explaining to civil society and teachers, which has consequently resulted in many protests.

Chapter 8: The survey

1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the second research question (Chapter 4: Research objectives and conceptual framework): What does the geometric social space representing the interrelations between the social, economic, cultural and symbolic factors tell us about society in Jordan and its radical tendencies?

The literature review, the case study analysis and the semi-structured interviews conducted in this research have revealed that the recent defeat of the Islamic State (ISIS) does not equate to the defeat of the extremist ideology and that it is not only the organization that we seek to conquer but the overall situation that creates vulnerable individuals who would respond to such calls. Among the challenges in research on the topic that limit our knowledge about the different aspects of the phenomenon, as revealed in Chapter 2: Literature review, are the lack of contextual considerations and the limitations of the conventional research methods that seek to explore dependent and independent variable correlations to reveal the drivers that increase the susceptibility of individuals to joining terrorist groups. Accordingly, in this section, the context-based approach of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space (Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations), which entails the collection of a comprehensive set of contextual variables and favours the use of multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) – a geometric data analysis (GDA) method – to construct a social space (Chapter 5: Research methods) is foreseen to reveal hidden structures and patterns in society to establish an understanding about the radicalization phenomenon in Jordan.

Two methods were employed to build the data set for this part of the research. The first is the survey method, which was selected for its capacity to collect and study a broad range of variables, and it was designed for this research to gather information about a comprehensive set of social, economic, cultural and symbolic capitals among young people in Jordan. The second is the experimental vignette methodology (EVM), which was used in the survey to incorporate sensitive elements of culture, freedoms and religion that are important to the

analysis. The design of the survey questions, including the vignette section, is elaborated in the methods chapter of this research (Chapter 5: Research methods).

The chapter comprises three sections: the first presents the data set, inertia, dimensions, categories, the MCA plot and the social fields constructed based on the data processing; the second presents an analysis of the results; and the third presents the conclusions from the findings in relation to the current academic knowledge.

2. The data set

MCA can be applied to an index matrix that comprises a homogeneous set of categorical variables (Greenacre, 2017). Accordingly, in this research, a final MCA data set was prepared for this study to include the categorical variables of the participants' backgrounds as well as their social, economic, cultural and symbolic capitals. A summary of the descriptive statistics – in which the responses are given as short values for easier examination on the MCA plots – is presented in Table 11.

(Table 11) Descriptive statistics for the background and capital variables

Original variable	Value	Frequency	%	Original variable	Value	Frequency	%
Background				**I travelled to**			
Sex				I never travelled	Travel -	1111	50.50%
Male	Male	1008	45.80%	I travelled to 1–3 countries	Travel 0	899	40.80%
Female	Female	1193	54.20%	I travelled to 4 or more countries	Travel +	191	8.70%
Age				**Education level**			
18–22	18–22	1229	55.80%	Less than high school	Education -	101	4.60%
23–26	23–26	589	26.80%	High school or diploma	Education 0	627	28.50%
27–30	27–30	383	17.40%	University or higher education	Education +	1473	66.90%
I am a student				**Symbolic capital**			
Selected	Student +	1134	51.50%	**Satisfaction: Work**			
Not selected	Student -	1067	48.50%	There are no major issues that I don't like	Satisfaction W +	149	6.80%
Residency				Unsatisfied because of: the low salary, the environment is unjust, it is difficult to find a job, insecurity because work is unstable	Satisfaction W -	843	38.30%
Salt, Zarqa, Ma'an, Irbid (Troubled areas)	Residency -	723	32.50%				
	Residency 0	517	23.50%	I don't work	I don't work	1209	54.90%

Madaba, Balqa, Jerash, Ajloun, Mafraq, Karak, Tafileh, Aqaba (Main cities)			
Amman (Capital)	Residency +	961	43.70%

Religious habits

Not committed	Not committed	316	14.40%
Not regular	Not regular	1059	48.10%
Fully committed	Fully committed	826	37.50%

Cultural capital

The number of languages that I know well

One	Languages -	667	30.30%
Two	Languages 0	1296	58.90%
Three or more	Languages +	238	10.80%

Reading books

I only read religious books	Reading -	10	0.50%
I don't read	Reading 0	393	17.90%
I read various topics	Reading +	1792	81.40%
	Missing	6	0.30%

Listening to music

I don't listen to music	Music -	275	12.50%
I listen to Arabic music	Music 0	1035	47.00%
I also listen to international music	Music +	887	40.30%
	Missing	4	0.20%

Watching TV

I don't watch TV	TV -	785	35.70%
I watch Arabic programmes	TV 0	275	12.50%
I also watch international programmes	TV +	1141	51.80%

Hobbies

I don't have any hobbies	Hobbies -	1129	51.30%
Sports/Indoor activities	Hobbies 0	922	41.90%
I play a musical instrument	Hobbies +	129	5.90%
	Missing	21	1.00%

Satisfaction: Politics

I am unhappy with the government's performance. Youth have no voice in politics in Jordan.

Not selected	Satisfaction P +	729	33.10%
Selected	Satisfaction P -	1462	66.40%
	Missing	10	0.50%

Satisfaction: Life

Our life in Jordan is unfair

Not selected	Satisfaction L+	802	36.40%
Selected	Satisfaction L-	1390	63.20%
	Missing	9	0.40%

Satisfaction: Culture and sports

I wish I could learn dancing or singing but the culture doesn't allow it in Jordan, I wish to master a sport but it is difficult in Jordan

Not selected	Satisfaction CS+	1427	64.80%
Selected	Satisfaction CS-	764	34.70%
	Missing	10	0.50%

Social capital

I am a tribe member

Selected	Tribe +	694	31.50%
Not selected	Tribe -	1494	67.90%
	Missing	13	0.60%

I am an activist

Selected	Activist +	107	4.90%
Not selected	Activist -	2078	94.40%
	Missing	16	0.70%

I volunteer whenever I get the chance

Selected	Volunteer +	688	31.30%
Not selected	Volunteer -	1503	68.30%
	Missing	10	0.50%

Economic capital

Work and income level

More than 1500 JD	Income +	14	0.60%
700–1499 JD	Income 0	36	1.60%
50–699 JD	Income -	665	30.20%
0 JOD	no income	1486	67.50%

The opinion questions – collected using the experimental vignette methodology (EVM) – were examined initially in a separate data set and a new categorical variable was recoded. Five category values were set to reflect the opinions of the respondents: the "Progressive"

value, which reflects the responses that demonstrate tolerance and openness to freedom of speech or to the rights of gay communities; the "Extreme" value for the responses that express extreme opinions such as support of violence; the "Religious" value for the standard religious orientations and opinions conveyed by the participants; the "No opinion" value is the additional value reassigned to the responses that reflect no clear opinion on the core topic; and the "NA" (Not Applicable) value was assigned for two of the responses that were not eventually included in the MCA analysis as they have not contributed to the topic under examination. The original responses and the new coded values are presented in Table 12.

(Table 12) Descriptive statistics for the opinion variables

Original variable	Frequency	%	Value
Opinion: Scenario 1 – the Jordanian government has detained two of the main owners and closed a website that mocked religion			
I disagree with this action by the government because this is against freedom of expression.	255	11.60%	Progressive
I agree with closing the website but not the detention because this could result in conflict in society.	655	29.80%	No opinion
I agree with this action by the government because religion is not a topic to be joked about.	1279	58.10%	Religious
Missing	12	0.50%	
Opinion: Scenario 2 – suggestions for the school curricula			
General suggestions to improve the quality.	2130	96.80%	NA
Suggestions to add more religious-focused content.	56	2.50%	Religious
Opinion: Scenario 3 – the conductor might also be a member of an international group that defends LBGT rights			
Go to the event because even if the organizer is a member of this organization, it is not a problem.	824	37.40%	Progressive
Go to the event, because the information could be wrong about the conductor.	606	27.50%	No opinion
Not go to the event because defending such a cause is wrong.	707	32.10%	Religious
Music and partying are banned in Islam therefore he shouldn't go in the first place.	16	0.70%	Extreme
Missing	48	2.20%	
Opinion: Scenario 4 – the conductor was attacked by five people who also heard the news and were offended			
I disagree with this action because there is nothing wrong with defending the rights of gay communities.	165	7.50%	Progressive
I disagree with this action because I am against all forms of violence.	1244	56.50%	No opinion
I understand the action of the group, that defending such a cause is wrong, but I disagree with the use of violence.	591	26.90%	Religious
I agree with the action of the group, because such people should be stopped.	165	7.50%	Extreme

Opinion: Scenario 5 – why a person decided to join a radical group			
Different social, psychological, economic reasons.	1850	84.10%	NA
He felt that the group's ideology represents him, he has the right to join such a group.	331	15%	Religious

Following the process of setting values for the responses (categories), in order to create one final categorical variable, "Opinion", that would fit in the MCA data set, the following steps were implemented. The category "Extreme" was considered the strongest value. One extreme response to the vignettes was enough to assign the "Extreme" category to the case. The "Religious" category was set based on the majority of its frequency in the five vignettes. However, if one or two answers were "Religious" and the rest were "No opinion" the final result was still set as "Religious" as this position still reflects a standard tendency and a closer position to the "Religious" status. The "Progressive" value was counted based on the majority of the responses to the five vignettes. However, unlike the "Religious" value, the "Progressive" value was not considered of higher strength than the "No opinion" value. This decision was set in order to affirm the polarization of a "Progressive" opinion of the participant, which is not a standard or common tendency in society. There were 31 occurrences in the cases in which the responses were "Religious" to the first question and "Progressive" to the third and fourth question. These cases were counted as "Religious" because even though these individuals expressed openness towards gay rights they still supported the detention of the website owners for sharing content that mocks religion, which reflects more of a religious standpoint than a progressive one. The descriptive statistics of the final "Opinion" variable are presented in Table 13.

(Table 13) Descriptive statistics of the recoded opinion variable

Original variable	Value	Frequency	%
Opinion			
	Progressive	233	10.6%
	No opinion	357	16.2%
	Religious	1426	64.8%
	Extreme	184	8.4%
	Missing	0	0%

In order to better analyse the social field and its association with the opinions of the participants, the opinion variable was considered as a supplementary variable in the study. Supplementary variables are superimposed on the plot to assess the positioning of the opinion

categories relative to the active categories and to the fields constructed on the same plot (Greenacre, 2017).

The missing data in the data set amounted to 100 instances in 46 cases that are not bound to a specific segment in the data set. Accordingly, the "listwise deletion" strategy was applied as proposed when the reduction in the sample size is minor (Blasius & Greenacre, 2006). The 46 out of the 2,200 cases were excluded from the analysis.

In the MCA indicator matrix the rows represent the cases in the study and the columns represent the categories (Greenacre, 2017). The dimension of the final data set for this research that contains the categorical variables was 2,200X21. Every case in the data set was recoded in a row i [i = 1 to 2,200] and every variable was represented in a column P = 21. Bearing in mind that each of the variables has a different number of categories, Lp was set to represent the number of categories for each of the p variables. The total number of categories became $L = \sum_{p=1}^{p} Lp$. The actual matrix – in which the number of cases is met with a column that represents all of the categories for each of the variables – represents the total number of points demonstrated on the geometric plots and used for the analysis.

2.1. The inertia

A model summary demonstrating the percentage of variance for the first 10 dimensions is presented in Table 14.

(Table 14) The percentage of variance for the first 10 dimensions

Dimension	eigenvalue	percentage of variance	cumulative percentage of variance
dim 1	0.15	8.89	8.89
dim 2	0.11	6.62	15.51
dim 3	0.08	5.07	20.58
dim 4	0.08	4.80	25.38
dim 5	0.07	3.97	29.35
dim 6	0.06	3.83	33.18
dim 7	0.06	3.56	36.75
dim 8	0.06	3.46	40.21
dim 9	0.06	3.42	43.62
dim 10	0.05	3.26	46.89

The percentages show that the first axis explains 8.89% of the inertia and the second axis explains 6.62% of the inertia, a cumulative amount of 15.51%. However, the MCA inertia percentage is perceived to be artificially low. It undervalues the true quality of the plots in representing the data (Greenacre, 2017). Accordingly, a second examination of the data was conducted using joint correspondence analysis (JCA), a method perceived to provide a higher yet more realistic estimate as it focuses on "the off-diagonal contingency tables that cross-tabulate distinct pairs of variables" (Greenacre, 2017). The JCA result identified a coverage of 64% of the first two planes (Table 15), suggesting that the first two dimensions can provide quality plots that identify significant associations.

(Table 15) The joint correspondence analysis

Principal inertias (eigenvalues)			
dim	value	%	cum%
1	0.009600	42.4	42.4
2	0.004942	21.8	64.3

2.2. The dimensions

In MCA, the optimally fit dimensions are extracted based on the distribution of the categories and the individuals. Therefore, a general description of the two dimensions can be acquired from the significance value of each variable on the two dimensions (Table 16). The variables are ranked from most to least associated with the dimension and only the ones with a correlation ratio significantly different to zero are included. We notice that the first dimension is governed by age, being a student, the level of satisfaction at work and income, while the second dimension is governed by the number of languages that one speaks, music, travelling and - religious habits.

(Table 16) The significance value of each variable in the two dimensions

	Dim 1			Dim 2	
	R^2	p-value		R^2	p-value
Age	5.058E-01	0.000E+00	Languages	2.799E-01	3.173E-154
Student	6.527E-01	0.000E+00	Music	2.507E-01	1.108E-135
Satisfaction – work	5.393E-01	0.000E+00	Travelling	2.397E-01	8.037E-129
Income	4.717E-01	1.780E-297	Religious habits	2.011E-01	1.144E-105
Sex	1.999E-01	1.778E-106	Income	1.706E-01	5.625E-87
Hobbies	1.186E-01	9.590E-60	Satisfaction – life	1.511E-01	1.030E-78
Music	1.130E-01	9.219E-57	TV	1.473E-01	3.053E-75
Languages	9.481E-02	2.682E-47	Satisfaction – politics	1.420E-01	1.006E-73
Education	6.604E-02	1.148E-32	Opinion	1.370E-01	1.894E-68

|					
V18_symb	4.513E-02	2.024E-23	Residency	1.258E-01	1.393E-63
Reading	4.005E-02	7.775E-20	Satisfaction – work	1.194E-01	3.611E-60
TV	3.247E-02	3.677E-16	Hobbies	9.195E-02	8.002E-46
Volunteerism	2.321E-02	1.146E-12	Satisfaction – culture	8.323E-02	1.338E-42
Residency	1.380E-02	3.203E-07	Education	4.915E-02	2.751E-24
Opinion	1.511E-02	3.587E-07	Sex	4.466E-02	3.438E-23
Satisfaction – politics	1.000E-02	3.272E-06	Activism	2.764E-02	7.860E-15
Travel	3.078E-03	3.62E-02	Reading	1.824E-02	2.489E-09

2.3. The categories

The main purpose behind using MCA is to explore the interrelations between categories that represent the responses of the participants in the survey (Blasius & Greenacre, 2006). MCA produces a plot on which the categories are independently positioned with coordinates that represent the weighted average of the occurrences under that category. The proximity between the categories in the two-dimensional plot provides meaningful associations. The 11 highest contributions of the categories in each dimension are presented in Table 17. We notice that dimension one is dominated by the background and work-related categories, while the second dimension is dominated by the cultural capital and religious categories.

(Table 17) The contribution of the top 11 categories in the two dimensions

Category	Dim 1	Category	Dim 2
Student -	11.48	Languages -	7.76
Student +	10.76	Travel +	6.56
Income -	10.07	Music +	6.28
Satisfaction W -	8.51	Not committed	6.25
I don't work	8.31	Satisfaction L+	4.38
18–22	7.23	Satisfaction P +	4.33
27–30	6.88	Hobbies +	3.95
No income	5.22	TV 0	3.93
Male	3.71	Languages +	3.69
23–26	3.13	Travel -	3.57
Female	3.11	Music -	3.28

3. The MCA plots

The categories representing the independent responses of the individuals are revealed with additional scrutiny in Figure 7. The MCA plot highlights the active categories with the highest contributions (in blue), the active categories with lower contributions (in grey) and the supplementary opinion categories (in red).
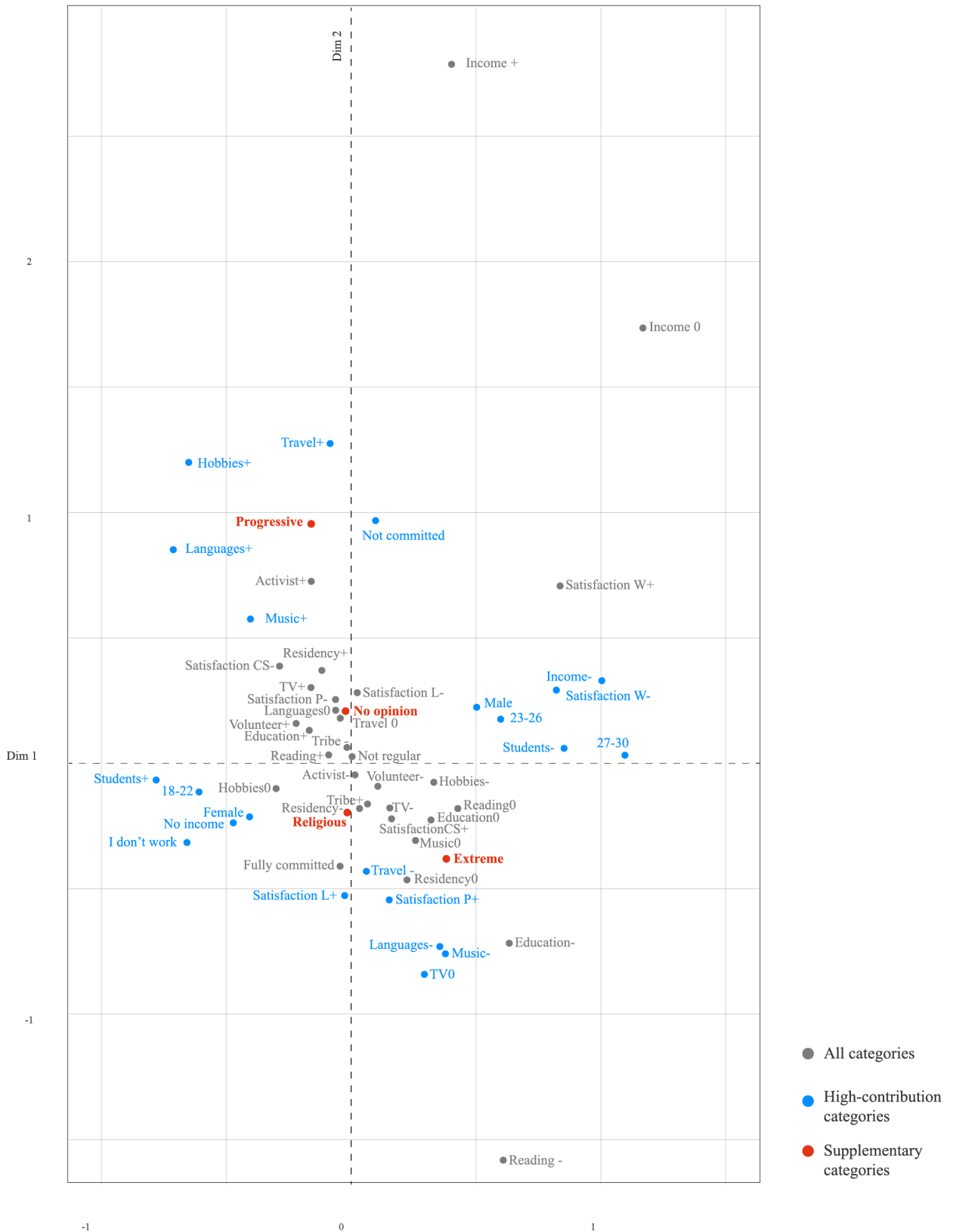
(Figure 7) The MCA plot – all categories

3.1. Initial observations

In order to facilitate reading the MCA plot and analysing the content and the constructed social fields, the following figures highlight the elements that are demonstrated on the MCA plot in each of the paragraphs.

Background variables

In the first dimension (Figure 8), which is governed by the background and the work and economic status of the participants, moving from left to right we observe a change from the student status to the not a current student status, from an age group of 18–22 years to age groups of 22–26 and 27–30. Females are positioned on the left while males are positioned on the right side of the dimension. On the other hand, the residency category, which is a background variable, was seen to be more associated with the second dimension, which is more governed by the cultural capital, moving up from being a resident outside the capital towards residency in the troubled areas and reaching residency in the capital.
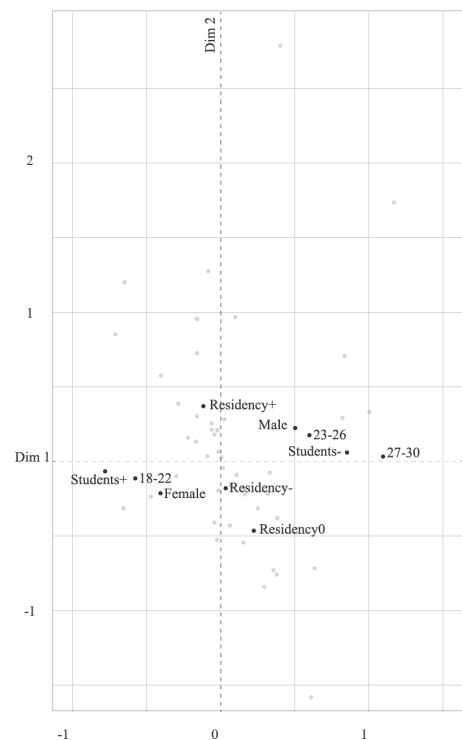
(Figure 2) Background categories
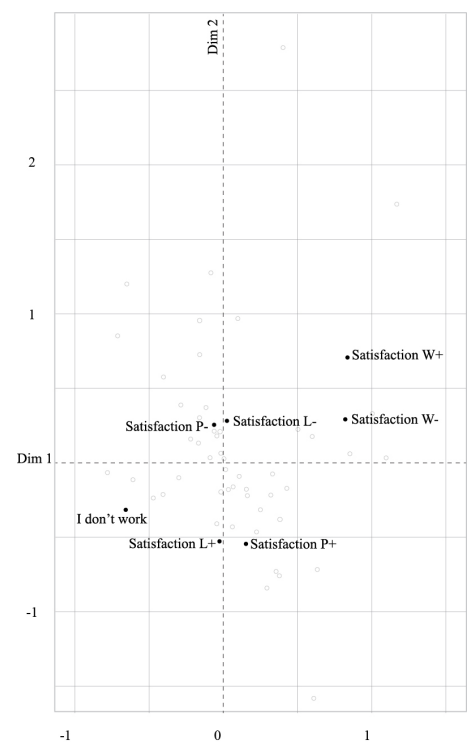
Economic capital variables

Moving from left to right (Figure 9), the income category changes from the no income to the low-income status, then it changes direction to become more associated with the second dimension. The income increases going up the second dimension. Their distant placement in relation to the rest of the categories suggests they are not common attributes in the average profile of the participants in the study.
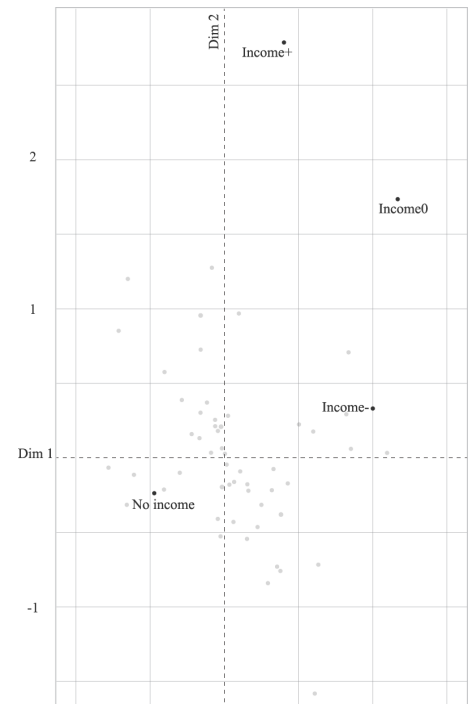
(Figure 3) Economic capital

## Symbolic capital variables

The symbolic capital was also observed to be associated with the first dimension (Figure 10), specifically the satisfaction with work category. However, it is important to re-mention that the respondents were provided the possibility to choose the negative attributes of this variable, which included no satisfaction of work, life, politics, and cultural and sports services. While the satisfied status reflects the no selection, or no stated complaints on these aspects, which was considered in the analysis.

(Figure 4) Symbolic capital
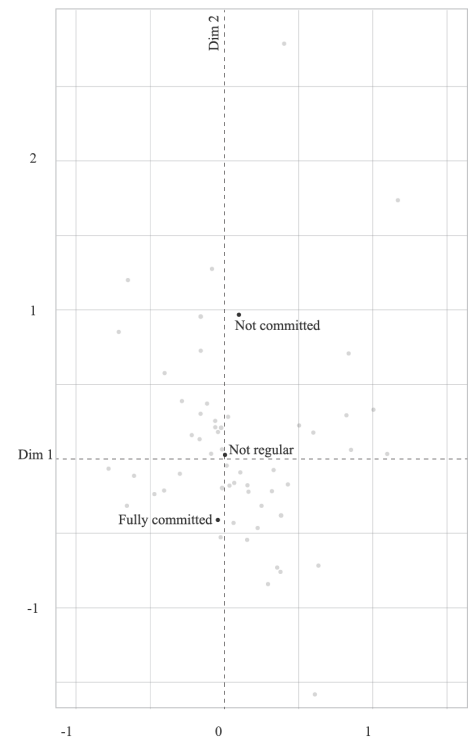
Cultural capital variables

In the second dimension, which is dominated by the cultural-related categories, moving from the lower part of the dimension towards the upper part we observe an increase from low cultural attributes towards high cultural attributes (Figure 11).
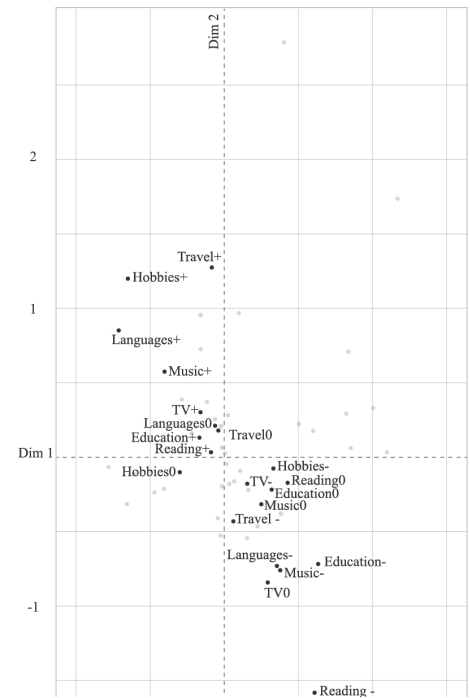
(Figure 5) Cultural categories

Religious habits

This increase in the cultural capital is also aligned with a decrease in the religious habits moving from the fully committed to religious practice towards no regular religious practices and reaching the not committed status (Figure 12).

(Figure 6) Religious habits

Social capital variables

Moving from the lower part towards the upper part of the second dimension we also observe a limited increase in the social capital categories related to activism and volunteerism. Conversely, the tribal membership changes from a tribe member towards the not a tribe member status (Figure 13).
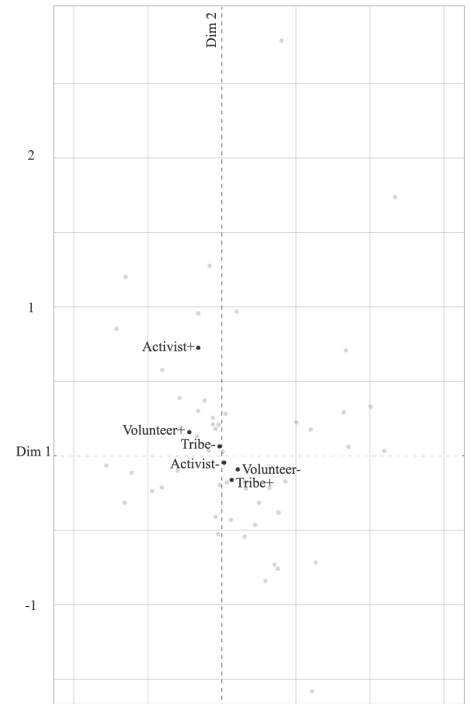


(Figure 7) Social capital

The opinion variable

The supplementary opinion categories demonstrate a stronger alignment with the second dimension (Figure 14). The extreme opinion category is equally associated with both dimensions, while the progressive opinion category is more associated with the first dimension and has some association with the second dimension.
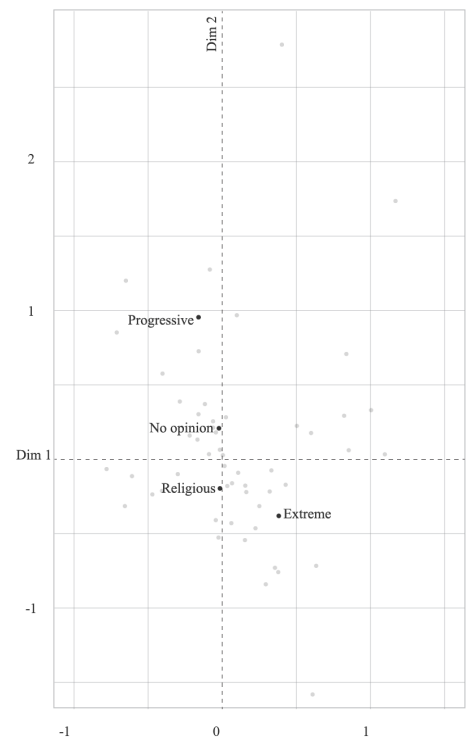
(Figure 8) Opinions

3.2. The social fields

The graphical representation of the category distribution reveals a structure of fields guided primarily by the distribution of the categories with the highest contribution. The categories are related in direct proportion based on their coordinates and on their relative distance in the two dimensions. The clear division between the fields between the high-contribution categories positioned on the plot can be considered evidence of a phenomenon in the data (Figure 15).
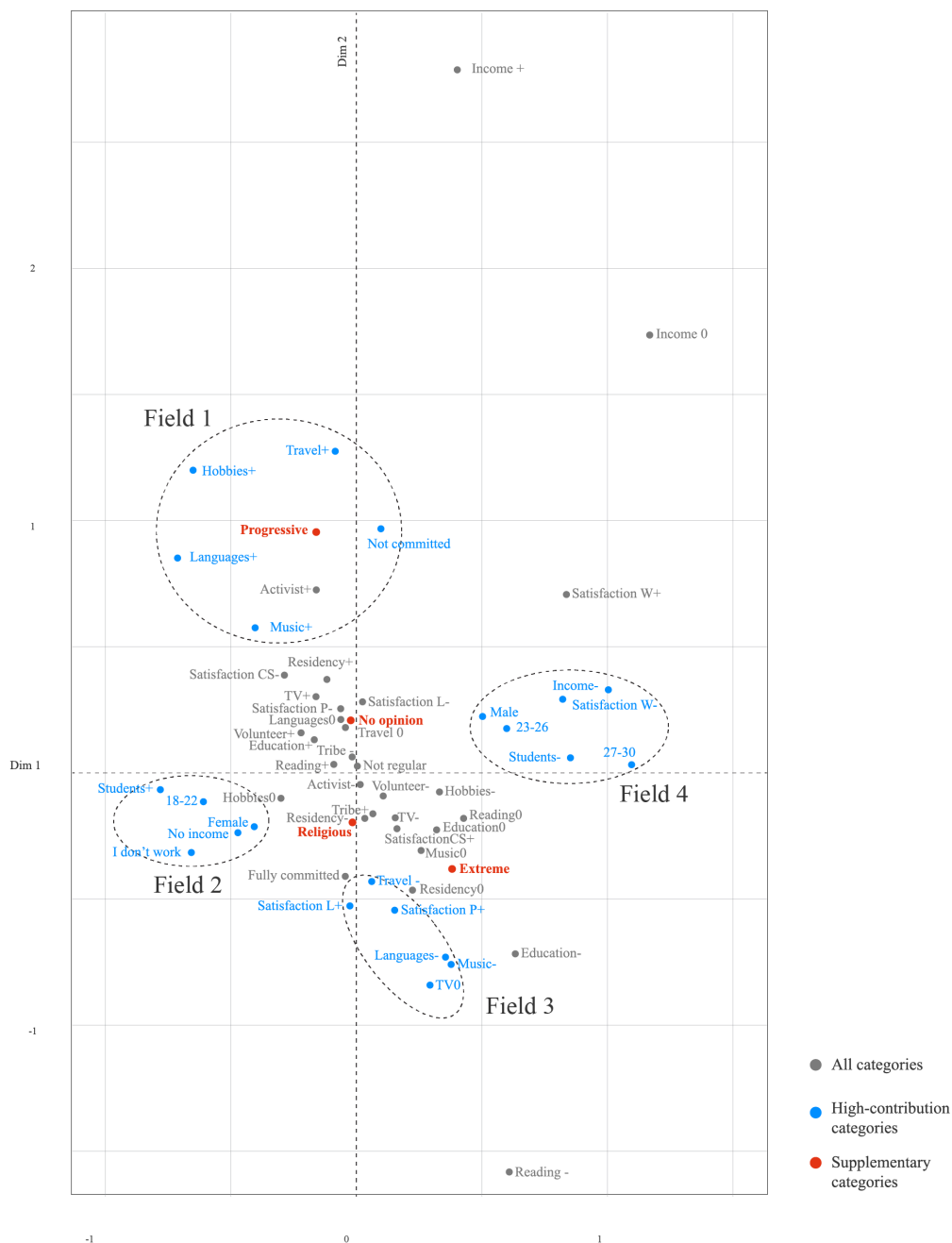
(Figure 15) Social fields

Field 1 is comprised of the high-contribution categories "Travel+", "Hobbies+", "Languages+", "Music+", "Not committed" and the low-contribution categories including "Activist+". The field is at close proximity to categories including "Residency+" and "Satisfaction CS-". The "Progressive" opinion category is at its centre. This field suggests that people who have expressed a progressive opinion in this study are associated with attributes that include a high cultural capital and low commitment to religious practices. The high cultural capital is articulated in their exposure through travelling to four or more countries, in speaking three or more languages, in playing a musical instrument and with an aptitude for listening to international music. This field is at a good proximity to other attributes, including residency in the capital and having expressed dissatisfaction with the sports and cultural services provided in the country.
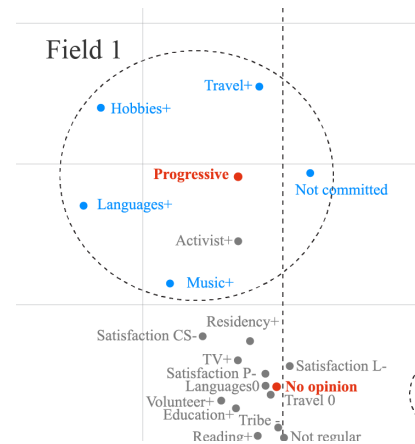
(Figure 9) Field 1

Field 2 comprises of the high-contribution categories "Students+", "18-22", "Female", "No income" and "I don't work". The field is at close proximity to categories including "Hobbies 0". The closest opinion variable to this category is the "Religious" opinion. This field suggests that what characterizes another group in society includes being a female, a student, an age group between 18 and 22 years old, being currently jobless and interested in indoor activities or sports. The group was not associated strongly with one of the opinions. However, the closest opinion attribute associated with this group is the non-violent religious opinion.

(Figure 10) Field 2

Field 3 comprises the high-contribution categories "Travel-", "Satisfaction L+", "Satisfaction P+", "Language-", "Music-" and "TV 0". The field is in close proximity to the "Fully committed", "Residency 0" and "Education-" categories. This field is marked with characteristics that include never travelling outside the country, no language skills aside from the mother tongue, a tendency to watch local TV programmes only, no interest in music and no expressed dissatisfaction with life conditions or politics. The group is associated with residency outside the capital but not specifically in any troubled areas. The same field is at close proximity to an educational level that is below high school, and with the fully committed religious practices attribute. The field is at close proximity to the religious opinion category and closer still to the extreme opinion category.
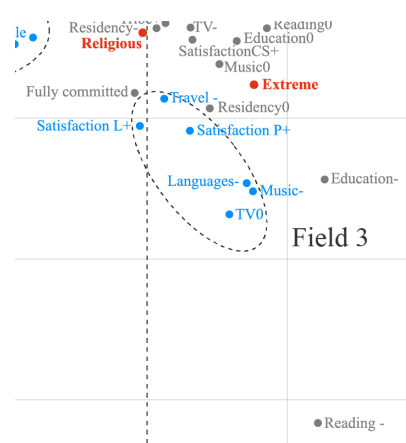
(Figure 11) Field 3

Field 4 is comprised of the high-contribution categories "Income-", "Satisfaction W-", "Male", "23-26", "27-30" and "Student-". The field represents a group of characteristics that is comprised of males, with low income and who have expressed dissatisfaction with work, in the age groups 23-26 and 27-30, and they are not current students. The field is not set at close proximity to a specific opinion variable. But it is set at a longer distance from the progressive opinion category.
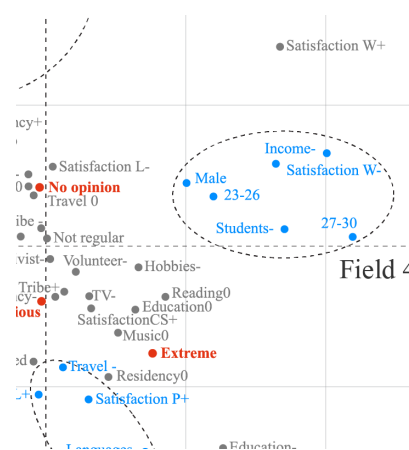
(Figure 12) Field 4

3.3. Analysis

Looking at the constructed dimensions, the distribution of categories and the fields constructed on the geometric data representation. Four distinct fields separate four dominant groups of young people. The first is a group of highly exposed and culturally sophisticated individuals (field 1); this group represents people who have travelled, speak languages, have an aptitude for playing and listening to music, and are not committed to religious practices. The second represents a group of female students aged between 18 and 22, they don't work and have no income and their hobbies are relevant to indoor activities (field 2). The third is a group of individuals who have never travelled, they don't speak languages other than Arabic and they have no interest in music or TV, however they haven't expressed dissatisfaction with life in general or politics (field 3). The fourth group constitutes males aged 23–26 and 27–30 who are not students and who have low incomes and are dissatisfied with work (field 4). These four groups characterize young people in Jordan. Recognizing this construction can help form a basic understanding of phenomena amongst youth such as the radicalization phenomenon that is examined in this research.

The radicalization phenomenon in this study was assessed in relation to the constructed fields by superposing the responses that were collected using the experimental vignette methodology (EVM). The responses were coded into four opinion variables and added to the already constructed MCA plot to observe its positioning. The four opinion variables in this research were "Progressive opinion", "No opinion", "Religious opinion" that is against violence and "Extreme opinion" marked in red in Figure 15 Social fields. The following observations were made.

The background characteristics, which have included the sex, age group and student status of the participants, were included in the construction of two social fields on the MCA plot. However, these two social fields had little association with the polarized progressive and extreme opinions expressed by the participants. This suggests that the level of extremism is not bound by such background differences as sex, age group or student status.

The residency of the participants was in good proximity to the two fields that were associated with the polarized progressive and extreme opinion categories, suggesting that residency in the capital is associated with a high cultural capital and the progressive opinions

while residency outside the capital is associated with a low cultural capital and extreme opinion. It is important to note that residency in cities that were identified as producing a higher number of radicals in recent years was placed far from progressive opinion but did not have significant associations with other fields, meaning that no specific associations were discovered between those cities and extreme opinion.

The religious habits in the participants' backgrounds have three values: "Fully committed to religious practices", "Not regularly commitment to religious practices" and "Not committed to religious practices". A strong association existed only between the "Progressive opinion" status and "Not committed to religious practices". On the other hand, the "Fully committed to religious practices" attribute was found close to the "Religious opinion that is against all forms of violence" and closer to the "Extremist opinion", meaning that an association exists between commitment to religious practices and the opinions of the participants. However, the relation is not strong enough to separate between people who express "Extreme opinions" and those who express "Religious opinions that are against forms of violence". "No regular religious practices" was not associated with any of the composed fields.

The social capital. While it has not contributed to the construction of field 1, the social capital variable "Activism" was revealed to be associated with the field that reflects a high cultural capital and a progressive mindset, suggesting that while individuals do not share equal cultural exposure status, activism plays a role in placing youth at a similar status in society, and in relation to the religious and the opinion status. Volunteerism was not directly associated with any of the fields, yet its position on the graph suggests that volunteerism is an attribute that is more associated with female students aged 18–22 and individuals with higher cultural attributes than the rest of the groups. Being a tribe member was not associated with any of the fields. However, being a tribe member was placed in the lower part of the second dimension, suggesting that it is more associated with a religious mindset and with a lower cultural capital than other individuals in society.

The economic capital contributed to the description of the first dimension of the plot and there was an obvious division between the attributes of not having an income and having a low income in the first dimension among young people in society. However, the positions of the "No income" and the "Low-income" attributes were far from the fields associated with

polarized progressive or extreme opinions. This suggests that there is no association between economic status and the opinion variations. The positioning of the middle-income and high-income categories far from other categories on the plot suggests that these attributes are different from the average profile in society.

The symbolic capital aimed to capture the level of satisfaction of the individuals with the work conditions, the political situation, the general life conditions, and the cultural and sports services provided in the country. The results suggest that there is no association between the dissatisfaction attributes and any polarized opinion fields. The dissatisfaction with work attribute contributed to the composition of field 2, which is marked by low income. However, this field is not strongly associated with any of the opinion variables. A general observation about the position of the dissatisfaction attributes suggests that more dissatisfaction is associated with an increased cultural capital, implying that people with higher cultural exposure are aware of shortcomings in society. Similarly, workers with low income express dissatisfaction with work conditions and no association with the religious or extremist opinions expressed, suggesting that this dissatisfaction does not lead one to become more religious or more radical in their opinion. Conversely, confirming this finding, field 3, which represents people with low cultural capital, did not express dissatisfaction.

The cultural capital. The second dimension of the plot was highly marked by the cultural capital. The first field, which is positioned in the upper part of the second dimension, suggests that a high cultural capital that combines travelling, speaking more languages, playing musical instruments and having an aptitude for listening to international music is strongly associated with the progressive opinion attributes. The proximate inverse of this field is the third field, which is positioned at the bottom of the second dimension and it combines low cultural attributes that include never travelling, speaking only one language and no aptitude for listening to any type of music. The education level was not directly associated as an attribute in any of the fields, yet an education level less than high school is positioned closer to the third field, which is associated with extreme opinion. The relation between the second cultural attributes and with religiousness and polarization of opinions is evident. Both the level of religiousness and the level of progressiveness of opinion are closely associated with cultural capital. The higher the cultural capital, the more progressive the opinions the individuals express, and the greater the likelihood of having a tendency to be less committed to religious practices.

4. Discussion and conclusion

This chapter responded to the second research question (Chapter 4: Research objectives and conceptual framework), which asked: What does the geometric social space representing the interrelations between the social, economic, cultural and symbolic factors tell us about society in Jordan and its radical tendencies? Targeting youth in the study, 2,200 questionnaires were collected from the different governorates in the country. The questionnaires – following the contextual and comprehensive approach of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space – assembled a comprehensive set of social, economic, cultural and symbolic capitals and, using the experimental vignette methodology (EVM), the questionnaires also gathered the opinions of the participants on sensitive topics that identified their progressive, religious, no opinion and extreme opinions. Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), which is a geometric data analysis (GDA) method, was used to construct a social space that revealed dominant structures amongst Jordan's youth and discussed how these structures related to the radicalization phenomenon. In multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), all variables are treated independently, meaning that the field (group) of characteristics is a result of the properties of the participants' responses in the study and not predefined parameters.

Four distinct fields revealed four dominant groups of young people in society with specific properties shared among them. The first is a group of highly exposed and culturally sophisticated individuals (field 1); this group represents people who have travelled, who speak languages, have an aptitude for playing and listening to music and are not committed to religious practices. The second represents a group of female students, aged 18–22, who don't work and have no income, and their hobbies are limited to indoor activities (field 2). The third is a group of individuals who have never travelled, they don't speak languages other than their mother tongue, they have no interest in music or TV and they haven't expressed dissatisfaction with life in general or politics (field 3). The fourth group constitutes males aged 23–26 and 27–30 who are not students, have low income and are dissatisfied with work (field 4).

The table below presents a summary regarding the constructions of the fields and the associations with the religious and the opinion status (Table 18). The religious habits were mentioned for their contextual role in relation to ideology, upon which terrorist organizations claimed to base their establishment and operations.

(Table 18) Summary – fields, religious habits, opinions

Fields of youth in Jordan	Characteristics	Religious habits		Opinion	
		Response	**Association strength**	**Response**	**Association strength**
Field 1	Youth who have travelled, who speak languages, have an aptitude for playing and listening to international music	Not committed	Strong*	Progressive opinion	Strong*
Field 2	Female students, aged 18–22, they don't work and have no income, their hobbies are relevant to indoor activities	Fully committed to not regular	Moderate*	Religious opinion	Moderate*
Field 3	Youth who have never travelled, they don't speak languages other than Arabic, they have no interest in music or TV, however they haven't expressed dissatisfaction with life in general or politics	Fully committed	Moderate*	Extreme opinion	Moderate*
Field 4	Males, aged 23–26 and 27–30, who are not students and who have low income and are dissatisfied with work	Not regular	Moderate*	No opinion	Moderate*
* Strong associations: The association was considered strong when the points (responses) were located/took part in the construction of the same field. * Moderate associations: The association was considered moderate when the points (responses) were placed at a close distance to the constructed fields in comparison to the distance to other fields.					

Analysing the four constructed groups in relation to the opinion we learn that the strongest association is demonstrated between youth with high cultural capital (youth who have travelled, speak languages, have an aptitude for playing and listening to international music) and progressive opinion (tolerance and openness to freedom of speech and sexuality) and they represent 10.6% of the sample acquired. Moderate associations were revealed between youth with low cultural capital (youth who have never travelled, don't speak languages other than Arabic, have no interest in music or TV and haven't expressed dissatisfaction with life in general or politics) and extremist opinion (advocate violent acts against individuals who express free speech that could mock religion and against individuals that advocate sexual freedom) and they represent 8.4% of the sample acquired. Moderate associations were revealed between females (students, aged 18–22, who don't work and have no income, and their hobbies are relevant to indoor activities) and religious opinion (standard religious orientations and opinions that are not violent) and they represent 64.8% of the sample acquired. Moderate associations were revealed between males (aged 23–26 and 27–30 who are not students and who have low income and are dissatisfied with work) and no opinion (responses that reflect no clear opinion on the core topic) and they represent 16.2% of the sample acquired.

Bearing in mind the religious ideology of the recent terrorist groups, the research also observed the positioning of the religious practice variables within the constructed social groups and in relation to the opinions of the participants. Strong associations were revealed between the group that demonstrated high cultural capital (youth who have travelled, who speak languages, have an aptitude for playing and listening to international music) and the not being committed to religious practices variable. Moderate associations were revealed between the group of males (aged 23–26 and 27–30 who are not students and who have low income and are dissatisfied with work) and not being regular in their religious practices. Moderate associations were demonstrated between the group of females (students, aged 18–22, who don't work and have no income, and their hobbies are relevant to indoor activities) and the group characterized by (youth who have never travelled, don't speak languages other than Arabic, have no interest in music or TV and haven't expressed dissatisfaction with life in general or politics) and with being fully committed to religious practices.

Additional observations in the results of this research suggest that deprivation and dissatisfaction with politics, life in general, work, sports and cultural services were not in fact relevant to the group that expressed extreme opinions; on the contrary, the group that expressed extreme opinions that did not express any dissatisfaction with politics and life conditions. Dissatisfaction with work conditions was more associated with graduates with low income who did not express any opinion on the freedom-related topics that were raised. Dissatisfaction with cultural and sports services was more associated with the cultured group who also expressed progressive opinions. Economic aspects such as low income were not associated with the tendency to have extreme opinions. Education was not strongly associated with the construction of the social groups of young people in Jordan. Moderate associations relating the group that reflected extreme opinions and an education level of less than high school are demonstrated. Yet education is not a factor that separates or even associates with the group marked with a high cultural capital and progressive opinions.

Activism, while it didn't contribute to the construction of the high cultural group, was placed in in the same zone, suggesting as a hypothesis that activism is an attribute that could compensate for the lack of opportunities for exposure in society. Being a member of a tribe did not affect the construction of youth groups in Jordan therefore, even though tribalism is considered a main construction of society, and in the interviews participants pointed to the extremist hubs in some tribes, but the social space does not indicate the involvement of tribal

memberships in the youth constructions in society or in influencing their progressive or extreme opinions. Therefore, this might suggest that the role that tribes played in recruitment, as pointed out by the interviewees, represents single occurrences and not a phenomenon.

Chapter 9: Discussion and conclusion

1. Discussion of findings

The main purpose of this research has revolved around creating an understanding of radicalization by focusing on the case of Jordan. The research specifically addresses two main questions. The first question is: What does radicalization mean within the Jordanian context, and how does this add to the current knowledge about the concept, the drivers that lead to the radicalization of individuals and to the available radicalization models? The second question is: What does the geometric social space representing the interrelations between the social, economic, cultural and symbolic factors tell us about society in Jordan and its radical tendencies? The objective and the research questions were set following an academic literature review that revealed conceptual disputes in definitions of radicalization, as well as gaps resulting from the lack of empirical studies that consider contextual factors to acquire new knowledge on the topic. The literature review also reveals a need to reconnoitre diverse methods that can enable the analysis of a complex set of factors that enhance the susceptibility of individuals to adopting radical ideologies (Chapter 2: Literature review).

The study also includes a review of five of the most widely dispensed models on radicalization (Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations). The models varied in the structure, in the number of stages in each model and in their linearity, while the areas in common included the perceived bad social conditions that cause psychological grievance amongst individuals who have entered the radicalization process as well as the interaction with other like-minded people and the exposure to extremist groups' ideologies. The examination of the models has revealed a need for empirical research to contribute to the legitimacy of the models that remain speculative due to the lack of a systematic scientific examination and described their limited capacity to explain why there are several inconsistencies in the results of the radicalization drivers and why some radicals change their minds after joining a radical group. The models also do not explain the lone-wolf phenomenon in which an extremist decides to undertake an attack without being part of a terrorist organization.

After identifying the gaps in the literature on radicalization and the shortcomings of the radicalization models that call for empirical scientific examination, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space was selected to guide the investigation of this research (Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations) because it is abstract, generic and can be utilized to explore different areas of research within different circumstances. The theory states that no global rule applies to all social fields; therefore, contextually focused empirical research is necessary to explore the respective rules and conditions of a society. The social space theory advocates moving from the conventional research methods to the construction of a social space by quantifying and operationalizing interrelations between a comprehensive set of social, economic, cultural and symbolic capitals to reveal hidden structures and patterns otherwise difficult to uncover in society. Pierre Bourdieu used multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), which is a geometric data analysis (GDA) method, to construct the social space and to analyse its structure – a method that was also utilized in the construction and analysis of the social space in this research (Chapter 5: Research methods).

The contextually focused empirical data for the research were asquired by utilizing a mixed-method approach (Chapter 5: Research methods). The research began with a case study desk research that reviewed a collection of approximately 50 local and international academic studies as well as governmental and non-governmental reports on Jordan, in relation to the radicalization phenomenon. Jordan was selected as a case study as it has had one of the highest numbers of foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq since 2014. With 62.9% under the age of 30, young people in Jordan are identified as the most rapidly expanding population that could adopt social extremism as violence and unrest have increased in the region.

The review of information relevant to the Salafi/Jihadi groups indicates that the scattered Salafi groups are united under one ideology. However, the groups disagree on the aspects related to religious inclinations versus its activism and political involvement, and on the relation between Jihad and Salafism. While the recent establishment of the Islamic State (ISIS) represented a form of acknowledgement to many of the Jihadi/Salafi networks, it did not reflect ultimate unity between all Salafi groups. As we have learnt, the Islamic State (ISIS) is not the only group to have influenced the decision of individuals to move to Syria and Iraq in recent years. Al-Nusra Front was another group that attacked a number of supporters from Jordan but rejected a merger with the Islamic State (ISIS). The research considers this division between the groups as it regards a decision of individuals to join the Islamic State (ISIS) with its declared

plans to use unapologetic terrorist methods and expanded operations to be different from the decision to join Al-Nusra Front, which called specifically for support to combat the unjust Al-Assad regime and its attacks against Sunni Muslims during the civil war. This is a view that was also expressed by the religious leaders that were interviewed in this research, who explained that aside from the socio-economic and life challenges, a religious person who lives in pursuit of an Islamic life and in defending the weak against injustice is understandable, and is different from a person who moves to Syria to join the Islamic State (ISIS) knowing of its indiscriminate terrorist intentions. This was reflected in the typology (Table 19) and the framework (Table 20) proposed in this research to present with contextual scrutiny the initial motive that separates fighters, before looking into the socio-economic and cultural factors that might have supported such decisions.

The desk research reveals that Salafism in Jordan is formally banned, however Salafi preachers are suspected to be quietly disseminating their ideas in poor rural areas where the government has not yet managed to monitor and assign preachers. Jordan has dedicated considerable efforts to countering the radicalization phenomenon. The national strategy on preventing violent extremism involved an excessive militaristic approach that made it much harder for individuals to travel to Syria and Iraq, but it has not stopped the small-scale attacks in the country, the lone-wolves' attacks that were inspired by the Islamic State (ISIS) ideology or the concerns on thought security as recent research revealed sympathetic views with Salafi organizations, and incidents in Jordan have conversely indicated low tolerance for religious and cultural diversity and freedoms in the country. Jordan's strategy also involved revising the religious texts included in the school curricula, which was met by several protests. The Ministry of Religious Endowments continues to control mosque discourses. The anti-terrorism law was amended to broaden the government's authority against publishing materials that facilitate the commission and promotion of terrorist acts. However, this excessive authority control has raised several concerns and criticisms over its implications for restricting the right to freedom of expression in the country.

Reviewing reports on young people in Jordan reveals several political, economic, social and cultural challenges that leave them feeling hopeless, desperate and vulnerable. Youths in Jordan live with high levels of uncertainty about their future and this has been aggravated by the economic situation. They feel deprived of the opportunity to live with dignity and support their families, due to unemployment. They express frustration with concepts of injustice and

helplessness, favouritism and corruption. The younger generation has become disenchanted with politics and they express frustration with the government, which gives little attention to their viewpoints in the decision-making process. They also often express their frustration with the lack of outlets for them to fill their free time with activities such as sports, which are centralized in the capital. Some of these frustrations have been considered possible factors in studies that aimed to reveal causal relations with the radicalization phenomenon, yet as the literature review reveals, the limitations of the conventional research methods used to examine these factors have reduced the possibility of understanding which of these highly complex and contextual elements may be involved in the increased susceptibility to radical calls. This is an issue that was tackled in the third part of this research, which aimed to construct the social space that moves from the use of conventional research methods to study the interrelations between factors using multiple correspondence analysis (MCA).

The second part of the research involved the semi-structured interview method, which was used to investigate people who live the phenomenon, their ideological and political knowledge, as well as their perceptions, values and beliefs regarding the role they play in co-constructing the social reality of the phenomenon, and their potential capacity to envision latent solutions. A number of insights were derived from the responses of the participants.

In understanding what radicalization means within the Jordanian context, two descriptions were revealed. The first suggests that radicalization is the adoption of one ideology that considers different others as infidels: for instance, when religiousness moves beyond having a relationship with God to rejecting those who do not adopt the same ideology. Implications about activism, social change and political change were not inferred but rather judgement passed on different others, which was perceived as the limit to human beings' right of belief and expression. While this was not particularly considered in the reviewed selection of the most widely spread definitions on radicalization in this research, it is important to note that Salafi groups themselves have had differences over this aspect. Some Salafi who aspired to live in an Islamic state preferred to separate themselves from the Jihadi/Salafi approach. The second significant input on the definitions was the disapproval of the use of the word "radical" in the first place. Religious leaders suggested that the use of the word "radical" does not serve any purpose because the phenomenon that reflects young people joining terrorist organizations compares in fact to the "violence" phenomenon, which is a global issue of concern and is not limited to the recent terrorist movements in the region.

Violence in the name of Islam has also had two implications. The first involved fighting for a terrorist organization, knowing of its indiscriminate intentions and terrorist methods. The second involved Jihad, which implies the use of violence to fight troops and is conducted under specific regulations that forbid attacking women, children, the elderly and non-Muslims that have devoted their lives to monastic services, and bans the destruction of trees, crops and farmlands. We know that terrorist organizations have falsely claimed recruitment for Jihad to justify their terrorist attacks. However, some of the religious fighters at the point of departure may not have. This is where a counter-violence strategy can contribute by educating, communicating informative messages and by enhancing critical thinking in the education system, as suggested by the interviewees to protect them against such manipulation. Another insight that was drawn from the analysis concerns the distinction between a terrorist organization and an Islamic organization. The religious leaders in the research explained that the aspiration to join an Islamic organization is an understandable pursuit, whereas the aspiration to join a terrorist organization is not. Some of the Muslim fighters who went to Syria and Iraq were manipulated into thinking that such organizations represent Islam. They were also manipulated into believing that this is a true call for Jihad. They say that it is important to differentiate between the two, and that when such individuals discovered that the organizations in Syria and Iraq did not represent Islam, they attempted to return home, and some of them have succeeded. This aspect is important as it signifies that returnees should also be offered rehabilitation in different manners, taking into consideration their initial motives, violence with a terrorist organization or Jihad with an Islamic organization. It also suggests that education and information can contribute to the counter-radicalization phenomenon as they also serve as eye openers to the religious who wish at heart to live an Islamic life and yet they fall into the trap set by terrorist organizations to recruit fighters. The responses of the participants in the semi-structured interviews were organized to identify four types of individual profiles detailed in Chapter 7: The semi-structured interviews.

The semi-structured interviews asked the participants to reflect on the drivers that lead young people from Jordan to join terrorist organizations. The majority of participants explained that youths in Jordan face difficult socio-economic, cultural and political challenges leading to severe feelings of deprivation and frustration. Such difficulties are perceived to influence the decision of individuals to join radical groups. However, they also explained that attributing single factors such as injustice or poverty would be an oversimplification that cannot be useful

in the analysis of such complex phenomena, which is in line with research on the topic. The responses of the participants, however, confirm that contextual insights into the drivers are of high importance as they disclose three contextualized drivers that have rarely been considered in research on the topic: the religious education, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the tribal families in Jordan that were also observed in the examination of drivers that were assessed in the second part of the research.

The participants unanimously stated that the recent defeat of the Islamic State (ISIS) does not equate to the defeat of the ideology or extremism. They believe that more comprehensive and speedier efforts that would improve the challenges facing young people in society – including reforming the law and fighting injustice, committing to freedom of expression and not adding limitations the way they did with the anti-terrorism law, enacting economic and political development that involve young people in the decision-making process – would better protect society against radical calls. With the religious education and being misinformed about religious concepts set amongst the main identified drivers in Jordan towards adopting radical ideologies, the respondents explained that minimizing the religious content – an effort conducted by the government in Jordan – does not solve the problem. Conversely, they suggested reforming the general curricula to develop critical thinking amongst students, and they also suggested building the capacity of teachers, who sometimes propose religious ideas that confuse students. The curriculum experts have explained that the intention of the government was not solely to minimize religious content but to limit religious topics to the religious education curricula because scientific teachers may not be qualified to explain religious connections, an issue that the government has not succeeded in explaining to civil society and teachers, which has consequently resulted in many protests.

The survey method was used to respond to the second research question (Chapter 4: Research objectives and conceptual framework), which asked: What does the geometric social space representing the interrelations between the social, economic, cultural and symbolic factors tell us about society in Jordan and its radical tendencies? Targeting youth in the study (Chapter 5: Research methods), 2,200 questionnaires were collected from the different governorates in the country. The questionnaires – following the contextual and comprehensive approach of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space (Chapter 3: Theoretical considerations) – assembled a comprehensive set of social, economic, cultural and symbolic capitals and, using the experimental vignette methodology (EVM), the questionnaires also gathered the responses

of the participants on sensitive topics that captured their progressive, religious, no opinion and extreme opinions. Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), which is a geometric data analysis (GDA) method, was used to construct a social space that revealed dominant structures amongst Jordan's youth (Chapter 5: Research methods).

Four dominant groups of young people in society, with high contributing characteristics, were identified in the study (Chapter 8: The survey). The first is a group of culturally exposed individuals. This group represents youths who have travelled, speak languages and have an aptitude for playing and listening to a diverse set of local and international music. This group was also identified as being not committed to religious practices. The second represents a group of female students, aged between 18 and 22. These females don't work and have no income, and their hobbies are limited to indoor activities. The third is a group of individuals who have never travelled, they don't speak languages other than their mother tongue, they have no interest in music or TV and they haven't expressed dissatisfaction with life in general or politics. The fourth group constitutes males aged 23–26 and 27–30 who are not students and who have low incomes and are dissatisfied with their work conditions.

Analysing the four constructed groups in relation to the opinions conveyed on the sensitive issues raised in this research, we learn that the strongest association is demonstrated between youths with high cultural capital (youths who have travelled, who speak languages and have an aptitude for playing and listening to international music) and progressive opinions (tolerance and openness to freedom of speech and sexuality), and they represent 10.6% of the sample acquired. Moderate associations were revealed between youths with low cultural capital (youths who have never travelled, don't speak languages other than Arabic, have no interest in music or TV and haven't expressed dissatisfaction with life in general or politics) and extremist opinions (advocate violent acts against individuals who express free speech that could mock religion and against individuals that advocate sexual freedom), and they represent 8.4% of the sample acquired. Moderate associations were revealed between females (students, aged 18–22, who don't work and have no income, and their hobbies are relevant to indoor activities) and religious opinions (standard religious orientations and opinions that are not violent), and they represent 64.8% of the sample acquired. Moderate associations were revealed between males (aged 23–26 and 27–30 who are not students and who have low incomes and are dissatisfied with work) and no opinion (responses that reflect no clear opinion on the core topic), and they represent 16.2% of the sample acquired.

Bearing in mind the religious ideology of the recent terrorist groups that succeeded in recruiting an important number of fighters and supporters from Jordan, and the disputed relation between the ideology and the decision to join terrorist groups in some research studies (Chapter 6: Case study desk research), the research observed the positioning of the religious practice variables within the constructed social groups and in relation to the opinions of the participants. Strong associations were revealed between the group that demonstrated high cultural capital (youths who have travelled, speak languages and have an aptitude for playing and listening to international music) and the not being committed to religious practices variable. Moderate associations were revealed between the group of males (aged 23–26 and 27–30 who are not students and who have low incomes and are dissatisfied with work) and being not regular in their religious practices. Moderate associations were demonstrated between the group of females (students, aged 18–22, who don't work and have no income, and their hobbies are relevant to indoor activities) and the group that included (youths who have never travelled, don't speak languages other than Arabic, have no interest in music or TV and haven't expressed dissatisfaction with life in general or politics) and with being fully committed to religious practices. Implications of these results suggest that possessing progressive opinions that result from cultural exposure practices is accompanied by being not committed to religious practices. Yet being fully committed to religious practices was equally moderately associated with both the individuals who expressed extreme opinions, who represent 8.4% of the samples, and the individuals who expressed religious opinions, who represent 64.8% of the sample. These results are in line with the findings of the semi-structured interviews in this research, where the participants explained that the majority of the religious in Jordan do not refuse the others or consider them infidels. The results also confirm that commitment to religious practices is not a discerning factor and does not help in predicting the potential of the person to possess extreme opinions.

In terms of the radicalization models, while different in structure, the models united in mentioning that injustice and perceived or actual social struggle are factors that lead an individual to enter the radicalization process. Such factors were also mentioned in the interviews and were discussed in the existing literature on the drivers that enhance the susceptibility of individuals to becoming radical. Contrariwise, the results of the social space construction in this research suggest otherwise. Dissatisfaction with politics, life in general, work, sports and cultural services was not in fact relevant to the groups that expressed extreme

opinions; on the contrary, the group that expressed extreme opinions were indifferent about the country's politics and life conditions. Dissatisfaction with work conditions was more associated with graduates with low income, who did not express any opinion on the sensitive topics that were raised, while dissatisfaction with cultural and sports services was more associated with the cultured group, who also expressed progressive opinions. Economic aspects such as low income were not associated with the tendency to have extreme opinions.

Tribal membership, residency and education level were also observed in the analysis for their importance as contextual factors. The results of the observations of the constructed social space suggest that being a member of a tribe did not affect the construction of youth groups in the social space; therefore, while tribalism is a main construction of the Jordanian society, and in the interviews participants pointed to the extremist hubs in some tribes, the social space does not indicate the involvement of tribal memberships in influencing tendencies to hold progressive or extreme opinions. Therefore, this might suggest that the role that tribes played in recruitment represents single occurrences of specific family hubs and not a phenomenon. Residency in the cities of Salt, Ma'an, Zarqa and Irbid – identified as having produced a higher number of fighters in Syria and Iraq (Harper, 2017; Speckhard, 2017) – was not associated with the group that expressed extreme opinions. In terms of educational background, there were moderate associations relating the group that reflected extreme opinions and an education level of less than high school. Yet education is not a factor that defined or was even associated with the group marked with a high cultural capital that reflected progressive opinions.

A key factor that was also observed to have a key position on the MCA graph was activism. Activism didn't contribute to the construction of the high cultural group but it was placed in the same zone. This suggests that while it currently does describe a specific group, activism in society is an attribute that could compensate for the lack of opportunities to exposure in reflecting progressive opinions.

Revising the profiles of individuals following the survey analysis, we notice that the profiles miss out the one that describes the well-exposed individual who has portrayed tolerance and openness to the sensitive questions that were raised in the surveys, and this may be attributable to the questions raised in the semi-structured interviews that were focused on describing and differentiating the religious from the radical. Accordingly, including the results of the surveys, this research suggests an addition to the profiles mentioned by the interviewees

160

to include the well-exposed individual who possesses a high cultural capital. The final organized typography, followed by the descriptions of the profiles, is presented in Table 19.

(Table 19) Typology of individuals based on the interviewee responses and the surveys

	Profile I	Profile II	Profile III	Profile IV	Profile V
Religiosity	A religious person who seeks an Islamic life and living by Sharia Law, which may entail the possibility of Jihad	An individual exposed to weak or distorted knowledge about concepts of Islam	An individual exposed to weak or distorted knowledge about concepts of Islamic "lone-wolf" terrorists	A religious person whose religious practices would not include any violent actions	A highly cultured individual who is not committed to religious practices
Radical act	Joined a terrorist organization misguidedly, thinking it is an Islamic organization that calls for Jihad	Joined a terrorist organization knowing of its terrorist methods	Conducted an attack without joining a terrorist organization	Would not join a terrorist organization or conduct any type of attack	Would not join a terrorist organization
Trigger	Exposure to terrorist group messages	Exposure to terrorist group messages	A perceived offence towards religion	Would not be affected by triggers	Would not be affected by triggers
Perception of religious leaders	Understandable pursuit	Not acceptable	Not acceptable	Was not referred to in the responses	Was not referred to in the responses
Perception of other interviewees	Was not referred to in the responses	Not acceptable	Not acceptable	Peaceful	Was not referred to in the responses
Main driver	Seeking an Islamic life under Sharia Law and Jihad	Exposure to misleading knowledge about Islam or specific sectors	Exposure to misleading knowledge about Islam or specific sectors	Would not be affected by drivers	Would not be affected by drivers
Subdrivers	Possible socio-economic, cultural or political drivers	Possible socio-economic, cultural or political drivers	Possible socio-economic, cultural or political drivers	Would not be affected by drivers	Would not be affected by drivers

Profile I: As described by the religious leaders, this individual is religious, possesses good knowledge about Islam and aspires to live an Islamic life that runs by Sharia Law, which entails the possibility of conducting Jihad. This individual was manipulated by the recruitment messages presented by terrorist groups, which used concepts like Jihad to attract individuals and to justify terrorist and suicide attacks. The motive of this individual is perceived as an understandable pursuit by the religious leaders who were interviewed in this research, indicating that many such individuals have attempted to return home when they discovered that

groups such as the Islamic State (ISIS) have terrorist agendas and do not represent Islam. The main trigger for this individual is the calls by radical groups. The driver is their pursuit to live an Islamic life under Sharia Law and their readiness to conduct Jihad if required. Subdrivers could include other possible local socio-economic, cultural or political factors, including injustice in Palestine and/or belonging to a tribe that promoted recruitment. Some of these individuals may have travelled to join Al-Nusra Front and not the Islamic State (ISIS), which recruited in the first place to defend Sunni Muslims who were attacked by the Al-Assad regime during the civil war.

Profile II: This individual, as the participants explained, possesses weak or distorted knowledge about concepts of Islam and has joined terrorist groups in Syria and Iraq knowing that they are organizations that intend to utilize terror as a method in their plans to expand as an organization. The main trigger for this individual is the messages communicated by terrorist groups, while the drivers include the possession of weak, incomplete or distorted knowledge about Islam supported by subdrivers such as possible socio-economic, cultural and political factors (which will be examined in the next chapter of this research).

Profile III: The "lone-wolf" terrorist, as the participants explained, possesses weak or distorted knowledge about Islam. This person did not join terrorist groups in Syria and Iraq but shares a similar status to a terrorist for conducting an attack in the name of Islam. Perceived as extremist by all of the interviewees, including religious leaders, the "lone-wolf" terrorist attack is triggered by a perceived offence by members of society towards the Islamic religion. Main drivers include the possession of weak or distorted knowledge about Islam and possible exposure of such a person to manipulated knowledge about Islam, or certain sectors such as Wahhabi/Salafi ideology. Subdrivers may also involve a complex set of socio-economic, cultural and political factors.

Profile IV: The participant described a religious person who possesses good knowledge about Islam and its teachings and adopts a personal approach reflected in having a relationship with God that is internal and does not exceed to perceiving the different others as infidels. This person, as described by many of the interviewees, would not be affected by triggers and calls to join Islamic or terrorist groups. The majority of the interviewees explain that this peaceful internal approach to religion has always been the prevailing approach to religioun in Jordan,

and that it it was external influence – including the Wahhabi/Salafi expansion – that created individuals with more extremist approaches to religion.

Profile V: This profile resulted from the survey analysis and it was added due to the strong association with a progressive mindset. This individual is not committed to religious practices and is culturally exposed through travelling and language skills, as well as having an aptitude for playing and listening to international music. This person would not be affected by triggers and calls to join Islamic or terrorist groups, is peaceful in their interactions with different others in society and is supportive of freedom of speech and general sexual freedoms, as demonstrated in the survey results.

Adding profile V to the initially constructed framework, Table 20 shows the final framework.

(Table 20) Proposed model of radicalization – based on the case of Jordan

	Individuals	Main drivers	Triggers	Results	
1	**Profile I** (Strong knowledge about Islam)	Seeking Islamic life, which can entail Jihad	Calls by terrorist groups	Try to join Islamic groups for Jihad	Attempt to withdraw if the organization doesn't represent Islam
2	**Profile II** (Weak or distorted knowledge about Islam)	Exposure to misleading knowledge about Islam		Join terrorist groups	
3	**Profile III "Lone-wolf" terrorist** (Weak, incomplete or distorted knowledge about Islam)	Exposure to misleading knowledge about Islam	Perceived offence towards religion	Commit a single violent act	
4	**Profile IV** (Strong knowledge about Islam – "Against violence" approach)	Not affected by drivers or triggers			
5	**Profile V** (A highly cultured individual who is also not committed to religious practices)	Not affected by drivers or triggers			

The scrutiny offered in the proposed framework provides added insights into the existing radicalization models, as previously explained in Chapter 7: The semi-structured interviews, which provided a basis for this framework. The existing models on radicalization vary in their structure and linearity but they share common areas that include psychological grievance over bad social conditions, as well as interaction with like-minded people or exposure to extremist groups' ideologies as key aspects that lead to the adoption and internalization of the new extremist identities that legitimize violence. This research considered the common areas, however the survey results demonstrated that social, economic and political grievance was not highly associated with radical tendencies. The typography and the framework of this research are rather foreseen to add value in that:

They identify differences between the profiles as an initial step that provides more depth to understanding the diverse motives, and therefore can better assist in countering terror or in the rehabilitation of the captured or returnees. The existing radicalization models' final stages do not consider cases of fighters that decide to withdraw from terrorist groups. Conversely, this research reflects on the cases of the well-informed religious individuals who, after joining terrorist groups to seek an Islamic life and to conduct Jihad, decide to return back home once they have discovered that these organizations do not represent Islam. The reviewed existing radicalization models do not discuss cases of "lone-wolf" terrorists who share a similar status to radical fighters in that they commit terror acts based on an extremist ideology. In this research, "lone-wolf" terrorists are perceived as equally important in understanding radicalization, with similar and diverse characteristics that are important to include in counter-violence strategies. Finally, the existing models on radicalization do not contribute to the main inquiry, which asks why there are several inconsistencies in the factors that lead individuals to become radical. This research acknowledges the complexity of the factors and provides an example of how contextual investigation can identify new knowledge on the leading motives that can be more than the psychological grievance over the social conditions.

2. Implications on policy

The findings of this research also have clear implications for policy in the country reflected in two main approaches that would strengthen the impact of Jordan's efforts to counter the

phenomenon. The approaches are diverse, but this diversity is in line with basic human rights in regard to religion and international cultural exposure. Understanding and reinforcing those two basic pursuits and needs would serve as development in society. The first is to guarantee the availability of rich and high-quality resources relating to the Islamic religion for those who seek profundity in order to stop individuals seeking knowledge elsewhere, specifically on the Internet, where information is manipulated, and which was a main tool used by the Islamic State (ISIS) for recruitment. The interviewees in this research pointed out that good knowledge about Islam and its teachings would in fact be a preventative measure against becoming an extremist and this perspective must not be ignored. Additionally, the results of the MCA analysis of the social space reveal that commitment to religious practices is in fact a characteristic of the majority of individuals in society who have not expressed extreme opinions. Therefore, high-quality religious information is key in prevention.

Jordan's attempts to change the school curriculum by, for example, minimizing the mention of concepts such as Jihad, and by limiting religious content to religious books, was one of the first evident attempts to prevent young people from drifting towards radical ideologies, yet this approach does not guarantee that the young would not seek information elsewhere. The changes were also perceived as offensive by the local communities, who saw this as representing international interference against Islamic principles. Conversely, this research suggests a need to assess the tools, the quality and the availability of religious content in school books and elsewhere, to guarantee that rich information is provided and accessible to those who wish to get more involved or to enrich their religious knowledge at any time, during their school years or after.

The second approach is revealed in the social space graph and suggests that cultural exposure through travelling, the ability to speak languages and playing a musical instrument are associated with progressive opinions and a tolerance of sensitive topics, an area that has not been particularly invested in in the country. High-quality cultural services, if available, have been limited to a specific segment of society and to the capital. Therefore, attention needs to be given to this aspect. An overall economic, political and social reform is important for the well-being of young people who live in Jordan, but it has not been associated with the tendency to possess extreme opinions, nor did the education level or the tribal membership. Cultural capital is the main aspect to have been associated with a progressive mindset.

3. Future research

This research opens the field to different developments. First, in terms of methods, the use of MCA has provided an alternative approach through which to observe the phenomenon and to draw new insights into the complex factors that are associated with extremist attributes in society. The tool that was used in this research provided the opportunity to assess the social fields on a two-dimensional MCA graph estimated to secure a visual coverage of 64%. Future research may explore new possible geometric data analysis (GDA) presentation tools that could increase the possibility of visually covering and navigating additional dimensions on the graphs that would enhance the accuracy of the predictions and possibly reveal additional detailed observations on the phenomenon.

The goals and strengths of research are derived from its contextual approach; however, this does not deny the importance of replicating the approach across different societies and possibly also across different terrorist organizations with different ideologies. Profound contextual consideration is of high value and a comparative approach would assess the possible similar patterns that would result in global frameworks applicable on a wider scale and make it possible to draft global strategies aimed at reforming the causes of such a phenomenon.

Local factors including the role of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict brought up by some of the participants in the interviews is an area that calls for additional consideration among specific social groups in society for the lack of relevant discussions on this aspect in academic research. Activism is another aspect that calls for further investigation due to its interesting positioning on the social space graph. Its positioning suggests that activism might be an attribute that compensates for limited cultural exposure opportunities, and may signify that playing an active role in society, and being involved in the political arena, is another preventative measure against the susceptibility to joining radical organizations.

References

Abouzeid, R. (2014). *The Jihad Next Door*. Politico Magazine.

> https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/06/al-qaeda-iraq-syria-108214.html

Abu-Rumman, M. (2014). *I am a Salafi: A Study of the Actual and Imagined Identities of Salafis*. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Jordan & Iraq.

Aguinis, H., & Bradley, K. J. (2014). Best Practice Recommendations for Designing and Implementing Experimental Vignette Methodology Studies. *Organizational Research Methods*, *17*(4), 351–371. https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428114547952

AIVD. (2004). *From Dawa to Jihad. The Various Threats from Radical Islam to the Democratic Legal Order*. General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD), The Hague.

Al-Bura'i, W. (2002). The Role of Universities and Schools in Countering and Preventing Violent Extremism: Malaysian Experience. *Alexandria, Egypt: Dar al- Ma'rifah Publishers*, 15.

Alexander, C. S., & Becker, H. J. (1978). The Use of Vignettes in Survey Research. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, *42*(1), 93.

Alkarama Foundation. (2017). *Jordan Shadow Report*. Alkarama Foundation.

Allen, C. E. (2007). Threat of Islamic Radicalization to the Homeland. *Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Senate.*, 10.

Al-Makahleh, S. (2018). Jordan Between Regional Threats and Internal Pressures: The Economic Key. *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, 3.

Al-Rawashdeh, A. (2015). Ideological Extremism from the Perspective of Jordanian Youth (in Arabic). *Arab Journal for Security Studies and Training*.

Al-Suri, A. M. (2004). *Call to Global Islamic Resistance (in Arabic)*.

www.aldorar.net/2015/07/Book-Dawat-Almokawama-Alislamiya.html

Alves, W. M., & Rossi, P. H. (1978). Who Should Get What? Fairness Judgments of the

Distribution of Earnings. *American Journal of Sociology*, *84*(3), 541–564. JSTOR.

https://www.jstor.org/stable/2778254

Amnesty International. (2017). *Death Sentences and Excecutions* (p. 49). Amnesty

International.

Anderson, D. M., & McKnight, J. (2015). Understanding al-Shabaab: Clan, Islam and

Insurgency in Kenya. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, *9*(3), 536–557.

https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2015.1082254

Anderson, P. (1983). Decision Making by Objection and the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Administrative Science Quarterly, *28*(2), 201–222. JSTOR.

https://doi.org/10.2307/2392618

Angel Rabasa et al. (2010). *De-radicalizing Islamist Extremists*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand.

Arango, T., & Gordon, M. (2014). *Iraqi Insurgents Secure Control of Border Posts*. The New

York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/24/world/middleeast/sunni-militants-

seize-crossing-on-iraq-jordan-border.html

Atzmüller, C., & Steiner, P. M. (2010). Experimental Vignette Studies in Survey Research.

Methodology: European Journal of Research Methods for the Behavioral and Social

Sciences, *6*(3). https://doi.org/10.1027/1614-2241/a000014

Auerbach, M. P. (2020). Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). In *Research Starter Topics*.

Salem Press.

Avis, W. R. (2016). *The Role of Online/Social Media in Countering Violent Extremism in*

East Africa (p. 15). GSDRC Applied Science Services.

Bakker, E. (2006). *Jihadi Terrorists in Europe, their Characteristics and the Circumstances in which they Joined the Jihad: An Exploratory Study*. Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael.

Bani Salameh, T. (2017). Polotical Reform in Jordan: Reality and Aspirations. *World Affairs*, *180*(4), 47–78. https://doi.org/10.1177/0043820018765373

Barnett, V. (1981). *Interpreting Multivariate Data*. John Wiley & Sons.

Barrett, R. (2017). *Beyond the Caliphate: Foreign Fighters and the Threat of Returnees*. The Soufan Center. https://thesoufancenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Beyond-the-Caliphate-Foreign-Fighters-and-the-Threat-of-Returnees-TSC-Report-October-2017-v3.pdf

Barter, C., & Renold, E. (2000). "I Wanna Tell You a Story": Exploring the Application of Vignettes in Qualitative Research with Children and Young People. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *3*(4), 307–323. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645570050178594

Bartlett, J., & Miller, C. (2012). The Edge of Violence: Towards Telling the Difference Between Violent and Non-Violent Radicalization. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *24*(1), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2011.594923

Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, *13*(4), 544–559. https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol13/iss4/2

Beissinger, M. R. (2002). *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge University Press.

Benzécri, J.-P. (1973). *L'analyse des Données: L'Analyse des Correspondances*. Dunod.

Berrebi, C. (2003). *Evidence About the Link between Education, Poverty and Terrorism Among Palestinians* (SSRN Scholarly Paper ID 487467). Social Science Research Network. https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=487467

Biscontini, T. (2017). Jihad. In *Salem Press Encyclopedia*. Salem Press.

Blasius, J., & Greenacre, M. J. (2006). *Multiple Correspondence Analysis and Related Methods*. Boca Raton: Chapman & Hall/CRC.

Boblin, S. L., Ireland, S., Kirkpatrick, H., & Robertson, K. (2013). Using Stake's Qualitative Case Study Approach to Explore Implementation of Evidence-Based Practice. *Qualitative Health Research*, *23*(9), 1267–1275. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732313502128

Bondokji, N., & Harper, E. (2017). *Journey Mapping of Selected Jordanian Foreign Fighters*. WANA Institute, Royal Scientific Society in Amman, Jordan.

Bondokji, N., Harper, E., & Aghabi, L. (2017). *Trapped Between Destructive Choices: Radicalisation Drivers Affecting Youth in Jordan*. WANA Institute, Royal Scientific Society in Amman, Jordan.

Bondokji, N., Wilkinson, K., & Aghabi, L. (2015). Understanding Radicalisation: A Literature Review of Models and Drivers. *WANA Institute, Royal Scientific Society in Amman, Jordan.*

Bondokji, N., Wilkinson, K., & Aghabi, L. (2016). *Understanding Radicalization: A Literature Review of Models and Drivers*. WANA Institute, Royal Scientific Society in Amman, Jordan.

Borum, R. (2003). Understanding the Terrorist Mind-Set [Data set]. In *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, Vol. 72, Issue 7 (July 2003)*. https://doi.org/10.1037/e318402004-002

Borum, R. (2011). Radicalization into Violent Extremism I: A Review of Social Science Theories. *Journal of Strategic Security*, *4*(4), 7–36. https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.4.4.1

Boulder, C. (2002). *Jordan in Transition: From Hussein to Abdullah*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Bourdieu, P. (1972). Les Stratégies Matrimoniales dans le Système de Reproduction. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, *27*(4/5), 1105–1127. JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/27578159

Bourdieu, P. (1975). The Specificity of the Scientific Field and the Social Conditions of the Progress of Reason. *Information (International Social Science Council)*, *14*(6), 19–47. https://doi.org/10.1177/053901847501400602

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511812507

Bourdieu, P. (1979). *Distinction | Translated by Will Straw* (edspmu.S1913483515400205). *41*(4), 12-12–12. ProjectMUSE. https://doi.org/10.1353/esc.2015.0065

Bourdieu, P. (1983). The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed. *Poetics*, *12*(4), 311–356. https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-422X(83)90012-8

Bourdieu, P. (1985). The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups. *Theory and Society, Springer*.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Bicocca Sede Centrale Collezione generale CDD 306 BOUP.DIS /1986). Taylor & Francis.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The Logic of Practice | Translated by Richard Nice*. Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1996). *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*. Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*. Stanford

    University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2004). *Science of Science and Reflexivity*. Polity.

Bourdieu, P., & Darbel. (1966). *Le Partage des Bénéfices: Expansion et Inégalités en France*

    (bic.000144796). Catalogo Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca.

Bourdieu, P., Darbel, A., & Schnapper, D. (1991). *The Love of Art: European Art Museums*

    and Their Public. Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P., Krais, B., Chamboredon, J.-C., & Passeron, J. C. (2005). *Le Métier de*

    Sociologue: Préalables Epistémologiques. Contient un Entretien avec Pierre

    Bourdieu Recueilli par Beate Krais (558169). eBook Collection (EBSCOhost).

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1990). *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*

    (1990 ed). Sage in association with Theory, Culture & Society, Dept. of

    Administrative and Social Studies, Teesside Polytechnic.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. University of

    Chicago Press.

Bradbury-Jones, C., Taylor, J., & Herber, O. R. (2014). Vignette development and

    administration: A framework for protecting research participants. *International*

    Journal of Social Research Methodology, *17*(4), 427–440.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2012.750833

Braddock, K. (2020). *Weaponized Words: The Strategic Role of Persuasion in Violent*

    Radicalization and Counter-Radicalization. Cambridge University Press.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative*

    Research in Psychology, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Brisard, J., & Martinez, D. (2014). Islamic State: The Economy-Based Terrorist Funding.

    Thomas Reuters Accelus.

Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods* (Bicocca Sede Centrale Collezione generale
    CDD 300.72 BRYA.SOC /2016BS; 5th ed). Oxford University press.

Bunzel, C. (2015). From Paper State to Caliphate: The Ideology of the Islamic State. *Analysis
    Paper*, *19*, 48.

Campelo, N., Oppetit, A., Neau, F., Cohen, D., & Bronsard, G. (2018). Who are the
    European Youths Willing to Engage in Radicalisation? A Multidisciplinary Review of
    their Psychological and Social Profiles. *European Psychiatry*, *52*, 1–14.
    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eurpsy.2018.03.001

Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan. (2016). *Students at the University of
    Jordan: Characteristics, Values, Trends (in Arabic)* (pp. 24–25).

Collins, K. M. T. (2010). Advanced Sampling Designs in Mixed Research: Current Practices
    and Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences. In A. Tashakkori & C.
    Teddlie, *SAGE Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Research* (pp.
    353–378). SAGE Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781506335193.n15

Combaz, E. (2015). *Extremist radicalisation towards non-state political violence in Jordan*
    (p. 16). GSDRC Applied Science Services.

Counter Extremism Project. (2018). *Jordan Extremism & Counter-Extremism*. Counter
    Extremism Project.

Cousin, G. (2005). Case Study Research. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, *29*(3),
    421–427. https://doi.org/10.1080/03098260500290967

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing
    Among Five Approaches*. SAGE Publications.

Crossett, C., & Spitaletta, J. (2010). *Radicalization Relevant Psychological and Sociological
    Concepts*. The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory.

Dalgaard-Nielsen, A. (2008a). *Studying violent radicalization in Europe I: The potential contribution of social movement theory*. Danish Institute for International Studies.

Dalgaard-Nielsen, A. (2008b). *Studying Violent Radicalization in Europe II: The Potential Contribution of Socio-Psychological and Psychological Approaches*. Danish Institute for International Studies.

della Porta, D. (2013). *Can Democracy Be Saved?: Participation, Deliberation and Social Movements*. John Wiley & Sons.

della Porta, D. (2016). *Where Did the Revolution Go?* Cambridge University Press.

Department of Statistics. (2017). *Jordan Statistics*. Department of Statistics, Jordan.

DiCicco-Bloom, B., & Crabtree, B. F. (2006). The Qualitative Research Interview. *Medical Education*, *40*(4), 314–321. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2929.2006.02418.x

Dodwell, B., Milton, D., & Rassler, D. (2016). *The Caliphate's Global Workforce: An Inside Look at the Islamic State's Foreign Fighter Paper Trail*. https://ctc.usma.edu/the-caliphates-global-workforce-an-inside-look-at-the-islamic-states-foreign-fighter-paper-trail/

Durkheim, E. (1997). *The Division of Labor in Society*. Simon and Schuster.

Dyer, W. G., & Wilkins, A. L. (1991). Better Stories, Not Better Constructs, to Generate Better Theory: A Rejoinder to Eisenhardt. *The Academy of Management Review*, *16*(3), 613–619. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/258920

Edmondson, A. C., Bohmer, R. M., & Pisano, G. P. (2001). Disrupted Routines: Team Learning and New Technology Implementation in Hospitals. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *46*(4), 685–716. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/3094828

Eisenhardt, K. M. (1989). Building Theories from Case Study Research. *The Academy of Management Review*, *14*(4), 532–550. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/258557

Eisenhardt, K. M. (1991). Better Stories and Better Constructs: The Case for Rigor and

> Comparative Logic. *The Academy of Management Review*, *16*(3), 620–627. JSTOR.

> https://doi.org/10.2307/258921

Eisenhardt, K. M., & Graebner, M. E. (2007). Theory Building from Cases: Opportunities

> And Challenges. *Academy of Management Journal*, *50*(1), 25–32.

> https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2007.24160888

Emam, D. Al. (2017). Mashrou' Leila's concert ban draws controversy. In *The Jordan Times*.

EU commission. (2005). *Addressing the Factors Contributing to Violent Radicalisation*

> *(Brussels: The European Commission)* [Data set]. Commission of the European

> Communities. https://doi.org/10.1163/2210-7975_HRD-4679-0058

EU commission. (2008). *Expert Group, Radicalisation Processes Leading to Acts of*

> *Terrorism*. the European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation.

> https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-

> do/policies/european-agenda-security/20180613_final-report-radicalisation.pdf

Europol. (2017). *TE-SAT: European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report 2017*.

> https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/a4fe72c9-b541-

> 11e7-837e-01aa75ed71a1/language-en

Finch, J. (1987). The Vignette Technique in Survey Research. *Sociology*, *21*(1), 105–114.

> JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/42854387

Finlay, L., & Gough, B. (2008). *Reflexivity: A Practical Guide for Researchers in Health and*

> *Social Sciences*. John Wiley & Sons.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2013). *Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research*.

> https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800405284363

Fowler, F. (2009). *Survey Research Methods (4th ed.)*. SAGE Publications, Inc.

> https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452230184

Frantzman, S. (2019). *The Fight for ISIS's Old Territory Is Just Beginning*. Middle East

    Forum. https://www.meforum.org/60041/fight-for-isiss-old-territory-is-just-beginning

Freedom House. (2018). *Jordan*. Freedom House. https://freedomhouse.org/print/50022

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. (2014). *I am a Salafi: A Study of the Actual and Imagined Identities

    of Salafis (in Arabic)* (p. 35).

Gaines, B. J., Kuklinski, J. H., & Quirk, P. J. (2007). The Logic of the Survey Experiment

    Reexamined. *Political Analysis*, *15*(1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1093/pan/mpl008

Galunic, D. C., & Eisenhardt, K. M. (2001). Architectural Innovation and Modular Corporate

    Forms. *Academy of Management Journal*, *44*(6), 1229–1249.

    https://doi.org/10.5465/3069398

Gersick, C. (1988). *(PDF) Time and Transition in Work Teams: Toward a New Model of

    Group Development*. ResearchGate. https://doi.org/10.2307/256496

Ghimar, D., Woodham, J., Chin, M., & Gharaibeh, S. (2016). A National Strategic

    Framework for Countering Violent Extremism in Jordan | JIA SIPA. *Jounral of

    International Affairs*, 38.

Gilbert, C. G. (2005). Unbundling the Structure of Inertia: Resource versus Routine Rigidity.

    The Academy of Management Journal, *48*(5), 741–763. JSTOR.

    https://doi.org/10.2307/20159695

Githens-Mazer, J. (2009). *Causal Processes, Radicalisation and Bad Policy: The Importance

    of Case Studies of Radical Violent Takfiri Jihadism for Establishing Logical Causality*

    (SSRN Scholarly Paper ID 1451634). Social Science Research Network.

    https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=1451634

Godelier, M. (2010). Community, Society, Culture: Three Keys to Understanding Today's

    Conflicted Identities. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, *16*(1), 1–11.

    https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9655.2009.01593.x

Gomm, R., Hammersley, M., & Foster, P. (2009). *Case Study Method*. SAGE Publications

    Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857024367

Goodwin, J. (2004). What Must We Explain to Explain Terrorism?: Review Essay on Jessica

    Stern's, Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill (New York: Ecco,

    2003). *Social Movements Studies*, *3*(2), 259–262.

    https://nyuscholars.nyu.edu/en/publications/what-must-we-explain-to-explain-

    terrorism-review-essay-on-jessica

Gøtzsche-Astrup, O. (2018). The Time for Causal Designs: Review and Evaluation of

    Empirical Support for Mechanisms of Political Radicalisation. *Aggression and*

    Violent Behavior, *39*, 90–99. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2018.02.003

Greenacre, M. (2017). *Correspondence Analysis in Practice*. Chapman and Hall/CRC.

    https://doi.org/10.1201/9781315369983

Grenfell, M. J. (2014). *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*. Routledge.

Gurr, T. R. (2015). *Why Men Rebel*. Routledge.

Haddid, D. (2016). *Jordan Moves to Moderate School Curriculum*. Gulfnews.Com.

    https://gulfnews.com/world/mena/jordan-moves-to-moderate-school-curriculum-

    1.1913299

Hall, E. T. (1989). *Beyond culture* (Bicocca Sede Centrale Collezione generale CDD 306

    HALE.BEY /1989). Anchor Books.

Hamed, M. (2016). *Jordan: Nahed Hattar Shot Dead Ahead of Cartoon Trial*.

    Aljazeera.Com. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/9/26/jordan-nahed-hattar-shot-

    dead-ahead-of-cartoon-trial

Hansen, A., & Machin, D. (2013). *Media and Communication Research Methods*. Macmillan

    International Higher Education.

Harper, E. (2017). *Examining Psychological Drivers of Radicalisation*. WANA Institute, Royal Scientific Society in Amman, Jordan.

Harris, S. G., & Sutton, R. I. (1986). Functions of Parting Ceremonies in Dying Organizations. *The Academy of Management Journal*, *29*(1), 5–30. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/255857

Hashim, A. S. (2014). The Islamic State: From al-Qaeda Affiliate to Caliphate. *Middle East Policy*, *21*(4), 69–83. https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12096

Hays, S. (1994). Structure and Agency and the Sticky Problem of Culture. *Sociological Theory*, *12*(1), 57–72. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/202035

Hazel, N. (1995). Elicitation Techniques with Young People. *Social Research Update*, *11*, 1.

Hegghammer, T. (2006). Terrorist Recruitment and Radicalization in Saudi Arabia. *Middle East Policy*, *13*(4), 39–60. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2006.00269.x

Holland, W. J. D. (1965). An Introduction to Islamic Law. By Joseph Schacht. Pp. Viii and 304. Oxford University Press, 1964. 48s. Net. *Journal of African Law*, *9*(3), 187–188. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021855300001698

Hoon, C. (2013). Meta-Synthesis of Qualitative Case Studies: An Approach to Theory Building. *Organizational Research Methods*, *16*(4), 522–556. https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428113484969

Horgan, J. (2005). *The Psychology of Terrorism*. Routledge.

Hudson Institute. (2007). *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*. Hudson Institute. https://www.idc.ac.il/he/research/ips/Documents/publication/5/SunniShiaConversion Controversy2007.pdf

Hughes, R. (1998). Considering the Vignette Technique and its Application to a Study of Drug Injecting and HIV Risk and Safer Behaviour. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, *20*(3), 381–400. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.00107

Hughes, R., & Huby, M. (2012). The Construction and Interpretation of Vignettes in Social Research. *Social Work and Social Sciences Review*, *11*(1), 36–51. https://doi.org/10.1921/swssr.v11i1.428

IRI. (2016). *Jordan: Economy Breeds Widespread Dissatisfaction with Government*. International Republican Institute – IRI.

IRI. (2018). *How Vulnerable is Jordan to Violent Extremism* (p. 3). International Republican Institute.

JCSS. (2016). *Students of the University of Jordan (Characteristics, values and trends)*. Center for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan.

Johnson, R. A., & Wichern, D. W. (2007). *Applied Multivariate Statistical Analysis* (6th ed). Pearson Prentice Hall.

Johnston, P. (2016). *Foundations of the Islamic State: Management, Money, and Terror in Iraq, 2005-2010*. National Defense Research Institute (U.S.), Rand Corporation.

Jordan, D. (2020). Caliphate. In *Salem Press Encyclopedia*. Salem Press.

Khosrokhavar, F. (2008). *Terrorism in Europe and the Middle East*. The Centre for Studies in Islamism and Radicalisation at the Department of Political Science, University of Aarhus. Denmark.

Kidder, T. (1982). *The Soul of a New Machine*. Avon.

Kirmayer, L. J., Fletcher, C. M., & Boothroyd, L. J. (1997). Inuit Attitudes Toward Deviant Behavior: A Vignette Study. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, *185*(2), 78–86.

Kjøk, Å., Hegghammer, T., Hansen, A. S., & Knudsen, J. K. (2004). Restoring Peace or Provoking Terrorism: Exploring the Links between Multilateral Military Interventions and International Terrorism. *Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI)*.

/paper/Restoring-peace-or-provoking-terrorism-%3A-exploring-Kj%C3%B8k-
Hegghammer/ed65a70ce1bd03d0ea0adaa0fc0c586052deda97

Kühle, L., & Lindekilde, L. (2010). *Radicalization among Young Muslims in Aarhus*.
Publisher: The Centre for Studies in Islamism and Radicalisation & Department of
Political Science, Aarhus University.

Lang, H., Wechsler, W., & Awadallah, A. (2017a). *The Future of U.S.-Jordanian
Counterterrorism Cooperation*. Center for American Progress.

Lang, H., Wechsler, W., & Awadallah, A. (2017b). *The Future of U.S.-Jordanian
Counterterrorism Cooperation*.

Lauder, H., Brown, P., Dillabough, J.-A., & Halsey, A. H. (Eds.). (2006). *Education,
Globalization and Social Change*. Oxford University Press.

Lawrie, S. M., Martin, K., McNEILL, G., Drife, J., Chrystie, P., Reid, A., Wu, P., Nammary,
S., & Ball, J. (1998). General Practitioners' Attitudes to Psychiatric and Medical
Illness. *Psychological Medicine*, *28*(6), 1463–1467.
https://doi.org/10.1017/S0033291798007004

Le Roux, B., & Rouanet, H. (2010). *Multiple Correspondence Analysis*. SAGE Publications,
Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412993906

Lebaron, F. (2009). How Bourdieu "Quantified" Bourdieu: The Geometric Modelling of
Data. In K. Robson & C. Sanders (Eds.), *Quantifying Theory: Pierre Bourdieu* (pp.
11–29). Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-9450-7_2

Lebaron, F. (2018). Pierre Bourdieu, Geometric Data Analysis and the Analysis of Economic
Spaces and Fields. *Forum for Social Economics*, *47*(3–4), 288–304.
https://doi.org/10.1080/07360932.2015.1043928

Lebaron, F., & Roux, B. L. (2013). Géométrie du Champ. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, *N° 200*(5), 106–109. https://www.cairn.info/revue-actes-de-la-recherche-en-sciences-sociales-2013-5-page-106.htm

Lyons, H. A., & Harbinson, H. J. (1986). A Comparison of Political and Non-Political Murderers in Northern Ireland, 1974–84. *Medicine, Science and the Law*, *26*(3), 193–198. https://doi.org/10.1177/002580248602600304

Mabry, L. (2008). Case Study in Social Research. In P. Alasuutari, L. Bickman, & J. Brannen, *The SAGE Handbook of Social Research Methods* (pp. 214–227). SAGE Publications Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446212165.n13

Mayrhofer, W., Meyer, M., Steyrer, J., & Langer, K. (2007). Can Expatriation Research Learn from Other Disciplines?: The Case of International Career Habitus. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, *37*(3), 89–107. https://doi.org/10.2753/IMO0020-8825370304

Mayring, P. (2000). Qualitative Content Analysis. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *1*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-1.2.1089

Mayring, P. (2010). Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. In G. Mey & K. Mruck (Eds.), *Handbuch Qualitative Forschung in der Psychologie* (pp. 601–613). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-92052-8_42

Mazarr, M. J. (2004). The Psychological Sources of Islamic Terrorism. *Policy Review*, *125*, 39–60.

McCauley, C., & Moskalenko, S. (2017). Understanding Political Radicalization: The Two-Pyramids Model. *American Psychologist*, *72*(3), 205–216. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000062

McGilloway, A., Ghosh, P., & Bhui, K. (2015). A Systematic Review of Pathways to and Processes Associated with Radicalization and Extremism Amongst Muslims in Western Societies. *International Review of Psychiatry*, *27*(1), 39–50. https://doi.org/10.3109/09540261.2014.992008

Merriam, S. B. (1988). *Case Study Research in Education: A Qualitative Approach* (pp. xx, 226). Jossey-Bass.

Merriam, S. B., & Tisdell, E. J. (2015). *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*. John Wiley & Sons.

Meyer, C. (2001). *A Case in Case Study Methodology*. https://journals-sagepub-com.proxy.unimib.it/doi/10.1177/1525822X0101300402

Mintzberg, H. (1979). An Emerging Strategy of "Direct" Research. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *24*(4), 582–589. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/2392364

Mintzberg, H., & Waters, J. A. (1982). Tracking Strategy in an Entrepreneurial Firm. *Academy of Management Journal*, *25*(3), 465–499. https://doi.org/10.5465/256075

Moghaddam, F. M. (2005). The Staircase to Terrorism: A Psychological Exploration. *American Psychologist*, *60*(2), 161–169. http://dx.doi.org.proxy.unimib.it/10.1037/0003-066X.60.2.161

Monette, D. R., Sullivan, T. J., & DeJong, C. R. (2010). *Applied Social Research: A Tool for the Human Services*. Cengage Learning.

MoSA, & ISD. (2012). *Tackling Extremism: De-Radicalisation and Disengagement*. The Danish Ministry of Social Affairs and The Institute for Strategic Dialogue. Copenhagen, Denmark.

Moskalenko, S., & McCauley, C. (2009). Measuring Political Mobilization: The Distinction Between Activism and Radicalism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *21*(2), 239–260. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550902765508

Muhsin, H. (2012). Understanding Drivers of Violent Extremism: The Case of al-Shabab and Somali Youth. *Combating Terrorism Center at West Point*, 10.

NDI. (2017). *Jordan International Observation Mission report*. National Democratic Institute - NDI.

Nesser, P. (2006). *How Does Radicalization Occur in Europe?* Paper presented at the Second Inter-Agency Radicalization Conference, 10 July 2006, US Department of Homeland Security, Washington DC.

Neumann, P. (2013). The Trouble with Radicalization. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, *89*(4), 873. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12049

Nosanchuk, T. A. (1972). The Vignette as an Experimental Approach to the Study of Social Status: An Exploratory Study. *Social Science Research*, *1*(1), 107–120. https://doi.org/10.1016/0049-089X(72)90060-9

Osborne, A. (2017). *Engendering Extremism: Gender Equality and Radicalisation in the West Asia—North Africa Region*. WANA Institute, Royal Scientific Society in Amman, Jordan.

Osborne, A., & Bondokji, N. (2018). *Post-Daesh and Still Desperate*. WANA Institute, Royal Scientific Society in Amman, Jordan.

Ouslander, J. G., Tymchuk, A. J., & Krynski, M. D. (1993). Decisions about Enteral Tube Feeding Among the Elderly. *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society*, *41*(1), 70–77. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-5415.1993.tb05951.x

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*. SAGE.

Perliger, A., & Milton, D. (2016). *From Cradle to Grave: The Lifecycle of Foreign Fighters in Iraq and Syria*. https://ctc.usma.edu/from-cradle-to-grave-the-lifecycle-of-foreign-fighters-in-iraq-and-syria/

Perry, C. (1998). Processes of a Case Sudy Methodology for Postgraduate Research in Marketing. *European Journal of Marketing*, *32*(9/10), 785–802. https://doi.org/10.1108/03090569810232237

Pew Research Center. (2013). *Spring Pew Global Attitudes Survey*. Pew Research Center.

Pinfield, L. T. (1986). A Field Evaluation of Perspectives on Organizational Decision Making. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *31*(3), 365–388. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/2392828

Pole, C. J., & Lampard, R. (2002). *Practical Social Investigation: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Social Research*. Pearson Education.

Poulis, K., Poulis, E., & Plakoyiannaki, E. (2013). The Role of Context in Case Study Selection: An International Business Perspective. *International Business Review*, *22*(1), 304–314. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ibusrev.2012.04.003

Proctor, K. (2015). From Jordan to Jihad: The Lure of Syria's Violent Extremism Groups. *MercyCorps*.

Rabasa, A. (Ed.). (2010). *Deradicalizing Islamist extremists*. RAND.

Ramsay, G. (2015). Why Terrorism Can, but Should not Be Defined. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, *8*(2), 211–228. https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2014.988452

Rehbein, B. (2011). *Globalization and Inequality in Emerging Societies*. Springer.

Riches, D. (1986). *The Anthropology of violence*. Blackwell.

Rink, A., & Sharma, K. (2018). The Determinants of Religious Radicalization: Evidence from Kenya. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *62*(6), 1229–1261. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002716678986

Roux, B. L., & Rouanet, H. (2005). Geometric Data Analysis. [electronic resource]: From Correspondence Analysis to Structured Data Analysis. In *Springer eBooks*. Springer Netherlands.

Rubin, B. M. (2010). *Guide to Islamist Movements*. M.E. Sharpe.

Ryers, K. (2014). *Jordan: Conditions, Issues and U.S. Relations*. Nova Science Publishers, Incorporated.

Sadiki, L. (2015). *Handbook of the Arab Spring: Rethinking Democratization*. Routledge.

Sageman, M. (2008). *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century*. University of Pennsylvania Press. http://muse.jhu.edu/book/12043/

Schlueter, E., & Schmidt, P. (2010). Special Issue: Survey Experiments. *Methodology*, *6*(3), 93–95. https://doi.org/10.1027/1614-2241/a000010

Schmid, A. (2013). Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review. *Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism Studies*. https://doi.org/10.19165/2013.1.02

Sedgwick, M. (2010). The Concept of Radicalization as a Source of Confusion. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *22*(4), 479–494. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2010.491009

Sewell, W. H. (1996). Three Temporalities: Toward an Eventful Sociology. In *The Historic Turn in the Human Sciences* (p. 37). Ann Arbor: Univ.

Shteiwi, M., & Abu Rumman, M. (2018). *Sociology of Extremism and Terrorism in Jordan*. Center for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan.

Siggelkow, N. (2007). Persuasion With Case Studies. *Academy of Management Journal*, *50*(1), 20–24. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2007.24160882

Silber, M. D., & Bhatt, A. (2007). Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat. *The New York City Police Department*, 90.

Silke, A. (1998). Cheshire-Cat Logic: The Recurring Theme of Terrorist Abnormality in Psychological Research. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, *4*(1), 51–69. https://doi.org/10.1080/10683169808401747

Silke, A. (2001). The Devil You Know: Continuing Problems with Research on Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *13*(4), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550109609697

Silke, A. (2008). Holy Warriors: Exploring the Psychological Processes of Jihadi Radicalization. *European Journal of Criminology*, *5*(1), 99–123. https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370807084226

Silverman, D. (2006). *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analyzing Talk, Text and Interaction*. SAGE.

Simon, S., & Turner, B. S. (2011). *The Legacy of Pierre Bourdieu: Critical Essays*. Anthem Press.

Sniderman, P. M., & Grob, D. B. (1996). Innovations in Experimental Design in Attitude Surveys. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *22*(1), 377–399. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.22.1.377

Speckhard, A. (2017). *The Jihad in Jordan: Drivers of Radicalization into Violent Extremism in Jordan*. The International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism (ICSVE).

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research*. SAGE.

Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative Case Studies. In *The Sage handbook of qualitative research, 3rd ed* (pp. 443–466). Sage Publications Ltd.

Steiner, P. M., Atzmüller, C., & Su, D. (2016). Designing Valid and Reliable Vignette Experiments for Survey Research: A Case Study on the Fair Gender Income Gap. *Journal of Methods and Measurement in the Social Sciences*, 43.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. M. (1990). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques* (p. 270). Sage Publications, Inc.

Swartz, D. (1997). *Culture & power: The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. University of Chicago Press.

The constitution of Jordan. (2016). *The Constitution of The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*.

http://www.kinghussein.gov.jo/const_ch1-3.html

Tsang, E. W. K. (2014). Generalizing from Research Findings: The Merits of Case Studies.

International Journal of Management Reviews, *16*(4), 369-369–383.

UNESCO. (2015). *Assessment of media development in Jordan based on UNESCO's Media

Development Indicators*. UNESCO Office Amman.

UNHCR. (2018). *UNHCR Jordan Fact Sheet*. UNHCR.

http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/UNHCR%20Jordan%20Fact%20Sheet%2

0-%20June%202018.pdf

UNRWA. (2019). *Jordan*. United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

https://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/jordan

US Department of State. (2019). *Country Reports on Terrorism 2019: Jordan*. BUREAU OF

COUNTERTERRORISM. https://www.state.gov/reports/country-reports-on-

terrorism-2019/jordan/

Veldhuis, T., & Staun, J. (2009). *Islamist Radicalisation: A Root Cause Model*. Netherlands

Institute of International Relations Clingendael.

Victoroff, J. (2005). The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological

Approaches. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *49*(1), 3–42.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002704272040

Vidino, L. (2018). *De-radicalization in the Mediterranean: Comparing challenges and

approaches*. ISPI, Italy.

Wacquant, L. (1989). Towards a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu.

Sociological Theory, *7*(1), 26–63. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/202061

Walther, M. (2014). Bourdieu's Theory of Practice as Theoretical Framework. In *Repatriation to France and Germany* (pp. 7–23). Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-05700-8_2

Weber, M. (2012). *Die Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen*. Jazzybee Verlag.

Wells, W. (2004). Me Write Pretty One Day: How to Write a Good Scientific Paper. *The Journal of Cell Biology*. https://doi.org/10.1083/jcb.200403137

Wiktorowicz, Q. (2005). *Radical Islam Rising: Muslim Extremism in the West*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

William McCants. (2015). *The Believer; How an Introvert with a Passion for Religion and Soccer Became Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi Leader of the Islamic State.* Brookings Institution Press.

Wilner, A., & Dubouloz, C.-J. (2009). *Homegrown Terrorism and Transformative Learning: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Understanding Radicalization*. Canadian Political Science Association Conference (University of Ottawa, Canada, May 2009).

Wilson, L. (2015). *What I Discovered from Interviewing Imprisoned ISIS Fighters*. https://www.thenation.com/article/what-i-discovered-from-interviewing-isis-prisoners/

World Population Review. (2019). *Jordan Population* [Retrieved 2019-07-09, from http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/jordan/].

Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case study research: Design and methods* (5th ed). Sage.

Yom, S., & Sammour, K. (2016). *The Social Terrain of Islamist Radicalization: Insights from Jordan*. Lawfare. https://www.lawfareblog.com/social-terrain-islamist-radicalization-insights-jordan

Yom, S., & Sammour, K. (2017). Counterterrorism and Youth Radicalization in Jordan: Social and Political Dimensions. *Combating Terrorism Center at West Point*, 25.

Zachary, L., & Masters, J. (2014). *The Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved from http://www.cfr.org/iraq/islamic-state/p14811.*

Appendix A: Interviews consent form

Interview – Consent form

* The content was translated to Arabic language.

Research topic: "Radicalization and the social space: The case of Jordan".

- I agree to participate in the interview carried out by Dareen Al-Khoury of the University Milano-Bicocca, to aid with the research of Dareen Al-Khoury on "Radicalization and the social space: The case of Jordan".
- I am aware of the topic to be discussed in the interview.
- I am fully aware that I will remain anonymous throughout data reported.
- I am fully aware that the data collected will be stored securely and safely and will be used anonymously.
- I am fully aware that I have the right to stop or leave the interview at any point.
- I am fully aware that I am not obliged to answer any question, but that I do so at my own free will.
- I agree to have the interview recorded, so it can be transcribed after the interview is held.
- I am aware that I have the right to edit my answers once it has been completed.
- I am aware that I can make any reasonable changes to this consent form.

Participant name _____

Signature   _____

Date   _____

Researcher name _____

Signature   _____

Date   _____

Appendix B: Interviews ground rules and questions

* The content was translated to Arabic language.

Introduction

My name is Dareen Al-Khoury and I'm the researcher. I am currently enrolled in the Ph.D. in Analysis of Social and Economic Processes at the University of Milano-Bicocca in Italy and this research in part of my Ph.D. thesis on Radicalisation and the Social Space: The Case of Jordan.

About the research

This research aims to examine the radicalisation phenomenon in Jordan, which is ranked among countries with the highest per-capita number of external fighters who joined extremist organisations in Syria and Iraq. The research will include a comprehensive analysis of the economic, political, social and cultural aspects at the country level and will capture insights regarding the values, attitudes, and opinions of local experts in the field. In addition, the research will involve a survey at the individual level. The findings in this regard aim to contribute to areas of dearth and dispute in the field.

Ground Rules

- The consent form is signed.
- This session will last about 30-45 minutes.
- Reminder that this session is being recorded so it can be transcribed after the interview is held. The data collected will be stored securely and safely and will be used anonymously.
- There are no wrong answers in this discussion; I am only looking for different points of view. I want to know what your opinions and experiences are.
- Do you have any questions before we begin?

Pre-questions

Please state your name and title, do you have any experience with youth and radicalization in Jordan.

Questions for all participants

- In your opinion, what is the difference between radicalization, violent extremism and terrorism?
- What is the difference between religiousness and radicalization?
- With the defeat of ISIS, do you think we should still worry about radicalization amongst youth in Jordan?
- What are the different faces of radicalization amongst youth in society today?

- In your opinion, what drives youth in Jordan to join terrorist groups. (follow up: social, economic, cultural, political)
- Cities like Irbid, Zarqa, Ma'an and Salt have produced the highest numbers of radicals who tried to join ISIS, why did that happen in your opinion?
- Do you think Jordan is on the right track in fighting preventing radicalization amongst youth? What are we missing on?

Questions for school curricula expert
- Recently the government attempted to reduce religious content in the curriculum to prevent radicalization. Do you support this change? why?
- How can we improve our curriculum to prevent radicalization?

Questions for the representative from non-governmental organisations
- What tools are you using to prevent radicalization in your programs? Why did you choose these specific tools? How do you measure the results?
- What are the main challenges facing organizations in preventing radicalization?

Additional questions for public policy expert
- Do you think reform in public policy is needed to fight terrorism? What are the main gaps in public policy with regards to preventing and fighting radicalization in Jordan?
- What is your opinion on the changes that Jordan made on the anti-terrorism law, which was criticized for adding to restrictions that limit the opportunity for self-expression?

Additional questions for media professionals
- What is your opinion on the changes that Jordan made on the anti-terrorism law, which was criticized for adding to restrictions that limit the opportunity for self-expression?
- Jordan has been working on a campaign of messages aiming to prevent radicalization. What is your opinion on the campaign?
- Can the media play a role in countering the content produced by terrorist organizations?

Additional questions for youth activist
- Are there any particular aspects that characterize the condition of young people in Jordan? How would you describe their lives? Is something missing or not?
- Do you think youth activism minimises the susceptibility for youth to join radical groups? Why?
- In your opinion, in what way can we prevent radicalism?

Additional questions for religious leaders
- Studies revealed that some of the fighters who joined terrorist organizations were not religious. Why do you think such individuals joined such organizations?
- The government is monitoring mosques in Jordan. Do you think this is important?
- What is the role of religious leaders in preventing radicalism?

Appendix C: Survey questionnaire

Radicalisation and The Social Space:
The case of Jordan

* The survey was translated, organized and distributed in Arabic language.

Introduction

- This research is part of a research study for a doctoral student conducted in collaboration with the Nawafeth Foundation for Training and Sustainable Development.
- The target in this research are Jordanian male and female youth, aged 18-30.
- Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary and anonymous. The names of the participants will not be requested to secure privacy.
- The expected duration of response is 5 minutes.
- There are no right or wrong answers, the goal is to gather your opinions.
- Thank you! Your participation will greatly contribute to the success of your research.

Part one

Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female
Age group ☐ 18-22 ☐ 23-26 ☐ 27-30

Residency/Closest city to residency
○ Amman ○ Madaba ○ Salt ○ Balqa ○ Zarqa ○ Irbid ○ Jerash
○ Ajloun ○ Mafraq ○ Karak ○ Tafileh ○ Maan ○ Aqaba

Education level
○ Less than High school ○ High school
○ Diploma ○ University ○ Higher education

Occupation
○ Student ○ Unemployed ○ Employed in Governmental sector
○ Employed in private sector ○ Employed in NGO sector ○ Business Owner

Work/Education speciality

○ I don't have a speciality ○ Vocational ○ Free trade ○ Office work ○ Driver ○ Mechanics
○ Medicine/pharmaceuticals ○ Arts ○ Architecture/Engineering ○ Computer
○ Science/Programming ○ Law ○ Literature/Languages ○ Islamic Law ○ Social Science
○ Humanities ○ Education ○ Psychology ○ Management ○ Finance

Your current Income

○ No income ○ 50-299 JOD ○ 300-699 JOD
○ 700-1499JOD ○ 1500-2499JOD ○ More than 2500

Things I don't like about my current/previous job

☐ I never worked before
☐ There are no major issues that I don't like
☐ Low salary
☐ The work environment is unfair
☐ I feel humiliated because I cannot get a job
☐ The lack of job stability gives me a feeling of insecurity
☐ Other _____

Number of foreign languages that you know fluently

☐ One   ☐ Two   ☐ Three   ☐ Four or more

I read books in

☐ I don't like reading   ☐ Literature and novels
☐ History and politics   ☐ Self-help   ☐ Sciences   ☐ Other _____

My favourite music

☐ I don't like listening to music ☐ Arabic ☐ Western ☐ Classic ☐ Other_____

My favourite TV programs

☐ I generally don't watch TV ☐ Documentaries ☐ Arabic movies and series
☐ Western movies and series   ☐ Entertainment and competition programs
☐ Other_____

My hobbies

☐   I have no specific hobbies ☐ Sports   ☐   Dancing   ☐   Singing
☐ I play music instruments ☐ Yoga   ☐ Arts and crafts ☐ Other_____

How many countries did you visit

☐ I have never travelled   ☐ 1-3   ☐ 4-6   ☐ 7-10   ☐ More than 10

The media channels that I use of daily basis

☐ Facebook ☐ Twitter ☐ WhatsApp ☐ You Tube ☐ Instagram
☐ Snapchat   ☐ Electronic newspapers ☐ Newspapers

☐ TV ☐ Radio ☐ Other _____

Religious habits
☐ I fully committed to religious practice   ☐ I practice religious but not regularly
☐ I am not committed to religious practices

Part two:

Which sentences do you agree with
☐ I am proud to be Jordanian
☐ I am a tribe member and I am proud of it
☐ I feel responsible to defend a tribe member or a friend if there is a fight
☐ I am an activist
☐ I volunteer whenever I get the chance
☐ I am unhappy with the government performance
☐ Youth have no voice
☐ Our life in Jordan is unfair
☐ Freedom of expression should be restricted when the topic discussed tackles the government
☐ I wish I could learn dancing or singing but the culture in Jordan
☐ I wish to master a sport but it is difficult in Jordan
☐ I agree to an extent with the beliefs and opinions of my father and mother

Part three

Scenario 1: A new website was established by a group of friends in Jordan, some of the cartoons seem to be joking about sensitive topics such as religion. The Jordanian government has detained two of the main owners and closed their website.
☐ I agree with this action by the government because religion is not a topic to be joked about.
☐ I agree with this action by the government because this could result in conflict in society.
☐ I agree with closing the website but not with the detention of the owners.
☐ I disagree with this action by the government because this is against freedom of expression.
Other _____

Scenario 2: You were asked to make suggestions to improve the school curricula in Jordan, what elements would you change.
☐ Add content that improves critical thinking and minimise elements that require memorising.
☐ Remove religious content from scientific books.
☐ Keep religious content, but add information about other religions and philosophy.
☐ Add more cultural content, such as arts, music.
Other _____

Scenario 3: Saed bought a classical music concert ticket for JD10. Two days before the event he heard that the conductor might also be a member in an international group that

defends LBGT rights. Saed is unsure if the story about the organizer is true. In your opinion what should Saed do?

☐ Go to the event, because the information could be wrong about the conductor.

☐ Go to the event because even if the organizer is a member of this organization, it is not a problem.

☐ Not go to the event because defending such a cause is wrong.

Other _____

Scenario 4: Two days after the concert, there was news that the conductor was attacked by five people who also heard the news and were offended.

☐ I agree with the action of the group, because such people should be stopped.

☐ I understand the action of the group, that defending such a cause is wrong, but I disagree with the use of violence.

☐ I disagree with his action of the group because I am against all forms of violence.

☐ I disagree with his action of the group because there is nothing wrong with defending the rights of LGBT.

Other _____

Scenario 5: Ahmad is a Jordanian of 22 years old. He left to join a terrorist group in Syria. Why did he leave and join the terrorist group?

☐ He felt that the group's ideology represents him, he has the right to join such a group.

☐ He has mental problems, that is the only reason a person can make such a decision.

☐ He was brainwashed by an extremist group.

☐ He was influenced by peers who are extremists.

☐ The bad economic situation drove him to leave and fight for a radical group.

☐ To stand against the Arab and foreign injustice in our countries.

Other _____