

**Dept of Theology & Religious
Studies**

FOR THE HOME OFFICE



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

The Roots, Practices and Consequences of Terrorism

A Literature Review of Research in the Arts & Humanities

Final Report

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1. Executive Summary

1.1 Background

This report contains a literature review of Arts and Humanities research on the roots, practices and consequences of terrorism with an annotated bibliography. Books and articles referred to in the report are linked electronically to citations and abstracts in the bibliography. Guidance notes for [using this report in electronic mode](#) can be found at the beginning of the document. Keywords which can be used for searching the report and bibliography (using the “Find” function in MS Word), are listed in the [Appendix](#).

The literature review was carried out by a team at the University of Leeds between March and October 2006. The aim of the review was to identify relevant and informative Arts and Humanities research irrespective of whether or not it addressed the subject of terrorism directly. Bearing this in mind, as well as the short duration and part-time nature of the project, we note that the review is neither exhaustive nor systematic. We have pursued a number of routes into the literature, using various bibliographical and electronic searches, and taken advice from experts. Although the review is restricted largely to the Arts and Humanities literature, we have consulted key texts from other disciplines in which reference has been made to issues of culture and identity. A full account of the methodology used is presented in the [Introduction](#) which also discusses our usage of [terms](#) such as “terrorism”, “Islamism” and “fundamentalism”, and describes the [structure of the report](#).

The report focuses on the importance of culture and identity for understanding the roots, practices and consequences of terrorism. It includes the following:

- a [review](#), which maps the literature and is hyperlinked to an [annotated bibliography](#);
- a [framework](#) of contributory cultural factors;
- an [analysis](#) of the literature in response to stated Home Office interests;
- [recommendations](#) for future research and policy implications;
- an annotated alphabetical [bibliography](#) with abstracts;
- a [short bibliography](#) of other recently identified works, without abstracts;
- and a list of [keywords](#).

The main findings and recommendations are presented immediately below.

1.2 The Literature Review

Reference is made to the quantity and quality of [the literature available](#) for consideration. The review then considers [single-issue movements](#), the importance of [cosmologies and worldviews](#), the contested issue of [fundamentalism](#), the context of [secularisation](#), and the subject of [religion and violence](#) in general before turning to a

discussion of [Islam](#). This religion provides the focus for the report, both because of the expertise of the team and its prominence in contemporary debates and concerns relating to terrorism. [Islam and Islamism in global, postcolonial context](#) are examined before attention is turned to [Islam and Muslims in Britain](#). [Religious leadership and authority](#) and [radical Islam](#) are discussed in particular.

The sample of the literature examined illustrates that a strong commitment to a highly dichotomised, conflictual and eschatological [world-view](#) (or sacred cosmology) is routinely both a pre-cursor to, and justification for, acts of violence. This tends to be coupled with a [fundamentalist](#) or sectarian approach to belief and practice although, crucially, *neither definitively predicts the move to violence*.

Understanding the distinctiveness of specific contexts and the dynamics of the responses they evoke is essential. In modernity, a key shaping factor in social change is [secularisation](#). For some, this is experienced as “crisis” and the erosion of values. However, such experience varies greatly locally and globally, both within and without Western societies, according to differences of ethnicity, gender, generation and social class, as well as in relation to differentials in access to power and communal memories.

In this regard an equally contextualised *understanding of the category of ‘religion’* (including the different ‘uses’ and ‘abuses’ of discourses and practices of ‘religion’ by differently positioned social actors) is essential. The accumulated *religious capital* of a tradition will be significant in determining that response, but only insofar as it is accessible. In this respect, contextualised accounts of [leadership and authority](#) structures are of central importance to questions of transmission.

1.3 A framework of cultural factors

The review generated a list of potential [contributory factors](#) pertaining to terrorism, though the causal status of these is not clear in the literature as it stands. In particular, it was noted that, as a whole, the literature remained ambiguous on the subject of *the transition to violence*.

- ideological/religious movements and their stages of development;
- “fundamental commitment” which may not be exposed to challenge;
- religious leadership and authority structures; charisma of leaders;
- young people’s subculture/s; masculinities;
- conversion and “reversion”; the attraction of young people to ideological/religious movements;
- worldview/sacred cosmology, including beliefs related to,
 - millennialism/apocalypse/eschatology
 - self-sacrifice, martyrdom, suicide
 - war, jihad
 - afterlife, destiny;
- inviolability or “sacredness” of religious traditions;
- translocal, global circulation (ideas, population movements, social ties);

- historical circumstances and events and their contemporary role (memory, symbol, imagination, invention of tradition);
- lack of religious literacy and religious capital in society at large, especially among young people;
- contextual factors which marginalize and/or disempower religious groups in general or some religious groups in particular.

1.4 An analysis of the literature in response to stated Home Office interests

Having mapped the relevant literature, the team then turned its attention to the [interests expressed by the Home Office](#) on [extremism](#), the [markers of extremist views](#), and on the [reduction, pre-empting and blocking](#) of such views. The following key points were noted, and discussed in more detail.

1.4.1 [On extremism](#)

The meaning of the term “extremism” is neither univocal nor transparent.

Three different types of “extremism” are noted: behavioural, religious, political.

Taking behavioural “extremism” as primary, it is easier to trace the association backwards from known terrorist involvement to motivating and legitimating religious and political beliefs in a specific case, than it is to be confident of tracing a causal connection the other way around that would apply in the generality of cases.

It is not at present possible to identify specific religious and political views that will necessarily and in all cases lead to an involvement in terrorism.

The literature does not pay adequate attention to the question of whether beliefs might be a consequence of and follow behaviour (involvement in terrorism) as much as precede and determine it.

The literature is largely silent on the point of transition to violence.

1.4.2 Identifying [markers of extremist views](#) – towards risk assessment

The literature suggests a set of potential markers as strongly associated with terrorist action on which further research is needed. These markers attest to the importance of the nature and strength of beliefs vis-à-vis terrorism.

- A deep and incontestable sense of conviction;
- An oppositional and dichotomous world-view (cosmology);

- Worldview justified by appeal to legitimating authority external to/transcending the situation (God, religious scriptures, traditions, fundamental human rights or values);
- The present condition/field of action is situated in the cosmic struggle between good and evil;
- A sense of urgency and symbolic import is given to action in the present;
- The field of present action takes on the character of an emergency situation, in which normal moral codes regulating and limiting action are suspended and emergency forms of action legitimated or even demanded;
- A conflation of the fields of human and divine agency (this is God's action) which further removes action from normal moral and legal restraints;
- A sense of some basic injustice, which is non-accidental (i.e., it expresses the core values, true nature of society and is irredeemable), and which reinforces the sense of opposition/dichotomy – “clash of worlds”;
- An absence of common ground with ‘others’ allowing meaningful dialogue with other world views;
- A sense that all members of the ‘other’ group are involved and implicated in the opposition to the good, and so legitimate targets: there is no “innocence”.

The literature also stresses the importance of context and the difficulty of generalising from one case to another. It is precisely the situatedness of religion by context, however, that may explain why, in one setting, religiously and politically radicalised adherents are inhibited from taking a terrorist path, where in another the inhibitions appear weak and are relatively easily overcome.

1.4.3 [Reducing, pre-empting, blocking](#)

The literature discusses the nature of local religious leadership and authority and its significance.

The importance of tackling the lack of social capital amongst Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities is noted, as is the importance of working with Muslim communities regarding the provision of contextually relevant religious leadership.

The literature attests to both the lack of religious literacy among the population at large, and the specific lack of literacy – in terms of the complexities of their own traditions – of young Muslims.

See also [policy implications](#), below.

1.5 Recommendations for further research and policy implications

The review of the literature – and the gaps revealed by it – suggested the following areas were in need of [further research](#).

- the stages of development of “extremist” or “radical” ideological or religious movements (more case studies needed and review of existing studies);
- the relationship between belief and behaviour: on causality, agency, and the explanatory power of religious beliefs and practices;
- different types of “extremism” (behavioural, religious, political);
- the markers of “extremist” views in light of the transition to violence;
- theologies of terror and terrorism (Islamic, Christian and other);
- conversion to Islam in Britain in the wider context of conversion to new religious movements and youth movements in general;
- Asian male masculine subcultures in the wider context of popular culture in order to identify similarities and differences;
- Wahhabi and Salafi groups in the UK;
- circulating global media (news, videos, speeches etc) and how they contribute to the way people construct realities;
- religious perceptions of the relationship between divine agency and human agency and destiny;
- the perception, imagination and re-invocation of the history of Christian-Muslim relations (from the Crusades to 9/11);
- religious literacy in the UK: the lack of it, need for it, and provision of it.

A number of [policy implications](#) were also noted, as follows.

The literature, both scholarly and journalistic, suggests that more measures are needed to support open debate and discussion among Muslims in Britain, particularly young people. Universities and schools might have roles to play in this.

The literature suggests that, with regard to religious leadership, there is a particular need for more men and women who have studied the Qur’anic interpretation and the complexity of Islamic traditions in depth and who are capable of transmitting these to young Muslims in order to counter both the reliance on recitation at the expense of understanding, and the uninformed acceptance of extremist interpretations.

Both of these issues may have implications for the training of imams and Muslim youth workers.

The literature also suggests support for the existing agenda in relation to the training of imams, but with due attention to the capacity of Muslim communities in Britain to deliver it given their limited social and economic capital, the financial implications and the needs of an older generation.

Those sources which focus on the frustrations of young British Muslims and their response to global issues suggest, explicitly or implicitly, that such young people feel their voices are unheard. More opportunities for young people to speak and be listened to may be needed.

The literature suggests that there is a need to improve religious literacy at many levels, not least of all among decision-makers, policy-makers and the media. This would include the following:

- contextualised knowledge about religions (religions differ from one another and are internally differentiated according to time and place);
- understanding the importance of religion for people's identities;
- understanding the complex relationship between race, religion and ethnicity;
- understanding more about the nature of "secular" society, beliefs and values and their relationship to religion;
- plus a willingness to think about and debate in public that which is "sacred" (to religious and secular groups and individuals), thus challenging the assumption of political ("sacred") correctness surrounding religion.

2. Introduction

2.1 Focus and methodology

This report builds upon, and to a certain extent is shaped by, the Interim Report submitted in May 2006.¹ A key finding of our initial research was that culture and identity play an important role in the roots, practices and consequences of terrorism. As a result, this report focuses on the study of culture and identity as a field in which the Arts and Humanities can prove of unique benefit to understanding terrorism. The review of the literature took place on a part-time basis over six months with discussion, input and comment from both the research team and other relevant academics.² Mat Francis was employed as research assistant. He came to the

¹ Salient points from the Interim Report (presented in May) have been included within the main body of the literature review (Section 3 below).

² Other scholars consulted were Dr Philip Lewis, Peace Studies, University of Bradford (Christian-Muslim relations; Islam in contemporary Britain and Pakistan; community

research with previous experience of working on policy-oriented projects, and with research interests in religion in contemporary Britain and religion, violence and death. The project was managed by a team from the University of Leeds [Dept of Theology & Religious Studies](#): Professor [Kim Knott](#) (Director of AHRC [Diasporas, Migration and Identities Programme](#), with previous experience of policy-oriented research on religion), [Dr Alistair McFadyen](#) (Christian studies; religion, public order and policing – also a serving officer in W. Yorkshire Police) and [Dr Seán McLoughlin](#) (Islam and Muslims in contemporary Europe; South Asian Studies).

The methodology for this study builds upon initial seminars held in May 2006 which sampled aspects of the literature available within the Arts and Humanities.³ The seminars focused on ‘Religion and violence’ and ‘Islamic Studies, with particular reference to Britain’, with additional input from colleagues with specialisms in new movements, environmentalism, religion in Africa and Christian theology and ethics. Later in the project information was sought from scholars with special interests in the history of biological warfare, the language of war, the training of religious specialists, and religious communities, interfaith issues and community cohesion. Where research falling within other disciplines, but especially the social sciences, has been relevant, we have included it in our discussion. However, the review focuses primarily on the contributions emerging from Theology and Religious Studies and History, and to a lesser extent Philosophy, Language and Literature studies and Media studies.

The collection of references for review was undertaken by means of several approaches. References were collected from various members of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Leeds, and from those they consulted. Several substantial bibliographies were identified (one provided by a historian of war studies, one from a major reader on terrorism ([Whittaker, 2003](#)), and an electronic one on religion and violence ([Bellinger](#)) and their references followed up. In addition, keyword searches were conducted of library collections (University of Leeds; University of Southampton), bibliographical databases (e.g. ATLA), key journals (e.g. *Terrorism and Political Violence*), new publication lists (e.g. Routledge, Hurst), and electronic search engines (e.g. Google Print and Google Scholar). The keywords used most frequently in such searches were “terror”, “terrorism” and “violence”, either alone or in conjunction with “religion”, also “extremism”, “Islamism” and “fundamentalism”. The names of particular movements (such as “Jonestown”, “Aum Shinrikyo”, “Hizb-al-Tahrir”), key terms associated with beliefs, such as “jihad”, “just war” and

cohesion), Professor Ed Spiers, History, University of Leeds (war studies; biological warfare), Dr Sophie Gilliat-Ray, Theology and Religious Studies, University of Cardiff (Islam in Britain; training of religious specialists); references were also provided by Professor Tony McEnery, AHRC (linguistics).

³ In conjunction with the literature review seminars were held early in May 2006 in which all members of the team participated. Other participating academics included Professor Ian Reader from the University of Lancaster (new religious movements; Japanese Studies; religion and terror), and, from the University of Leeds, Professor Philip Mellor (religion and social theory), Dr Kevin Ward (religion and violence; religion in Africa), Dr Emma Tomalin (religion and the environment; South Asian and South East Asian religions), Dr Elizabeth Sirriyeh (Islamic studies), Dr Esther McIntosh (Christian theology and ethics).

“conversion”, and names of major relevant authors (such as [Kepel](#) or [Juergensmeyer](#) or the [Fundamentalism Project](#)) were also used.

Some references came complete with abstracts (though of varying quality and usefulness); others contained only an author, title and basic publication details. In many cases, after reading the work we produced our own abstract even when one was provided by the publisher or journal. However, where we deemed books and articles to be of lesser significance, or where we were unable to obtain them during the period of the research, we included references without further reading, using the abstract provided (where this is the case, this is indicated by the use of quotation marks and an indication of the provenance of the text). The issues of quantity and quality of resources are discussed below. It is important to note, however, that in the timeframe of the research, it was not possible to conduct a fully systematic and in-depth review of all relevant works. Some fields were better mined than others (particularly those relating to religion in light of the expertise of team members, but also in light of predominant H.O. security concerns). Newly published books could not always be accessed in time.⁴ Others could not be traced, even through inter-library loans. (See list of relevant works which have been identified but not yet read or annotated, in [Section 8](#).) Moreover, it is extremely likely that there remain many as yet unidentified books and articles which do not deal explicitly with terrorism but which discuss cultural factors of relevance to its causes, practices or consequences (see list of factors at Section 4 below).

2.2 Meanings and usage of terms

A number of definitions of “terrorism” are extant in the literature under review. Like other key terms for this review - such as “fundamentalism”, “extremism” and “Islamism” – the word “terrorism” is often loaded with emotive content, and defined in ways that suit the needs aims of the specific texts. This leads to significant variations in definition-in-use. We have not attempted to resolve the conflicts in use, nor to impose our own definition on the field. That would have detracted from the intention of this study, which has been to sample the literature available within the parameters already discussed. Moreover, we have also included as significant works which either avoid the word in favour of a cognate term, or do not concern themselves directly with what might be considered terrorist acts, insofar as they nonetheless provide indirect illumination on issues that our reading of the ‘core’ literature suggests are central to an understanding of the roots, causes and consequences of terrorism.

That said, we have been sensitive to the varying connotations of the multivalent key terms as they appear in the texts under consideration. For example, “fundamentalism” receives an almost wholly negative press in public discourse, whilst the idea of being *fundamentally* committed to the aims of a religion is seen as an

⁴ A number of books and particularly articles dated 2006 and some on publishers’ lists with dates of 2005 that had not yet found their way into university libraries remain to be reviewed (see section 8). A few books with earlier dates did not come to light until too late in the project to be followed up.

undeniably positive trait for some adherents of those traditions (e.g. [Akhtar, 1989](#)). It is therefore important to remember that understanding both the structural contexts of a debate and the particular cultural location of any actor or actors within it, is crucial to analysing the 'use' of any given terminology.

2.3 Structure of the report

The following sections are mainly self-explanatory from their headings, however it may help to remember that [Section 3](#) provides a map of the literature with an eye on the points made above. [Sections 4](#) and [5](#) arrange the salient points by the themes that the research team (Section 4) and the Home Office (5) have identified as being of particular relevance to the outcomes of this review. [Section 6](#) contains suggestions for further research and policy implications. An annotated bibliography is provided in [Section 7](#), with further, unannotated references in [Section 8](#) and an appendix of keywords in [Section 9](#).

3. Literature review: mapping what's out there

3.1 The quantity and quality of the literature

The sheer quantity of materials relating to terrorism that are now available immediately strikes the reviewer. Enter "terrorism" into any well-known search engines or on-line bookshops and a bewildering range of books, on-line resource communities, news articles, academic papers and many other resources will appear.⁵ This presents several immediate challenges; first, that quantity is no guarantor of quality and, secondly, that the available resources are increasing at such a formidable rate that it is difficult to draw a line under what has been published for a time-limited study such as this.

Swift decisions had to be made as to the quality of a piece of work to avoid the review becoming bogged down in mediocre submissions that contribute little to knowledge and understanding. For example, whilst some journalistic books do have useful material to offer (e.g. [Davis, 2004](#)), others are of a more populist nature and do not necessarily merit inclusion in this kind of review (e.g. [Philips, 2006](#)). All judgments of this kind are, of course, contestable. We have sought to exclude only texts that are second-hand, presenting information drawn from other sources and those where the judgments and interpretations offered do not appear to be based soundly on the evidence presented. Some of the books found on bestselling lists might not, therefore, feature in this review, either because their content was not judged to be of suitable quality, or because they have come out so recently that there

⁵ At the time of writing (11/09/06) entering the word "terrorism" into www.amazon.co.uk yielded the following search results: 7296 books, 446 DVDs, 17 popular music and 2 VHS tapes.

was no time to include them (see list in [Section 8](#) below). Obviously, we have aimed to keep the reviewed list as up-to-date as possible. We have included some books and articles from the social sciences where these address issues of ideology, belief, culture or identity (e.g. [Aldis and Herd](#), 2006; [Weisbrod](#), 2002) or where they offer useful comparative frames or models (e.g. [Bonneuil and Auriat](#), 2000; [Schmid](#), 2004).

Useful general books on the subject of terrorism include [Whittaker, *The Terrorism Reader*](#) (2003); [Crenshaw, *Terrorism in Context*](#) (1995) (on defining “terrorism” and labelling “terrorists”); Zulaika and Douglass, [Terror and Taboo: The Follies, Fables and Faces Of Terrorism](#) (1996) (a postmodern work which interrogates the use of the concept “terrorism”); [Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*](#) (1999) (a historical study with a useful bibliography); [Sinclair, *An Anatomy Of Terror: A History Of Terrorism*](#) (2003); [Primoratz, *Terrorism: The Philosophical Issues*](#) (2004).

There are also a number of first hand accounts, including books by those involved in terrorism ([Best and Nocella, 2004, *Terrorists or Freedom Fighters? Reflections on the Liberation of Animals*](#)), related to terrorists ([Moussaoui and Bouquillat, 2003, *Zacarias Moussaoui: The Making Of A Terrorist*](#)), or containing interviews with terrorists, their relatives or victims ([Hillyard and Liberty, 1993, *Suspect Community: People’s Experience Of The Prevention Of Terrorism Acts In Britain*](#); [Neuburger and Valentini, 1996, *Women and Terrorism*](#); [Juergensmeyer, 2003, *Terror in the Mind of God*](#); [Davis, 2004, *Martyrs: Innocence, Vengeance And Despair In The Middle East*](#)).

The size and nature of the literature is itself a source of comment. [Mueller \(2005\)](#) argues that a whole industry related to writing about terrorism has come into existence and is, to some extent, self-perpetuating.⁶

The majority of the contemporary literature relates to terrorism in the context of Islam, the Muslim world and its diasporas. This is not surprising given the events that have dominated global attention over the last few years. However, crucially for the purposes of this review, there is still plenty of useful material that does not focus on Islam. We will turn to this material first since it may help to read it without first. We would encourage users primarily interested in the threat currently posed by Islamic terrorism to turn to this section, both to gain perspective, but also because some of the issues identified in this literature might prove to be important in assessing and analysing texts focussed on Islam.

We include in this section some texts that are not directly concerned with terrorism, but which in our judgment are highly suggestive of factors that require engaging with in order to understand the dynamics of terrorist involvement.

⁶ Whilst there were several well-argued criticisms to Mueller’s article (Crenshaw, 2005 and Byman, 2005), none of those in the same issue of the journal *Terrorism and Political Violence* (the title itself a testament to the healthiness of the ‘industry’), disagreed with this point.

3.2 “Single-issue” movements: against the ‘other’

[Naomi Klein's \(2001\) *No Logo*](#), is a case in point. This work critiques the practices of multi-national corporations and does not deal with terrorism. However, in a chapter entitled “Reclaim the Streets,” Klein discusses the events and movements that led to violent anti-corporate clashes on the streets of London and other cities around the world. Both this chapter and the book as a whole provide a potentially fecund insight into the worldview of the anti-corporate/anti-globalisation movement, some members of which articulate moral justifications for disorder and violence. The aims and ideals of anti-corporate protesters are presented powerfully from an ‘insider’s’ perspective. Equally striking, however, is the sharp dichotomisation presented between ‘them’ and ‘us’, of an enemy who is ‘Other’, unjust and more powerful – a worldview which undergirds the language of struggle and of warfare in place of discussion or political persuasion by conventional means.

The worldview of animal rights activists appears similarly constituted. [Best and Nocella's \(2004\) *Terrorists or Freedom Fighters? Reflections On The Liberation Of Animals*](#) includes contributions from activists who openly admit to their involvement in violent action. It is the heightened ‘knowledge’ that they are involved in a fight with an ‘Other’ with whom one cannot engage that is a defining characteristic that may be shared between terrorist movements, be they political, single-issue based or religious. Juergensmeyer (2003) points to this in his excellent book, [Terror in the Mind of God](#), which constructs a number of case studies where religion is associated with violence, including Christian anti-abortionists in the U.S. and Aum Shinrikyo in Japan.

3.3 Cosmologies and world-views

A number of formal characteristics appear to be common features of the worldview of otherwise diverse terrorist movements: it is strongly polarised, bounded and conflictual; clearly delineates and oppositionally divides ‘good’ from ‘evil’, ‘right’ from ‘wrong’. This dichotomous worldview not only identifies experienced injustices but strongly suggests the insufficiency of normal means of redress through conventional political, public or social means – generally because those with other views, the dominant cultural and moral framework of values, other nation’s governments, other cultures are ‘Other’ in a sense that is close to ontological and is certainly moral; incapable of sharing the basic insights and values of the worldview, the ‘Other’ must be opposed and fought, and cannot be negotiated with without surrendering to their opposed worldview. Thus there is the strongest juxtaposition of ‘insider’ against ‘outsider’ who is ‘Other’.

These oppositions are often narrated against a temporal framework in which is juxtaposed the essential opposition between the present corrupt situation and an anticipated ‘good’ future which, because of the sharp discontinuities between them, cannot come through gradual development or evolution.

Hence, the narration of a struggle, whether in the telling of a history or of myths or fables of the ‘sacred’ and ‘profane’. Such can be rhetorical and need not, in themselves, lead to violence. Nevertheless, it is certainly a significant ideological

component of those movements that do go on to justify the use of violence in seeking to turn the present (abhorrent) world 'upside down' or 'inside out' (see Juergensmeyer (2003) [Terror In The Mind Of God](#); Robbins and Palmer (1997) [Millennium, Messiahs And Mayhem: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements](#)).

Moreover, as Hervieu-Léger makes clear in [Religion As A Chain Of Memory](#) (2000), collective memory plays a central role in facilitating the imagining of continuity of religious (or communal) tradition and identity through time, and one aspect of that continuity might involve conflict with 'others'. See, for example, [Vertigans and Sutton](#) (2001) on the role of interpretations of the past in Islamic terrorism and [Kakar](#) (1996) on the creation of "memories" to suit political ends in the sectarian disturbances in India.

The importance of "history" as a resource in contemporary conflicts is evident, of course, in the symbolic resonance of words like "crusade" used by President Bush during the early stages of the "War on Terror" (see Chilton's (2004) discussion of speeches by Bush and bin Laden in [Analysing Political Discourse: Theory And Practice](#).⁷ Specific beliefs and symbols may also play a role in impelling individuals or groups to act violently (see the role of "martyrdom" in [Davis, 2004](#), and [Kermani, 2002](#); the symbolism of ETA incidents in [Dingley and Kirk-Smith, 2002](#), of Muslim politics in [Eickelmann and Piscatori, 1996](#), and of New Religious Movements in [Robbins and Palmer, 1997](#)).

Understanding how such processes work in particular contexts is vital. In this respect, case studies such as those in [Juergensmeyer](#) (2003) and [Reader](#) (2000) on Aum Shinrikyo are invaluable in their charting of specific religious movements from genesis to violent conclusion. Other studies of movements across a variety of different religious traditions include, for example: Abeysekara (2001) [The Saffron Army, Violence, Terror\(ism\): Buddhism, Identity, And Difference In Sri-Lanka](#); Kakar (1996) [The Colors Of Violence: Cultural Identities, Religion, And Conflict](#); Tully and Jacob (1986) [Amritsar: Mrs Gandhi's Last Battle](#); Barnes (2005) [Was The Northern Ireland Conflict Religious?](#); Hall, Schuyler and Trinh, (2000) [Apocalypse Observed: Religious Movements And Violence In North America, Europe And Japan](#); Marty and Appleby (1991) [Fundamentalisms Observed](#) and (1994) [Accounting For Fundamentalisms](#). Further in-depth comparative analysis of such studies could prove especially helpful for understanding the common denominators that seem to predict the turn to violence.

3.4 Fundamentalism

In public discourse, reference to "fundamentalism" tends to gloss over the move from holding a conflictual sacred cosmology to taking violent steps to defend, promote,

⁷ On Christian-Muslim relations past and present, see Goddard (2000) *A history of Christian-Muslim Relations*.

extend it. In the U.S., [The Fundamentalism Project](#)⁸ was a ten-year undertaking by academics from a range of different disciplines. It identified religious fundamentalist movements and attempted to provide an explanatory framework for fundamentalism as a phenomenon. However, it could be argued that a more nuanced approach to fundamentalism than that found within the project is necessary. For example, whilst factors such as charismatic leadership ([Reader, 2000](#)), separatist tendencies ([Reader, 2000](#); [Juergensmeyer, 2003](#); [Almond, Appleby et al, 2003](#)) and dramatic modes of conversion,⁹ are all found within movements that have developed violent outlooks, the same can also be said of mainstream religious traditions.

Indeed, many Evangelical Christians in the United Kingdom could be seen to have an unswerving commitment to their beliefs that correlates with the conventional understanding of “fundamentalism”. However, this does not suggest that there will necessarily be a violent outworking of their faith.¹⁰ The ‘resources’ for a religious tradition to be put to this or that ‘use’ (or ‘abuse’) can only be understood against the particular structural and cultural contexts within which specific human actors operate. A Christian “fundamentalist” in the UK might not feel their belief structures to be sufficiently threatened to consider resorting to violence, but there are cases of Christians pioneering terrorist activity in societies where their values are felt to be especially under siege.¹¹ Likewise, the ‘threat’ from secularity is experienced differently by those Muslims actually living within diasporic communities in the West and those living in Muslim-majority nation-states and yet still exposed to the economic, political and cultural globalisation of the West. [Strong Religion](#) (Almond, Appleby et al, 2003) provides a useful analysis of the different contexts within which various movements operate, such as the level of secularity to be found within a society.¹²

⁸ There were five main works coming out of the project: Marty & Appleby (1991) *Fundamentalisms Observed: a Study Conducted by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, (1993a) *Fundamentalisms and Society: Reclaiming the Sciences, the Family, and Education*, (1993b) *Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Politics, Economies, and Militance*, (1994) *Accounting for Fundamentalism: the Dynamic Character of Movements and* (1995) *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*.

⁹ The case studies noted at 8 above also examine revivalism and conversion but, for a more in-depth analysis, see Franks (2001) *Women and Revivalism in the West*, as well as Al-Qwidi (2002) *Understanding the Stages of Conversion to Islam* and Kose (1996) *Conversion to Islam: A Study of Native British Converts*. Whilst these sources look at conversion and other biographical accounts can be found, for example in Moussaoui (2003) and Sardar (2004), there is not an abundance of literature dealing with the stages of conversion in relation to a violent defence of newly-held values. Wiktorowicz (2005) does give some account of this in relation to al-Muhajiroun.

¹⁰ In the introduction to *Strong Religion*, Almond, Appleby et al. (2003) refer to the first use of the term ‘fundamentalism’ in a 1920 Baptist publication in the U.S. dealing with the author’s desire to defend the ‘fundamentals’ of their beliefs.

¹¹ According to Davis (2004) *Martyrs*, the first female suicide bomber was a Christian from Lebanon. Davis undertakes interviews with two of her family members.

¹² This book also came out of *The Fundamentalism Project* but seems to reflect a development of earlier arguments. For an account of the various models of secularity operational in Europe and its impact on Muslim communities, see Cesari and McLoughlin (2005) *European Muslims and the Secular State*.

3.5 Secularisation

Secularity is an especially significant contextual factor, as many religious groups in the West can feel marginalised and see the values that they consider crucial to everyday living pushed to the margins of public life and of government decision-making. This feeling can be intensified in multi-ethnic societies with a pluralistic citizenship with different religious traditions competing for recognition.¹³ However, the crisis of authority is perhaps most acutely felt in countries where the majority of the population belongs to one religious tradition but, in the context of rapid social change, postcolonial governing elites remain committed to secular-nationalist ideologies. In Egypt or Turkey, for example, religious movements have periodically been systematically excluded from power by authoritarian regimes. Nevertheless, even here, the revival of religion has been evident in nascent civil society organisations, exerting a genuine influence on the nation.¹⁴

Many of the works relating to religion and violence, fundamentalism, or even its apparent resurgence, share a common assumption: that contemporary religious movements fly in the face of the secularisation of modern society. Given such a premises, the apparent revitalisation of contemporary religious movements has taken many people by surprise, and suggests that the secularisation thesis itself bears critical examination. [Berger](#) (1999)¹⁵ is among those theorists who challenge the validity of this thesis, whilst others suggest that either we are witnessing the reversal of secularisation (e.g. [Kepel](#), 1994 and [Hadden & Shupe](#), 1986) or that its usefulness as an evaluative tool is only relevant to religion in the West ([Beit-Hallahmi](#), 2002).

The adoption of the secularisation thesis as the main paradigm for the study and analysis of contemporary religion not only falters due to its predictive failure outside of the European/Western¹⁶ context; it has also been at least partly responsible for the lack of “religious capital” in modern societies. [Moussaoui](#) (2003), [Lewis](#) and [Hauerwas](#) (1992) in different ways highlight the significance a lack of depth in religious understanding.¹⁷

¹³ Though, arguably, interfaith dialogue has sought to demonstrate a number of areas of agreement in the value-structures of the major religious traditions.

¹⁴ In *The failure of political Islam* Roy (1994) looks at some of the Islamic movements that have aimed to set-up religious governments and failed.

¹⁵ This collection of articles, *The Desecularisation of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*, is edited by Berger and challenges the secularisation thesis which has dominated the contemporary Western academic approach to religion.

¹⁶ There is some debate as to the validity of the secularisation thesis for understanding the U.S., so it could be more accurate to limit its application to Europe and not ‘The West’. Warner (1993), for example, points to much higher levels of religiosity in the U.S. than in Europe and suggests a new paradigm for the study of religion in the former.

¹⁷ Moussaoui (2003) states that a lack of proper Islamic instruction leaves young European Muslims lacking in the religious understanding necessary to recognise and resist extremist interpretations of Islam. Lewis (a.p.) also makes reference to this problem. Writing from

3.6 Religion and violence

A common starting point for explorations of the relationships between culture and violence is Benjamin Barber's (1995) [Jihad versus McWorld](#). This study (controversially) employs the specifically Islamic terminology of "jihad" to describe the general defence of particularistic religious, national and ethnic identifications in the "McWorld" context of the culturally homogenising globalisation of capitalism. In this, Barber lends overwhelming explanatory power to the forces of globalisation and modernity, largely ignoring the distinctive histories and internal dynamics that shape specific cultural and religious systems.¹⁸

One influential scholar who does explore the question of how violence might be related to the sacred is René Girard.¹⁹ A key idea in Girard's (2005) [Violence and the Sacred](#) is "mimetic rivalry", which suggests that at the root of conflict is competition between cultures, a desire to imitate and acquire the same things as the 'other', by violence if necessary. A prime example of this would be the traditional "mimetic rivalry" between Islam and Christianity ([Haleem, 1998](#); [Goddard, 2000](#)) or between Christians and Jews ([Abulafia, 2002](#)). Indeed, a significant aspect of contemporary Muslim experience could be said to be the 'decline' of Muslim civilisation relative to 'the (Christian) West'.²⁰

Between the extremes of explanations which emphasise either "external" social, economic and political factors or "internal" cultural and religious ones, Zizek's (2002) [Welcome to the Desert of the Real](#) and Virillio's (2002) [Ground Zero](#) suggest that, while events such as 9/11 may have been provoked by the structuring of a new world order by the West, Islam as a particular tradition already encompassed a specific myth of origin and a set of historical resources that could be used to legitimate violence.²¹

Such a view would be countered by other writers who would cite religious resources that could be used for the development of peaceful solutions. Thus, it is important to

within a Christian context, Hauerwas (1992) makes this same response in reference to the lack of awareness and opposition to movements such as the People's Temple.

¹⁸ This problem is also evident in Marty and Appleby's massive Fundamentalism project based at Chicago which sees terrorism simply as an aberrant reaction to globalisation and all religions as being peaceful in some sort of normative sense. See <http://www.press.uchicago.edu/Complete/Series/FP.html>.

¹⁹ Girard is author of *Violence and the Sacred* and convenor of the Colloquium on Violence and Religion <http://theol.uibk.ac.at/cover/>. Details of an associated journal, *Contagion*, can be found at <http://theol.uibk.ac.at/cover/contagion/x1.html>. Another author who eschews the idea that religion does no more than provide legitimacy to terrorist movements and discusses the "transcendent quality of political violence" is Weisbrod (2002) in his article 'Fundamentalist violence: Political violence and political religion in modern conflict'.

²⁰ See also the work of Samuel Huntington (2002) and Bernard Lewis (2003).

²¹ An excellent internet resource on religion and violence is the bibliography compiled by Charles Bellinger, http://www.wabashcenter.wabash.edu/Internet/hedgehog_viol_bib.htm

refer to studies which give an indication of the textual and theological resources regarding violence and peace in particular traditions (for example, Haleem, 1998, [The Crescent And The Cross](#); Burns, 1996, [War and its Discontents](#); Deegalle, 2006, [Buddhism, Conflict And Violence In Modern Sri Lanka](#); McCormick, 2006, [Violence: Religion, Terror and War](#)).²² However, some commentators assume that religion is (and therefore all religious traditions) are inherently 'good' and non-violent, and that the legitimations lent to violence represent therefore abhorrent mutations of their 'true' message.²³ An a priori assumption of this sort is hard to defend, except on the pragmatic grounds which makes such a view highly attractive to government.²⁴ It is, however, as problematic for the practice of governance as it is for academic scholarship to abstract 'what traditions say' from their actual, lived and diverse appropriation by religious actors and communities in specific structural contexts and cultural locations. Well intentioned non-Muslims can be very quick to assert radical discontinuities between the versions of Islam articulated by terrorists and 'real' Islam which is peaceful, tolerant and assumed to be entirely discontinuous with violent Islam in its analysis of the West as well as in its advocacy of violence. The a priori assumption of such sharp discontinuities, if counter-factual, has important consequences for non-Muslim's capacity to hear what non-violent Islam addresses to us. It may also prove to be self-defeating where the identification of 'good' (i.e., peaceful) versions of a tradition and adherents may be represented as attempts by 'outsiders' to manipulate (rather than appreciate) 'the' tradition or quiescent groups of adherents who may be depicted as 'collaborators' who have lost their religious identity.

The ambiguous relationship between religion and violence, its capacity to be enlisted in support or resistance to violence, or yet its use in the promotion of peaceful resolution of conflicts, is a matter of discussion in a number of sources. Haar (2005), [Religion: Source of Conflict or Resource for Peace?](#) gives examples from Liberia and Lebanon where religious initiatives have contributed to peace efforts. Similarly, Lewis (a.p.) [Faith in the City](#) (not to be confused with the official Church of England document of the same title) details the efforts of religious communities in Bradford to avoid further conflict in this city. Both authors also make useful suggestions as to how their examples could be modelled for wider benefit.

²² See also works which discuss Christian conceptions of "just war" (Burns, 1996; Cole, 2002; Hauerwas, 1992; Johnson, 1984; Kelsay and Johnson, 1991; McCormick, 2006; O'Donovan, 2003; Ramsey, 2002), and Islamic debates about "jihad" (Barber, 1995; Esposito, 2002; Hashmi, 2002; Kelsay and Johnson, 1991; Lawrence, 1991; Devji, 2005).

²³ This is a problem inherent in the Fundamentalism project which sees terrorism simply as an aberrant reaction to globalisation and all religions as being peaceful in some sort of normative sense. See <http://www.press.uchicago.edu/Complete/Series/FP.html>.

²⁴ Such an a priori assumption is an understandable reflection of the liberal values of tolerance and inclusiveness which mark public utterance of government spokespersons, as well as underwriting the desire that government and public agencies fund an account of, say, Islam, which helps adherents to resist involvement in terror and which offers the wider public an alternative account of non-violent Islam. At the same time, government agencies understandably seek to work with and to support members of religious communities who articulate positive visions of membership of the host society.

3.7 Islam

3.7.1 Islam(ism) in a Postcolonial Context

Much of the wider discussion of religion and violence focuses on so-called “Islamic fundamentalism” or “Islam(ism)”. Users should always be cautious of presentations of Islam (or any other lived tradition), Islamism or Islamic fundamentalism as uniform, univocal or monolithic. Such caution necessitates bypassing many of the more popular books dealing with Islam. Even more scholarly accounts, including Huntington’s (2002) [*The Clash of Civilisations*](#) and Lewis, B. (2003) [*The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror*](#), lack important nuance.²⁵ By contrast, excellent initial orientations may be found in [Rippin, 2005](#), *Muslims: Their Religious Beliefs And Practices*, while more specialised accounts of “Islamic fundamentalism”/“Islamism” are provided by a number of mainly French scholars: Kepel (1994) [*The Revenge of God*](#) and (2002) [*Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*](#); Roy (1994) [*The Failure of Political Islam*](#) and (2004) [*Globalised Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*](#); Burgat (2003) [*Face To Face with Political Islam*](#); Esposito (2002) [*Unholy War: Terror in the Name Of Islam*](#).

[Rippin \(2005\)](#) reports that “fundamentalism” in Islam has flourished during times of crisis, with a perceived loss of religious and moral “purity” often linked to social and political decline.²⁶ In both pre-modern and modern times the twin targets of “fundamentalists” have been: i) the rigidity of the ‘ulama’ and the legal schools (where taqlid or imitation of previous generations eventually leads to the stagnation of tradition); and ii) the corruption associated with such “un-Islamic” innovation (bid‘a) as visitation at Sufi saints’ tombs, intercession and participation in ecstatic rituals. By contrast, strategies of revival have suggested a “return” to the scriptural “simplicity” of the Qur’an, Sunna and the practice of al-salaf al-salih (the pious ancestors of the Prophet’s own generation and the ‘Followers of the Followers’ of the subsequent generation). To a greater or lesser extent, this has been coupled with ijtihad (personal ‘effort’ in interpretation on matters not covered by the Qur’an or Sunna), hijra (migration from a context controlled and defined by “unbelievers”, where it is not possible to practise faith authentically) and jihad, interior but also more exterior “struggles” with the self and with society, the latter sometimes culminating in armed political activism.

²⁵ For alternatives to Huntington’s approach, see Halliday (2001) *Two Hours That Shook the World : Causes and Consequences*, Al-Rasheed (2005) *Transnational connections and the Arab Gulf*, and Eickelmann and Piscatori (1996) *Muslim Politics*, studies which provide a view of ‘Islam’ with many competing variations and interests due to ethnicity, nationality and so on.

²⁶ Understood by Rippin (2005) as a timeless attempt to ‘contract’ the ‘expansive’ tendency of tradition, ‘fundamentalism’ can be seen as a pervasive theme in Islamic history from the early secessionists, the Khawarij, to pre-modern movements such as Wahhabism. What perhaps distinguishes modern expressions from those of previous periods is that the emphasis on ‘contraction’ over ‘expansion’, has increasingly moved from the margins towards the centre of Islamic discourse.

Since the so-called “Islamic resurgence” of the 1970s, and especially the Iranian revolution of 1979, “fundamentalism” has been most often associated with the modern ideology of political Islam or “Islamism”. Rather than “modernising” Islam (like the liberals of colonial times whom they would eventually eclipse),²⁷ since the early twentieth century Islamists have refuted any notion of a Western “copyright” on modernity (see Sayyid, 1997, [A Fundamental Fear](#)). Instead, they have appropriated and “Islamised” it, “ideologising religion” and drawing as appropriate on modern forms of political organisation and communications technology. With post-colonial independence, and the subsequent failure of corrupt and authoritarian secular-nationalist regimes to deliver “earthly utopias” to the Muslim masses, Islamists sought to fill the vacuum in political legitimacy with appeals to more “indigenous” forms of cultural nationalism and identity. Kemalists in Turkey and Nasserists in Egypt (and Arab lands) looked ‘outside’ either to Capitalism or Socialism for inspiration, incorporating tame ‘statist’ Islamic scholars and repressing Islamist activists as necessary. Islamists, by contrast, typically called for an (equally authoritarian and utopian) Islamic state, *shari’a* alone being sufficient to regulate public life. Kepel ([1994](#); [2002](#)) and others argue that this appeal to religious certainty has been attractive to young, secularly and especially technically educated, lower middle class constituencies. In any case, different methodologies have been employed by activists in pursuit of the Islamic state, with “reformists” having sought power through an accommodation to the established political process. By contrast, “radicals” have sought to overthrow the powers that be, with “revolutionaries” sanctioning armed uprising as a means to achieve this end.

In the mid-1980s and 1990s, given irreducible social, economic and political realities, “reforming” elements within Islamist movements such as the Muslim Brothers in Egypt, are widely understood to have institutionalized within the mainstream of nascent Muslim civil societies. [Burgat \(2003\)](#), for example, maintains that reformism’s “fundamentalist core” has been transformed and is embracing much broader and re-intellectualized dynamics in the reconstruction of Muslim identity. Islamists are being credited with fostering some of the conditions necessary for “democratisation” by bringing previously excluded groups into the political process. However, as Roy ([1994](#); [2002](#)) suggests, this accommodation to the mainstream and the logic of the nation-state has also, in part, created the space for ideologically more conservative but politically more radical “neo-fundamentalists”, including deterritorialised supranational militant jihadi Wahhabis, to take up a global religious war against all “unbelievers”.

3.7.2 Contextualising Islam and Muslims in Britain

Turning to the literature on Islam and Muslims in the UK, both “structural” and “cultural” explanations of the roots of “radicalisation” amongst Muslim diasporas have been identified. In terms of the former, important arguments concerning the impact

²⁷ See C. Kurzman, (ed.) (1998), *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook*.

on Muslim youth of socio-economic deprivation, exclusion and racism predominate. Such issues have been explored most consistently throughout the 1990s and 2000s by Tariq Modood, not least in a recent collection, [Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain](#) (2005).²⁸

Any discussion of Islam and Muslims in Britain should also be placed within the context of their portrayal within public discourse. Studies of the media show that the common perception of Islam in this country is extremely negative and that, since '9/11' and '7/7' especially, Muslims have found themselves the focus of unprecedented public scrutiny. See, for example, [Baker and McEnerny \(2005\)](#) 'A Corpus-Based Approach to Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers In UN and Newspaper Texts',²⁹ [Baker \(2006\)](#) 'Representations of Islam in British Broadsheet and Tabloid Newspapers 1999-2005'; [Poole \(2002\)](#) 'Reporting Islam: Media Representations of British Muslims'.³⁰ The negative representation of Islam and Muslims in the public sphere is also picked up by [Abbas \(2005\)](#) 'Muslim Britain: Communities Under Pressure', [Geaves et al \(2004\)](#) 'Islam and the West Post 9/11' and, especially, [the Runnymede Trust \(1997\)](#) 'Islamophobia: a challenge for us all'.³¹

3.7.3 *The Local and the Global*

Beyond the immediate context of the British state and UK society, the experiences of marginalised Muslim diasporas have also been structured by globalisation and the (re)Islamization of politics and identity in the postcolonial Muslim world since the 1970s and 1980s.³² As [Chetan Bhatt \(1997\)](#) suggests in *Liberation and Purity*, the global circulation of Islamized identities (sometimes associated with authoritarian religious movements) has inevitably impacted upon the way in which Muslim diasporas in Britain construct their identities. Furthermore, global circulation of money, ideas and media can contribute directly to behaviour and beliefs ([al-Rasheed, 2005](#); [Burr and Collins, 2006](#); [Cole, B., 2006](#)).

²⁸ See also, Modood, T. et al, *Ethnic minorities in Britain: diversity and disadvantage* (1997). Professor Modood, Dr Claire Dwyer and others are also currently undertaking research into social capital with a focus on young Pakistani men and women, see <http://www.bris.ac.uk/sociology/leverhulme/> for details. Also, see earlier studies by Jacobson (1998), Macey (1999) and Alexander (2000).

²⁹ Although, this article does not focus on Muslims, it merits inclusion as the debate around immigration (rightly or wrongly) is often tied up with discussions of Muslim communities. In addition, this corpus-based approach could be usefully applied to several bodies of text, for example, British central and local government publications where it would help with an understanding of the kind of message being (perhaps unintentionally) conveyed.

³⁰ More generally on the relationship of media and language to war and global terror, see Lewis, J. (2005) and Thorne (2006).

³¹ But for a discussion of outsider representations of the West, see Kamalipour (1999) and El-Enany (2006).

³² For example, the global impact of Zia's regime in Pakistan, the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the Afghan resistance to Soviet invasion, Sadat's assassination in Egypt and so on. See Kepel (1993, 2002), Roy (1994) and Burgat (2003).

Ultimately, these forces converged during the Rushdie Affair of 1989-1990, projecting global conflicts onto the local experience of Muslim Britain, a process that would continue unabated during the 1990s with the first Gulf War and then the war in Bosnia, as well as the ongoing conflicts in Palestine and Kashmir.³³ In such moments of crisis, imagining the global *umma* (community of Islam) provides some diasporic Muslims with a focus for identity.

For example, Pnina Werbner (1994), '[Diaspora and Millennium: British-Pakistani Global-Local Fabulations Of The Gulf War](#)' writes about the way in which Manchester Pakistanis 'supported' Saddam Hussein during the first Gulf War, deploying an 'anti-local' strategy of protest against their own marginalisation in Britain. More recently, in the wake of '9/11', she has once again underlined the ways in which even Muslim "moderates" who have no intention of taking up radical agendas, may produce utopian and millennial rhetoric about "Islam" and "the West", narrating polarised fables and conspiracy theories about "good" and "evil" ('[The predicament of diaspora and Millennial Islam](#)' [2002]).

3.7.4 Islam, Religious Leadership and Authority

Cultural explanations of "radicalisation" attentive to the specifics of religious and ethnic traditions have also been advanced by scholars such as Philip Lewis (1996; 2002); author of perhaps the most significant text on Muslims in the UK to date, *Islamic Britain* (2002). In a study of the *'ulama* in Bradford, he identifies religious authority as a problem within British Muslim communities.³⁴ He argues that South Asian heritage Muslim leaderships and institutions have failed in the task of transmitting Islam in a contextually relevant way. Specifically, there is a significant difference in culture between "imported" religious imams and British-born Muslims.³⁵

As a result, possibilities have opened up for "radical" movements. In part, such failures can be explained by the weak social capital of some South Asian Muslim heritage communities; that is, the way in which "underdeveloped" contexts of

³³ On the Rushdie Affair see Akhtar (1989) *Be careful with Muhammad*; Appignanesi & Maitland (1989) *The Rushdie File*; Ruthven (1990) *A Satanic Affair*, as well as Qureshi (1989) *The Politics Of The Satanic Verses: Unmasking Western Attitudes*. On the war in Bosnia, see McLoughlin (1996) *In the Name of the Umma*.

³⁴ *'Ulama* is the plural of *'alim* (religious scholar) but in Britain essentially refers to those men who have completed some formalised study in an Islamic seminary (*dar al 'ulum*). Their roles in the Muslim community vary from humble prayer leader (*imam*) to expert in Islamic law (*mufti*).

³⁵ Jacobson (1998) *Islam in transition : religion and identity among British Pakistani youth* is an excellent case study of the identity strategies of young, mostly well-educated, Pakistani heritage Muslims in London.

immigrant origin continue to have consequences of “underdevelopment” in the UK.³⁶ However, Lewis also points to a dispersed (as opposed to centralised) structure of religious authority in Islam that would seem to allow for marginal “radical” figures to capture the centre of attention, not least under conditions of globalisation.

The issue of professional religious training is therefore of great relevance. One scholar who has studied this area, though not without difficulties, is Gilliat-Ray (2006) ‘Educating the ‘Ulama’. Indeed, her work shows that various factors, including the current political climate, will lead some Muslims to choose not to participate in research (‘Closed worlds: (not) Accessing Deobandi dar ul-uloom in Britain’ [2005]).

3.7.5 “Radical” Islam in Britain

The detail on the practices of specific Islamic movements advocating terror is confined mainly to an emerging literature on “radical” networks and cells in Europe.³⁷ However, scholars are only now beginning to evaluate such works, some of which are more “popular” and “journalistic” (e.g. Burke, 2004; Davis, 2004). More broadly, the debate about radicalisation can be contextualised with reference to Middle Eastern heritage Islamic movements and organisations which came to prominence in the UK in the wake of conflicts during and after the Rushdie Affair.

Under the leadership of Kalim Siddiqui and with funding from Iran, the Muslim Institute was founded in the 1970s, but came to prominence only with its championing of Khomeini’s fatwa, its launch of the so-called Muslim Parliament and support for the jihad in Bosnia. No major study of the significance of the Muslim Parliament has been undertaken, although some insights can be gleaned from Ziauddin Sardar’s (2004) autobiography, [*Desperately Seeking Paradise: Journeys of a Sceptical Muslim*](#).

The history of the organisation that perhaps assumed the Muslim Institute’s mantle of “radicalism” in the UK, Hizb al-Tahrir (the Party of Liberation), is better documented. Suha Taji-Farouki’s 1996 book, [*A Fundamental Quest*](#), details how in the 1990s this organisation, which seeks to revive the umma and liberate Muslims living under systems of unbelief through non-violent means, gained an audience amongst British-Asian Muslims at university.³⁸ The movement has its origins in Palestine, where its

³⁶ See the commentary on Lewis’ work in McLoughlin (2005). A related topic is that of Asian Muslim masculinities, something explored in ways by Claire Alexander (2000) and Marie Macey (1999).

³⁷ For a scholarly work see Quintan Wiktorowicz, *Radical Islam Rising: Muslim Extremism in the West* (2005), and for a more journalistic account see Melanie Phillips, *Londonistan* (2006).

³⁸ See, for example, Hizb al-Tahrir Britain, 2002, *The West’s weapons of mass destruction and colonialist foreign policy*.

aims were the establishment of a Palestinian state as well as the re-establishing the Islamic Caliphate. It is not always non-violent in Middle-Eastern contexts.

The more puritanical and militant, so-called “jihadi” Wahhabi and Salafi related groupings, so prominent now in media coverage, have been under-researched with the exception of articles by Jonathan [Birt \(2005\)](#) and *Radical Islam Rising*, on al-Muhajiroun (which broke away from Hizb al-Tahrir to follow a more ‘radical path), by [Wiktorowicz \(2005\)](#).³⁹

Finally, it is interesting to note that, quite apart from intensified polarisation and securitisation, one of the consequences of the events of ‘9/11’ and ‘7/7’ has been a mature, more self-critical, even more “integrated” account of Islam and Muslims compared to that of the Rushdie Affair.⁴⁰ “Moderates”, reflecting many Islamic lineages from “modernist” to “neo-traditionalist” to “reformist”, asserted the importance of tolerance, pluralism, dialogue and the non-separation of Muslims and non-Muslims.

3.8 A concluding summary

A brief ‘recap’ of some of the key points arising from a mapping of the literature will be helpful by way of conclusion here, although our findings are summarised in more depth in Sections [4](#) and [5](#).

The sample of the literature examined illustrates that a strong commitment to a highly dichotomised, conflictual and eschatological world-view (or sacred cosmology) is routinely both a pre-cursor to, and justification for, acts of violence. This tends to be coupled with a fundamentalist or sectarian approach to belief and practice although, crucially, *neither definitively predicts the move to violence*.

Understanding the distinctiveness of specific contexts and the dynamics of the responses they evoke is essential. In modernity, a key shaping factor in social change is secularisation. For some, this is experienced as “crisis” and the erosion of values, although such experience varies greatly locally and globally, both within and without Western societies, according to differences of ethnicity, gender, generation

³⁹ See, for example, Birt (2005). There are also a couple of impressionistic chapters in Abbas (2005). For biographical and literary sources respectively see, Abd Samad Moussaoui, Zacarias Moussaoui: The Making of a Terrorist (2003), and also Hanif Kureishi, The Black Album (1995). A more general account of Wahhabism can be found in Esposito, Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam (2002), whereas the ethics of war in Islam are discussed in the volume by Sohail Hashmi, Islamic Political Ethics: Civil Society, Pluralism and Conflict (2002).

⁴⁰ N.B. a good source for emerging debate is Open Democracy, www.opendemocracy.net/home/index.jsp. See also chapters in Cesari and McLoughlin (2005).

and social class, as well as in relation to differentials in access to power and communal memories.

In this regard an equally contextualised ***understanding of the category of 'religion'*** (including the different 'uses' and 'abuses' of discourses and practices of 'religion' by differently positioned social actors) is essential. The accumulated ***religious capital*** of a tradition will be significant in determining that response, but only insofar as it is accessible. In this respect, contextualised accounts of ***leadership*** and ***authority*** structures are of central importance to questions of transmission.

4. Towards a framework of cultural factors

As we have suggested in this concluding statement, certain key factors begin to emerge from this review of the literature (see list below). Without further research, however, it is not possible to say

- whether these factors constitute *conditions* for terrorist behaviour or just contribute to the environment which makes it more likely (see discussion of [causality](#) in Section 5 below);
- whether *all* these factors need to be present in every case for radical behaviour and belief to lead to violence;
- whether any of them could constitute the trigger for such a move.

Further research would need to be conducted in order to understand more about the relationship between such factors.

4.1 Framework of cultural factors

- ideological/religious movements and their stages of development;
- “fundamental commitment” which may not be exposed to challenge;
- religious leadership and authority structures; charisma of leaders;
- young people’s subculture/s; masculinities;
- conversion and “reversion”; the attraction of young people to ideological/religious movements;
- worldview/sacred cosmology, including beliefs related to,
 - millennialism/apocalypse/eschatology
 - self-sacrifice, martyrdom, suicide

- war, jihad
- afterlife, destiny;

- inviolability or “sacredness” of religious traditions;

- translocal, global circulation (ideas, population movements, social ties);

- historical circumstances and events and their contemporary role (memory, symbol, imagination, invention of tradition);

- lack of religious literacy and religious capital in society at large, especially among young people;

- contextual factors which marginalize and/or disempower religious groups in general or some religious groups in particular.

Nevertheless, in light of this matrix of factors, the principal research problem remains “the transition to violence”. With the same contributory factors, what makes some individuals and small groups decide to commit violent acts, when the majority are not drawn to such a course of action? It is difficult from a short review of this kind to estimate the extent to which arts and humanities research could answer such a question or contribute to answering it. What is clear, however, is that the study of culture and identity, particularly with regard to these factors, can tell us more than we know at present about the process of ideological radicalisation and the way in which critical factors combine together to create a cultural and social environment in which vulnerable individuals may turn to violence. Furthermore, knowledge of the role of these cultural factors could help in identifying future mitigating strategies and solutions.

5. Relating the literature to articulated Home Office areas of interest

Four areas were highlighted in early discussions with the Home Office as being of particular interest and currency:

- identifying indicators of extremist views;
- assessing threats or risks generated by radical or extreme views;
- pre-empting extremism;
- identifying possible interventions to block new entrants or assist the reduction of current extremists.

In this section, we discuss these under three headings (“[On extremism](#)”, “[Identifying markers of extremist views – Towards risk assessment](#)”, and “[Reducing, pre-empting, blocking](#)”) and indicate the resources which would appear to be most useful under

each heading. This is the team's own commentary on the issues identified by the Home Office, based on our reading of the literature.

Under each heading key points are noted, followed by a discussion with reference to the literature.

5.1 On Extremism

5.1.1 Key points

The meaning of the term "extremism" is neither univocal nor transparent. Three different types of "extremism" are noted: behavioural, religious, political. Taking behavioural "extremism" as primary, it is easier to trace the association backwards from known terrorist involvement to motivating and legitimating religious and political beliefs in a specific case, than it is to be confident of tracing a causal connection the other way around that would apply in the generality of cases. It is not at present possible to identify specific religious and political views that will necessarily and in all cases lead to an involvement in terrorism. The literature does not pay adequate attention to the question of whether beliefs might be a consequence of and follow behaviour (involvement in terrorism) as much as precede and determine it.

The literature is largely silent on the point of transition to violence.

5.1.2 Discussion

The recurrence of the term "*extremism*" in this list we take as indicative of its prominence in Home Office concerns. It should be noted, however, that – whilst the term is to be found in the academic as well as the more popular literature – *its meaning is neither univocal nor transparent* (as is also true of the term "terrorism" itself, see [Crenshaw, 1995](#); [Zulaika and Douglass, 1996](#); [Abeysekara, 2001](#); [Whittaker, 2003](#); [Schmid, 2004](#)). In particular, it can be unclear ***whether the term is being used primarily against a religious, a political or a behavioural register.*** Distinction and clarification might well be significant here, since it is entirely possible to have views which might be described as religiously *and* politically extreme, but which do not seek expression in violence. Some forms of "radical" Christian Protestantism, for instance, might well be regarded by the Christian mainstream as well as the general public as religiously "extreme" in their interpretation of Christian faith and in their religious practice, as well as in their means of public engagement. Some of these groups (some Mennonite communities might serve as a good example) also hold views concerning the fundamental nature of society that bear some of the hallmarks commonly associated with "extremism" (see the following [section](#)) and find expression in forms of oppositional political action (see [Burns, 1996](#); [Haar, 2005](#); [Silberman et al, 2005](#) on peaceful as well as violent religious responses).

In this particular example, however, opposition to the core values of dominant society are likely to be based around an interpretation of Christian faith which is essentially pacifist and communitarian (potentially also therefore sectarian). Whilst this makes recourse to terrorism impossible, it can, nonetheless, fund acts of “resistance” through civil disobedience (which might include criminal acts of trespass, obstruction and criminal damage) that could be marked as “extreme” on the *behavioural* register.

Whilst the term may itself be problematic, we have assumed that, in Home Office use, it primarily reflects interest in a set of behaviours (violent and terrorist acts). ***Interest in the behavioural register is therefore presumably primary; that in the religious and political, secondary.*** Religious and political views, beliefs and practices are of interest insofar as they either fund or help to explain behaviour that engages in, accepts the legitimacy of, encourages, prepares for, or promulgates terrorism. It is presumably then by virtue of their association with terrorist activity that some religious or political views may be deemed “extremist”.

It is important to recognise both the distinction between the behavioural and the religious/political registers and the primacy of the behavioural. For ***it is easier to trace the association backwards*** from known terrorist involvement to motivating and legitimating religious and political beliefs in a specific case ***than it is to be confident in being able to trace a causal connection the other way around*** that would apply in the generality of cases: from religious and political beliefs to terrorist action.

The literature suggests that the relationship is not a simple one ([Abeysekara, 2001](#)). It is not at present possible to identify specific religious and political views that will necessarily and in all cases lead to an involvement in terrorism ([Beit-Hallahmi, 2002](#), comments on past failures at prediction). And that gives an inadequate basis on which certain beliefs could confidently be specified as “extremist”, in the sense of definitely leading to terrorist commitment. The literature does not presently pay adequate attention to the question of whether beliefs might to some extent be a consequence of and follow behaviour (involvement in terrorism) as much as precede and determine it. The possibility, however, that involvement in practices (especially preparatory practices or activity away from the UK) might precede and lead to specific beliefs that subsequently justify terrorism, should not be ignored.

This uncertainty in the association between political/religious and behavioural extremism is also evident in ***the literature’s almost complete silence on the point of transition to violence*** (though see articles by see [Crenshaw, 1981](#) on preconditions and precipitants; [Beit-Hallahmi, 2002](#) on difficulties of prediction; [Silberman et al, 2005](#) on context and personality variables; and [Moussaoui & Bouquillat, 2003](#), on markers of transition to extremist views and practices as witnessed in the case of an individual terrorist). Whilst a general association of some belief structures and contents with terrorism is evidenced in the literature,⁴¹ there is a

⁴¹ E.g. with millennialism and apocalypticism, see Robbins and Palmer (1997) and Hall and Schuyler (2000), Robbins; martyrdom, see Davis (2004) and Kermani (2002); and freedom fighting, see Best and Nocella (2004).

glaring paucity of information which might help us understand the transition from predisposing beliefs (or practices?) to violent action. It is this gap in the literature which makes a more definite response to the Home Office agenda difficult.

Notwithstanding all this, however, we have been able to identify a set of markers (see section immediately following) that – when found together – are strongly associated with terrorist involvement and support. Significantly, these relate as much to *formal* as to *substantive* aspects of belief - the *strength* of belief, for instance, as much as its precise, doctrinal *content*.

5.2 Identifying markers of extremist views – towards risk assessment

5.2.1 Key points

The literature suggests a set of markers (see below) as strongly associated with terrorist action on which further research is needed. These attest to the importance of the nature and strength of beliefs vis-à-vis terrorism. The literature stresses the importance of context and the difficulty of generalising from one case to another. It is precisely the situatedness of religion by context, however, that may explain why, in one setting, religiously and politically radicalised adherents are inhibited from taking a terrorist path, where in another the inhibitions appear weak and are relatively easily overcome.

5.2.2 Discussion

The literature suggests the following *set of markers* as strongly associated with terrorist action. These have been noted in groups and individuals *post facto* in studies which interrogate the factors leading to known terrorist events.

Hypothetically, it could be said that the more markers found, the more likely the move to violence, though this needs testing in further research. Our analytical commentary on the literature is already an act of interpretation that both draws out and goes beyond what is to be found in it. Here, we believe we are drawing on suggestive patterns found in all the literature, whether dealing with religious or secular terrorist movements. We are conscious, however, that this set of markers is highly suggestive of ***the ways in which a religious frame of reference can intensify the felt legitimacy, urgency and moral transcendence of terror.***

The following markers may be present:

- A deep and incontestable sense of conviction;
- An oppositional and dichotomous world-view (cosmology);
- Worldview justified by appeal to legitimating authority external to/transcending the situation (God, religious scriptures, traditions, fundamental human rights or values);

- The present condition/field of action is situated in the cosmic struggle between good and evil;
- A sense of urgency and symbolic import is given to action in the present;
- The field of present action takes on the character of an emergency situation, in which normal moral codes regulating and limiting action are suspended and emergency forms of action legitimated or even demanded;
- A conflation of the fields of human and divine agency (this is God's action) which further removes action from normal moral and legal restraints;
- A sense of some basic injustice, which is non-accidental (i.e., it expresses the core values, true nature of society and is irredeemable), and which reinforces the sense of opposition/dichotomy – “clash of worlds”;
- An absence of common ground with ‘others’ allowing meaningful dialogue with other world views;
- A sense that all members of the ‘other’ group are involved and implicated in the opposition to the good, and so legitimate targets: there is no “innocence”.

This set of indicators reflects the significance we have detected in the literature of the nature and strength of attachment to beliefs. The most fruitful exploration of this range of issues is extant in the work of the Fundamentalism Project (Marty and Appleby, [1991](#), [1993](#), [1994](#), [1995](#)), and especially evidenced in [Almond, Appleby, et al \(2003\)](#), but see also works on beliefs and the motivation and justification for violent action (e.g. [Hadden and Shupe, 1986](#); [Kakar, 1996](#); [Robbins and Palmer, 1997](#); [Reader, 2000](#); [Vertigans and Sutton, 2001](#); [Juergensmeyer, 2003](#); [Best and Nocella, 2004](#); [Haar and Busuttil, 2005](#)).

Care should be taken, however, in generalising from one religious tradition to another or from one context to another. It is hard to exaggerate **the significance of context in the Arts & Humanities literature bearing on terrorism**, and especially on religious factors in terrorism. To take the religious seriously in its significance means **taking proper account of the historical, political and cultural situatedness** and determinacy of religious traditions and communities, and therefore also of the specificity of the situations in which religion and terror have been linked.

By researching on a case-by-case basis, the literature issues a strong note of caution against handling either religion or the link with terror in generalised ways (see, for example, those volumes featuring several case studies, including those by [Robbins and Palmer, 1997](#); [Hall and Schuyler, 2000](#); [Juergensmeyer, 2003](#); [Haar and Busuttil, 2005](#)). That means caution against using “religion” as a generic category as well as against assuming absolute identity between different incarnations of any particular religion. So whilst there are strong continuities between Islam, for instance, in the contemporary Middle East, in Pakistan, in Bradford and in Tower Hamlets, there are marked variations as well (witness variety in [Cesari and McLoughlin, 2005](#), and in [Geaves et al, 2004](#)). (This remains true, despite the significance we have noticed of

the transnational, especially for contemporary Islam.) ***These variations in context, or situatedness, make it hard to generalise between one context and another. And it may be this situatedness of religion by context that explains why, in one setting, religiously and politically radicalised adherents are inhibited from taking a terrorist path, where in another the inhibitions appear weak and are relatively easily overcome.*** Such caution does not mean that it is impossible to learn and apply something from one situation to another; merely that any translation or transporting of insights should be mindful of the distinctiveness of situations, precisely in order to have confidence in the identification of continuities that justify more generalised application.

5.3 Reducing, Pre-Emptying, Blocking

5.3.1 Key points

- Significance of nature of local religious leadership and authority.
- Tackling lack of social capital amongst Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities.
- Working with Muslim communities regarding provision of contextually relevant religious leadership.
- Tackling lack of religious literacy among the population at large and specific lack of literacy in terms of the complexities of their own traditions among young Muslims.

And see also the section on [policy implications](#) below.

5.3.2 Discussion

Our review has strongly indicated the significance of the ***nature of local religious leadership and authority***, especially in Muslim communities in Britain. The dispersed authority of Islam generally can permit religious teachers and leaders with idiosyncratic or extreme views to operate without being subject to overarching, legitimating authority. The significant ***lack of social capital*** amongst Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities in particular (which reflects where they have come from, not only what has happened here) and its combination with ***reduced religious literacy*** amongst some members of these communities (as well as in the general population) are significant factors in the literature, and therefore may prove to be significant factors for ameliorative strategies ([Modood and Berthoud, 1997](#); [Beckford and Gale, 2006](#)).

More specifically, the ***lack of British trained Imams*** is easily identifiable in the literature as one of the main agents of trans-national religious authority as well as a potential major impediment to the construction of specifically British Muslim identities and of the development of more questioning attitudes to received religious authority.

The ***fostering and encouragement of indigenous patterns of professional Islamic training*** is one potential pathway that has already been discussed and

attempted in Bradford (see [Lewis, 1996](#), a.p.) and also more broadly ([Gilliat-Ray, 2006](#)). The ***need for improved Quranic and other Islamic knowledge and interpretation*** among young Muslims is also noted in some works ([Moussaoui, 2003](#); [Sardar, 2004](#)).

Other community-based approaches to countering terrorism and defusing its causes are in the process of being researched (see [Demos](#), *Tackling The New Terror Threat*).

The ***need to improve the religious literacy of the population at large*** is stressed as significant in ameliorating some consequences of secularisation and in addressing Islamophobia ([Lewis, 2002](#); [Runnymede Trust, 1997](#); [Abbas, 2005](#); [Cesari and McLoughlin, 2005](#)) and to general ignorance about the role of religion in political and social behaviour (e.g. [Hauerwas, 1992](#); [Berger, 1999](#)). We have not reviewed the literature on religious and citizenship education in schools, but this is clearly one area where the issue of religious literacy can be tackled. Some training of employees in public sector bodies has been carried out in the Yorkshire and Humber region in association with the booklet [Religious Literacy: A Practical Guide to the Region's Faith Communities](#) (Knott and Randolph Horn, 2002); see also the work of the [Interfaith Network for the UK](#) and [Lewis \(a.p.\)](#).

It is also worth noting that at least one scholar has suggested that it is the lack of direction and cohesion within western society and the rhetoric of doom, criticism and negativity among public intellectuals (which provides ready ammunition for terrorists to support their case), rather than the beliefs of terrorists themselves which need tackling ([Durodié, 2005](#)).

Finally, although we have not discussed it here, because it falls largely in the remit of the social sciences rather than the arts and humanities, there is a scholarly literature within Peace Studies which promulgates non-violent approaches to terrorism and political conflict (e.g., [Elworthy and Rifkind, 2005](#)).

See the further discussion of policy implications immediately below.

6. Recommendations for further research and policy implications

In addition to showing the importance of key factors relating to culture and identity, this review of the arts and humanities literature on the roots, practices and consequences of terrorism has revealed areas where further research might be helpful. It has also highlighted issues of relevance to government and wider public policy.

6.1 Further research

The major omission in the literature is the transition to violence. There are a number of case studies of religious violence and of acts of terrorism, and many works which examine some of the factors which are relevant to “extremism” and its causes, but the transition from radical beliefs and/or behaviour to terrorism remains under-researched in the arts and humanities literature. This may be because such scholars consider the examination of this move to be beyond their expertise (and to be within the remit of those working in, for example, psychology).

Specific areas warranting further study include:

- Further case studies relating to the stages of development of “extremist” or “radical” ideological or religious movements, plus a more focused review of existing case studies (e.g. [Reader, 2000](#); [Hall, Schuyler and Trinh, 2000](#); [Almond, Appleby et al, 2003](#));
- More research on the relationship between belief and behaviour in general, and on religious belief and behaviour in particular: on causality, agency, and the explanatory power of religious beliefs and practices;
- Interdisciplinary and comparative research on different types of “extremism” (behavioural, religious, political), see [above](#);
- Research which tests markers of “extremist” views in light of the transition to violence, see [above](#);
- As part of an agenda to develop religious capital, more research on theologies of terror and terrorism (Islamic, Christian and other);
- A study which sets the current limited research on conversion to Islam in Britain (e.g. [Kose, 1996](#); [al-Qwidi, 2002](#)) in the wider context of conversion to new religious movements and youth movements in general.
- Comparative research on masculine subcultures (Asian male masculinities ([Macey, 1999](#); [Alexander, 2000](#); Modood and Dwyer, forthcoming) set in wider context of popular culture in order to identify similarities and differences);
- Further academic research on Wahhabi and Salafi groups in the UK;
- Further research on circulating global media (news, videos, speeches etc) and how they contribute to the way people construct realities;
- Research which examines religious (Islamic and other) perceptions of the relationship between divine agency and human agency and destiny;
- Research which seeks to examine how different groups in the UK imagine and re-invoke the history of Christian-Muslim relations (from the Crusades to 9/11).

Are there single or multiple collective memory/ies of this relationship? Where do such narratives come from and how are they transmitted?

- Policy-related research on religious literacy may also be needed (see section immediately following).

6.2 Policy implications

In the foregoing, we have considered the policy implications arising from both the extant literature and from those areas where we think more research might be needed.

The literature, both scholarly and journalistic, suggests that more measures are needed to support open debate and discussion among Muslims in Britain, particularly young people. Universities and schools might have roles to play in this. There are implications here also for the training of imams and Muslim youth workers.

The literature suggests that, with regard to religious leadership, there is a particular need for more men and women who have studied the Qur'anic interpretation and the complexity of Islamic traditions in depth and who are capable of transmitting these to young Muslims in order to counter both the reliance on recitation at the expense of understanding, and the uninformed acceptance of extremist interpretations. This too has implications for the training of imams and Muslim youth workers.

The literature suggests support for the existing agenda in relation to the training of imams, but with due attention to the capacity of Muslim communities in Britain to deliver it given their limited social and economic capital, the financial implications and the needs of an older generation.

Those sources which focus on the frustrations of young British Muslims and their response to global issues suggest, explicitly or implicitly, that such young people feel their voices are unheard. More opportunities for young people to speak and be listened to may be needed.

The literature suggests that there is a need to improve religious literacy at many levels, not least of all among decision-makers, policy-makers and the media. This would include the following:

- contextualized knowledge about religions (religions differ from one another and are internally differentiated according to time and place);
- understanding the importance of religion for people's identities;
- understanding the complex relationship between race, religion and ethnicity;
- understanding more about the nature of "secular" society, beliefs and values and their relationship to religion;

- plus a willingness to think about and debate in public that which is “sacred” (to religious and secular groups and individuals), thus challenging the assumption of political (“sacred”) correctness surrounding religion.

7. Annotated alphabetical bibliography

Explanatory note

The bibliographies in this and the [following section](#) can be searched using the "Find" function in MS Word by using the 'Edit' drop-down menu on the toolbar at the top of the screen. A list of indicative key words can be found in the [Appendix](#).

If you are reading this document on a computer connected to the internet, clicking on the web addresses of material taken from the web will open the item in a browser window.

Abbas, T., Ed. (2005). *Muslim Britain: Communities under Pressure*. London, Zed.

This book provides a series of articles concerning a multitude of issues facing British Muslims since the attacks on September 11th 2001. Islamophobia, the media, religious identity and policy towards British Muslims are all covered as topics in this excellent collection which gives an important insight into and analysis of the experience of South Asian communities living within the UK. Essential reading for anyone seeking to better understand the debates and issues relevant to British Muslims.

Abdel-Fattah, R. (2006). *Does My Head Look Big in This?* London, Scholastic.

"Don't panic - I'm Islamic. Amal is a 16-year-old Melbourne teen with all the usual obsessions about boys, chocolate and Cosmo magazine. She's also a Muslim, struggling to honor the Islamic faith in a society that doesn't understand it. The story of her decision to "shawl up" and its attendant anxieties (like how much eyeliner to wear) is funny, surprising and touching by turns." [From Amazon]

Abeysekara, A. (2001). "The Saffron Army, Violence, Terror(ism): Buddhism, Identity, and Difference in Sri-Lanka." *Numen-International Review for the History of Religions* 48(1): 1-46.

This paper proposes alternative approaches to conceptualizing the relation between religion and violence, Buddhism and terror(ism). An important body of scholarship seeks to theorize religion and violence as transparent objects of disciplinary knowledge in terms of their supposed difference or interrelation, while chronically failing to appreciate them as discursive categories. The relation between religion and violence, the paper contends, is not available for disciplinary canonization as it is conventionally conceived in the now familiar terms of "Buddhism Betrayed?," "religious violence," "religious terrorism," etc. Rather the questions, terms, and

parameters defining which persons, practices, and knowledges can and cannot count as religion or violence, civilization or terror are produced, battled out, and subverted in minute contingent conjunctures. Put differently, they are authorized to come into (central) view and fade from view, to emerge and submerge, to become centered and de-centered within a microspace of competing authoritative "native" debates and discourses.

This paper challenges the disciplines supported by, amongst others Juergensmeyer and Reader in stating that they canonise notions of 'terror(ism)', 'religion' and 'violence' into fixed Western categories of knowledge. The author argues that instead a more accurate picture is framed within the micro-space of discursive knowledge, where the ground beneath the meanings of 'religion' and 'violence' fall back and forth between different groups. He argues this through a case study of Sri Lankan politics in the late 80s and 90s, showing how the the labels of 'Buddhist', and 'violent (non-Buddhist)' were pinned on, or claimed by, opposing political groups and that this shows that it is impossible to claim that violence is in opposition to a true Buddhism, as the juxtaposition of religion and violence are determined contingently. His primary concern in stating this argument is that without realising the contingent nature of these terms it is too easy to refer to 'cultures of violence' as suggested by [Juergensmeyer](#), Reader and other authors.

This article seems to primarily discuss the problem of 'right' or 'truth' in religious discourse, or more simply in this context the adage about terrorists and freedom fighters. However, it does give a useful insight into Sinhalese clergy/political party discourse and also on a non-western account of religion and violence.

Abulafia, A. S., Ed. (2002). *Religious Violence between Christians and Jews: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives*. Basingstoke, Palgrave.

“Exploring deep into the history of the conflict between Christians and Jews from medieval to modern times, this wide-ranging volume, which includes newly uncovered material from the recently opened post-Soviet archives, seeks to bring positive understanding to controversial issues of inter-faith confrontation. Here, a number of eminent scholars from around the globe come together to discuss openly and objectively the dynamics of the Jewish creative response in the face of violence. Through the analysis of the histories of both the Christian and Jewish religious traditions, we are brought to an understanding of their relationship as a modern-day phenomenon.” [From: Book Data Limited,UK]

Ahmed, A. S. and H. Donnan, Eds. (1994). *Islam, Globalization and Postmodernity*. London, Routledge.

This book addresses the problems facing Islam in a globalised and postmodern context. Covering several different countries it deals with issues such as the challenges for Muslim women in a postmodern world, how Islamic festivals have been owned and changed by non-Islamic societies and the links between global and local Islamic communal identities.

Akhtar, S. (1989). *Be Careful with Muhammad: The Salman Rushdie Affair.* London, Bellew Publishing.

This book reviews The Satanic Verses to explain just why it is so offensive to Muslims and also charts the catalogue of events from the early protests through to Khomeini's fatwah.

Akhtar, S. (1990). *A Faith for All Seasons: Islam and Western Modernity.* London, Bellew Publishing.

This work makes the claim that Islam's age of innocence ended in the fifteenth century, and that since then Islam has failed to engage with an increasing modernity. Whilst previously Islam had developed and engaged with philosophy it has since retreated into a separatist position with regards to what it sees as 'Western Modernity', the movement with pluralist and secular ideologies that is only of harm and consequence to Christianity. Akhtar argues that whilst a distinction can be made between 'modernity' and its Western branch that does not negate the need for modern Muslims to enter into a dialogue with it and provide its own unique and considered response.

Aldis, A. and G. Herd, Eds. (2006 Forthcoming). *The Ideological War on Terror: Worldwide Strategies for Counter-Terrorism.* Cass Series on Political Violence. London, Routledge.

"This edited book addresses the appropriateness of US and other counter-terrorist (CT) strategies in Europe and Eurasia, the Middle East, the Asia Pacific region and in Latin America, with a view to improving their effectiveness. The book has three main objectives: (1) to re-examine terrorists' strategic goals and sources of legitimacy and the nature of their ideological support; (2) to analyze current US and regional CT strategies and assess their success in de-legitimizing terrorists and undermining their support; (3) to provide a strategic synthesis and policy recommendations in light of the research findings. This book will be of interest to students of political violence and terrorism, security studies and international relations in general." [From publishers]

Alexander, C. E. (2000). *The Asian Gang: Ethnicity, Identity, Masculinity.* Oxford, Berg.

As a work this book differs from more common empirical sociological studies. The author spent over four years working in a youth project in London. The aim of the research was to contest the notion of the 'Asian Gang', increasingly popular in the media and common conversation. Alexander stated that this notion was a convenient way of bypassing any proper investigation into the dynamics and relationships of these 'gangs' and, in themselves, were just a shorthand or cipher for a reductionism of symbols of gender, race and class.

Alexander presents the reality of the perceived 'gang' as a more fluid and interchanging relationship of identities and friendships than such a monolithic term as 'gang' can engender. 'Gang' itself comes pre-loaded with racial stereo-types and is the result of a theoretical and practical criminalisation of Asian (male) youth, a process previously restricted in its application to Afro-Caribbean communities.

This book contributes less to the areas of roots, practices and consequences of terrorism in the presence of its conclusions than in the absence of the assumptions it dismisses. While the self-formed identities of modern British Muslims are often considered to be an area of particular focus for those researching these areas Alexander shows that we are in danger of creating labels and groupings that do not exist. Whilst challenging the notion of the Asian Gang Alexander also leads us to question the formation and support of these rigid labels that tend to come out of popular discourse.

Almond, G. A., R. S. Appleby, et al. (2003). *Strong Religion: The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

This excellent work comes out of the Fundamentalism Project, a ten year effort by academics from across subject, national, religious and cultural divides to understand and analyse the role of militant religious movements committed to anti modernist and secularist programmes. It's chapters deal with historical/anthropological analysis of fundamentalist movements; definitions of 'fundamentalism' and the movements that fall within this understanding; explaining how these movements come about and are shaped by a dialogue with the modern world (not just their historical/sacred narratives); and finally how these movements could be expected to be shaped/behave in the future. An essential work in the effort to understand the roots, causes and practises of fundamentalist movements, as well as their potential development.

al-Qattan, O. (2002) *Disneyland Islam*. *openDemocracy*.

Extant on the web at: http://www.opendemocracy.net/conflict-islamicworld/article_69.jsp. This is not a clash of civilisations, in part because the battle of 'fundamentalist' Islam is itself a product of modernity. For Muslims as for others, openness to the contradictory nature of modern life and identities, amidst the search for a common ethical language, is the only way forward.

Al-Qwidi, M. (2002). *Understanding the Stages of Conversion to Islam : The Voices of British Converts*. School of Theology and Religious Studies. Leeds, University of Leeds. Ph.D. Thesis

This thesis is based on interviews with a number of British-born converts to Islam. It seeks to understand why and how these people chose to convert to Islam and the stages in the conversion process.

Al-Rasheed, M., Ed. (2005). *Transnational Connections and the Arab Gulf. Transnationalism.* New York, Routledge.

This work seeks to challenge the notion of globalisation and trans-nationalism as one way flows of information and culture from the West to the rest of the world. Through historical and contemporary case studies it examines the exchange of culture through (in and from) the Gulf region and the impact both on the region itself and the world at large. This collection also contains a useful article on Wahhabism in the United Kingdom, a key source for understanding the impact of this wealthy branch of Islam on the Muslim diaspora.

Appignanesi, L. and S. Maitland, Eds. (1989). *The Rushdie File.* Fourth Estate, London.

This book documents the Rushdie affair from all sides of the controversy, as well as providing case studies of responses from different countries around the globe. It includes reviews of the book and of the arguments available in international print.

Baker, P. and T. McEnery (2005). 'A Corpus-Based Approach to Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Un and Newspaper Texts.' *Language and Politics* 4(2): 197-226.

This work examines large bodies of text (corpora) from newspapers and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) published in 2003. Identifying "widespread patterns of naturally occurring language" (phrases and sentences) demonstrates how certain attitudes are formed and presented in these two corpora. The subject matter in this instance is of some reference to this literature review as the issue of asylum seekers and refugees is often conflated with the issue of immigrant populations and by association the Muslim communities within them. However, in this instance it is the process itself which is of most interest, as it highlights an interesting area of study that could prove fruitful in showing how our language both reflects and shapes our feelings about Muslims and Islam, or even vice versa. It is also worth taking into consideration that the two corpora studied are only part of the available data, as the British National Corpora actually holds 100 million words and its size understandably precluded it from being the source for this article (the corpora selected for this study only contained 403,728 words).

Baker, P. (2006). 'Representations of Islam in British Broadsheet and Tabloid Newspapers 1999-2005', University of Lancaster.

This article undertakes an analysis of the British press from 1999-2000 looking at the way Islam is represented. Showing that frequently negative words and connotations are used in the discussion of Islam and British Muslims this study is extremely useful to understand the populist climate that British Muslims find themselves faced with on a daily basis.

Barber, B. (1995). *Jihad Versus Mcworld*, Times Books.

This study (controversially) employs the specifically Islamic terminology of 'jihad' to describe the general defence of particularistic religious, national and ethnic identifications in the 'McWorld' context of the culturally homogenising globalisation of capitalism. However, Barber's approach lends overwhelming explanatory power to the forces of globalisation and modernity, largely ignoring the distinctive histories and internal dynamics that shape specific cultural and religious systems.

Barnes, L. P. (2005). "Was the Northern Ireland Conflict Religious?" *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 20(1): 55-69.

This article addresses as its central question whether or not the troubles in Northern Ireland were essentially religious. Using a very brief (and rather cursory) account of the role of religion in the 9/11 attacks in the US the author demonstrates how religion can be involved at different levels within a conflict. His conclusion is that while religion has undoubtedly played an important role in the Northern Ireland conflict, it would be wrong to label it as religious.

His article is very useful as an examination of the role of religion in terrorist groups and he makes important points as to this and also in questioning whether religion is inherently good, and indeed if some religions are more dangerous than others. This last point is sadly not developed here as it looks like a point for interesting further discussion. Barnes attributes the troubles to the need for rival groups to compete for (power and control over) limited resources but concludes by pointing out that while the troubles may not be inherently religious religion is still one of the important markers, or symbols, used in the conflict and therefore discussion on its role is important.

Beckford, J. A., R. Gale, et al. (2006). *Review of the Evidence Base on Faith Communities*. D. f. C. a. L. Government, University of Warwick.

Useful review of the evidence base relating to faith communities in the UK. Addresses issues such as disadvantage and social cohesion, housing and regional and local governance.

Behdad, S. and F. Nomani, Eds. (2006). *Islam and the Everyday World: Public Policy Dilemmas*. Routledge Political Economy of the Middle East and North Africa. London, Routledge.

This is a new examination of how Shari'a law affects public policy both theoretically and in practice, across a wide range of public policy areas, including for example human rights and family law.

The process by which public policy is decided - through elections, debates, political processes, and political discourse - has an additional dimension in the Islamic world. This is because Shari'a (divine law) has a great deal to say on many mundane

matters of everyday life and must be taken into account in matters of public policy. In addition, matters are complicated further by the fact that there are differing interpretations of the Shari'a and how it should be applied to contemporary social issues.

Written by leading experts in their field, this is the first comprehensive single volume analysis of Islam and public policy in the English language and offers further understanding of Islam and its wider social and political implications.

Beit-Hallahmi, B. (2002). "Ten Comments on Watching Closely the Gaps between Beliefs and Actions." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 14: 123-144.

This article looks at the predictive power of scholars and the intelligence community in assessing the risk of violence from religious movements. Focussing mainly on New Religious Movements it looks at the failures of both groups to accurately predict the violence enacted by several religious groups. The article points out that secularisation has led to a greater gap between belief and action and has, in the West, also led to the idea that religion is 'good' (or at least, toothless). Often religion is now seen in only symbolic, metaphorical or abstract terms and this has led to a tendency to underestimate the ability of religion to motivate action.

The author concludes that both scholarly and intelligence communities need to work together to predict violence outbreaks, the scholarly needs the information the intelligence community can provide, and the intelligence community needs scholarly analysis and research to ensure the validity of the predictions.

Bellinger, C. (16/04/06). "Religion and Violence: A Bibliography."

Extant at

http://www.wabashcenter.wabash.edu/Internet/hedgehog_viol_bib.htm

Excellent internet resource on religion and violence.

Berger, P. L., Ed. (1999). *The Desecularisation of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*. Washington, DC, Ethics and Public Policy Center.

This book looks at case studies of several different major religions, in several different areas of the world and examines the resurgence of religion in world politics. The book challenges the secularisation thesis, even arguing that whilst modernity may have secularising effects it also leads to a significantly strengthened role of religion. A useful book to read for those who thought that the modern world is, or was becoming more, secular and for whom the 'resurgence' or religion comes as a surprise.

Best, S. and A. J. Nocella II, Eds. (2004). *Terrorists or Freedom Fighters? Reflections on the Liberation of Animals*. New York, Lantern Books.

Following the development of the animal rights movement and most notably, but by no means exclusively the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), this book provides a series of articles written by professors of ethics, media spokespersons, educators and volunteers. Considering issues such as the justification of violence; how an understanding of 'anger' found within Thomas Aquinas' works can be applied to the movement; similarities between the work ALF and those who fought the Holocaust; and definitions of terrorism, this book provides a surprisingly varied subject matter for the reader to consider.

The most interesting and useful element of this book is that many of its articles are written by people actively involved not just in support for or participation in the legalist branches of animal liberation, but also by those involved in illegal direct action. The book contains a wide range of articles, from those considering whether the killing of a human (vivisector or someone else involved in torturing animals) could possibly provide 'good press' to those arguing for purely non-violent forms of direct action.

Also providing personal accounts of the development of animal rights groups this book, whilst containing varying standards of writing, is nevertheless a fascinating and ultimately invaluable insight into what motivates and justifies the thoughts and actions of those persons involved. The breadth of articles assist in different ways to understanding the roots, causes, practises and consequences of direct action, violent and otherwise of animal rights activists.

Betts, R. K. (2005). 'Maybe I'll Stop Driving.' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17: 507-510.

This article replies to [Mueller \(2005\)](#) and points out that the arguments Mueller suggests would make for highly undesirable experiments. In addition, he mentions (but does not develop) that Mueller ignores the social impact of terrorism and he states that we are actually much less fearful than Mueller gives credit for. Be that as it may, Betts does seem to miss the point that Mueller makes that (regardless of whether Betts is right as to how much fear is absorbed by doomsayers) a tremendous amount of 'fearful noise' is still put out by politicians and the media.

Bhatt, C. (1996). *Liberation and Purity: Race, New Religious Movements and the Ethics of Postmodernity*. London, UCL Press.

Bhatt suggests that the global circulation of Islamized identities (often associated with authoritarian religious movements) has inevitably impacted upon the way in which Muslim diasporas in Britain construct their identities. This work is another argument pointing towards the strength of localisation of global issues, a current example of which would be the criticism coming from Muslim leaders about current British foreign policy.

Birt, J. (2005). 'Wahhabism in the United Kingdom: Manifestations and Reactions'. *Transnational Connections and the Arab Gulf*. M. Al-Rasheed. New York, Routledge: 168-184.

This useful article looks into the expansion of Wahhabism outside of Saudi Arabia. With a global budget for spending on religious causes estimated at \$2 and \$3 billion per year since 1975 Wahhabism deserves attention. Birt charts the development of Wahhabism through a petro-dollar funded desire to exert a controlling influence over a global Muslim audience as well as its negative portrayal of Sufism and mediaeval Sunni theology. His work is based on fieldwork in Birmingham and London as well as a survey of popular Islamic literature (in which Wahhabi polemical works predominate). There is not much available material on this subject and this article is a worthwhile starting point.

Bonneuil, N. and N. Auriat (2000). 'Fifty Years of Ethnic Conflict and Cohesion: 1945-94.' *Journal of Peace Research* 37(5): 563-581.

"The diversity of conflict sequences observed among 163 ethnic groups ranging from 1945 to 1994 is portrayed in correspondence with political and socio-economic factors. This diversity comes first from the strong association between mobilization, slight discrimination, migration distress, religion and repression. On a finer detail, discrimination appears to be associated with resistance if it is related to land and power, with war if it concerns social mobility, or with insurgency if it has to do with social customs. Migration from rural to urban and abroad is accompanied by high mobilization and rioting or war when social mobility is at stake. Declining state power and democratization can open the door to violent action. Finally, there is also international diffusion of protest. Locating minority groups in this landscape of correspondence helps to compare and characterize the various particular histories. These range from Lebanon's period of war, or the years of insurgency in Iran or Somalia, to the mixture of verbal opposition and terrorism in Western democracies. Crystallizing protest in India or China is differentiated against the deterioration of group coherence in the Middle East; sporadic bursts of violence in Africa are contrasted against insurgency and rioting in East and Southeast Asia. The results point to the need for conflict prevention policies to pay more attention to the promotion of equitable social mobility." [From Journal Abstract]

Burgat, F. (2003). *Face to Face with Political Islam*. London, Tauris.

As the title of the book suggests, this work falls within the sphere of politics rather than any of the Arts and Humanities subjects. Burgat discusses Islam as a key identifier in identity politics being played out in the Arab states. In doing so he places its importance on a par with that of post-colonial issues such as national identity and governmental organisation. Where Burgat's thesis is especially useful is in its treatment of Islamism not as the vanguard of fundamentalists but rather as a political movement with Islam as its formulating identity. Running against the ideas of writers such as [Roy](#), [Kepel](#) and [Huntington](#), this book asserts the thesis that political Islam has not failed, rather those authors failed to properly understand its nature in the first place.

Burgat states that Islamism has always contained an element of modernity within it, and is not the monolithic movement often described by governments and the media in the West. Reducing the actions of violent groups to the (unpopular) margins of Islamism Burgat points out that if proper democracy (as opposed to the nominal democracies such as in Morocco or Algeria, often supported by Western governments) were allowed to flourish then these Islamist groups would actually provide popular, democratic and modern leadership in their countries.

His reading of the evolution of Islamism (and its predicted trajectory towards a more inclusive, less occidental version of modernity) provides a much more positive prediction of the future interaction between Islam and the West than is found in most academic writings. That said, his detailing of the obstacles to democratic and fair government in the majority of Arab countries, and the (perceived or actual) support of Western governments for un-democratic and oppressive regimes also goes a long way to explaining the violence coming out of those countries, often labelled as Islamist and often, though unfairly, understood to be just the fault of Islamic religion (gone awry).

Burke, J. (2004). *Al-Qaeda: The True Story of Radical Islam*. London, Penguin.

A journalist's critical account of the way in which 'Al-Qaeda' networks have been accounted for in Western discourses on terrorism. Burke argues that the desire for explanation following 9/11 has produced an overly cohesive account of 'Al-Qaeda' and that this, in turn, has contributed to solidifying it as an organisation.

Burns, J. P., Ed. (1996). *War and Its Discontents: Pacifism and Quietism in the Abrahamic Traditions*. Washington DC, Georgetown University Press.

This book arises from a couple of conferences held to discuss the positions of the Abrahamic religions towards war, and when/whether such action could be justified. The articles contained in the book are based on the papers presented to the conferences and consist of at least a couple of articles devoted to each religion's positions with regards to Just War.

In such a short space it is impossible to do justice to the breadth of positions and interpretations held by large number of adherents of these traditions. However, the articles will at least provide an introduction to the justifications for war or violence used within these religions. Especially useful is that they also consider the context in which these traditions developed these arguments, and also how they apply to more modern situations, for example where adherents find themselves dispersed within states which follow different belief systems.

Whilst these articles do not assist in understanding the causes of terrorism they would be undoubtedly useful in giving an insight into the roots of 'acceptable' violence within them.

Burr, J. M. and R. O. Collins (2006). *Alms for Jihad: Charity and Terrorism in the Islamic World*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

This book seeks to make the link between Islamic charities and their covert funding of terrorism. Whilst pointing out in the preface that by no means all Islamic charities are linked with terrorism it is the author's argument that many are, and they detail the links and processes in this book.

Byman, D. (2005). 'A Corrective That Goes Too Far?' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17: 511-516.

Written in response to [Mueller \(2005\)](#) this paper points out that whilst Mueller's poking of fun at the industry of fear is long overdue, several of his arguments need revision. For instance whilst annually more people do die from car accidents than from terrorism, the same is also true in comparison to murder rates and we would grieve a loved one more if they were murdered, than hit by a car. Byman points out that intent has always been important in our emotional and response and decision making and the intent behind terrorists attacks must be taken into account when considering the size of the response. Like [Crenshaw](#), Byman also feels that the 'War on Terror' is not going well, especially in relation the invasion of Iraq and that Mueller's reasoning on this point is flawed. Finally, Byman also questions the extent to which policy makers can influence public levels of fear, and feels that Mueller overstates their abilities on this point.

Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice*. London and New York, Routledge.

This book uses the theoretical framework of linguistics to explore how we think and behave politically. Of most important here are the two chapters "Worlds apart" and "The role of religion" in which the author analyses speeches by George Bush and Osama bin Laden using a spatial linguistic approach.

Cesari, J. and S. McLoughlin (2005). *European Muslims and the Secular State*. Aldershot, Ashgate.

"The institutionalization of Islam in the West continues to raise many questions for a range of different constituencies. Secularisation represents much more than the legal separation of politics and religion in Europe; for important segments of European societies, it has become the cultural norm. Therefore, Muslims' settlement and their claims for the public recognition of Islam have often been perceived as a threat. This volume explores current interactions between Muslims and the more or less secularized public spaces of several European states, assessing the challenges such interactions imply for both Muslims and the societies in which they now live. Divided into three parts, it examines the impact of State-Church relations, 'Islamophobia' and 'the war on terrorism', evaluates the engagement of Muslim leaders with the State and civil society, and reflects on both individual and collective transformations of Muslim religiosity." [From the authors / publishers]

Chatham House web site

www.chathamhouse.org.uk. Chatham House is an organisation looking at the analysis of international affairs. One of its new research streams is International Security and it hosts articles on this area on its website.

Cohn-Sherbok, D., Ed. (1990). *The Salman Rushdie Controversy in Interreligious Perspective*. Symposium Series. Lampeter, Edwin Mellen Press.

This book explores the Salman Rushdie affair through contributors from several different religions. It focuses especially on inter-religious dialogue and the effects of the controversy on this dialogue for the future.

Cole, D. (2002). *When God Says War Is Right : The Christian's Perspective on When and How to Fight*, Waterbrook Press.

Includes response to Gulf War, Islamic jihad and terrorism via history and principles of just war tradition along conservative and evangelical lines.

Cole, B., Ed. (2006). *Conflict, Terrorism and the Media in Asia*. Media, Culture and Social Change in Asia Series. London, Routledge.

There are many different kinds of sub-national conflicts across Asia, with a variety of causes, but since September 11, 2001 these have been increasingly portrayed as part of the global terrorist threat, to be dealt with by the War on Terror.

This major new study examines a wide range of such conflicts, showing how, despite their significant differences, they share the role of the media as interlocutor, and exploring how the media exercises this role. The book raises a number of issues concerning how the media report different forms of political violence and conflict, including issues of impartiality in the media's relations with governments and insurgents, and how the focus on the 'War on Terror' has led to some forms of violence - notably those employed by states for political purposes - to be overlooked.

"Colloquium on Violence and Religion."

<http://theol.uibk.ac.at/cover/> This is the official website for exploration, criticism, and development of René Girard's mimetic model of the relationship between violence and religion in the genesis and maintenance of culture. Contains details of forthcoming papers, conferences and books as well as a link to the colloquium's journal, [Contagion](#).

"As the issue of international terrorism remains one of the most pressing issues of the modern day, this is a significant and important book which will interest the general reader and scholars from all disciplines." [From Publishers]

Contagion, on-line journal

The official journal of the Colloquium on Violence and Religion (COV&R) which is dedicated to the exploration, criticism, and development of René Girard's mimetic model of the relationship between violence and religion in the genesis and maintenance of culture. <http://theol.uibk.ac.at/cover/contagion/x1.html>.

Crenshaw, M. (1981). 'The Causes of Terrorism.' *Comparative Politics*: 381-5.

Accessed through Whittaker's [The Terrorism Reader](#), this article categorises the causes of terrorist action as: preconditions (permissive causes and direct causes) and precipitants. Permissive or enabling preconditions are those which create the means by which a terrorist organisation can act, e.g. through modernisation, urbanisation, social facilitation and a government's inability or unwillingness to prevent terrorism. Direct causes are concrete grievances (such as ethnic discrimination or political exclusion, especially when it is an elite that has been marginalised). Precipitants are events which directly trigger acts of terrorism, these are more unpredictable than the preconditions, but can often be the use of unexpected and unusual force by a government (or other 'majority' e.g. protestants in Northern Ireland).

Crenshaw, M. (1995). *Terrorism in Context*. Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State University Press.

Looks at the problem of objectivity in defining the term 'terrorism', particularly in relation to its position within a value-laden political discourse. The problem of labels and political aims in particular is addressed, and the difficulty of value-neutral language in general is considered. Looks at how the label can take on its own autonomy, which can turn back on those that labelled the movement [as terrorist] in the first place. Also mentions the creation of symbolism and myths as part of the [naming] process.

Crenshaw, M. (2005). 'A Welcome Antidote.' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17: 517-521.

Written in response to the [Mueller \(2005\)](#) paper Crenshaw argues that whilst there are errors in his article the overall spirit of the argument is correct. However, she does feel that the threat from terrorism will continue and that the 'War on Terror' is playing a big part in its continuance.

Dallmayr, F. (2002). "Lessons of September 11." *Theory Culture & Society* 19(4): 137ff.

"September 11 is first of all a cause of mourning, both for the immediate victims and for the dismal condition of humanity. Seeking to derive lessons for the future, the

article explores the implications of the events along three lines: for the United States; for the Muslim world; and for the international community. With regard to the United States, September 11 disclosed the vulnerability of the country in the midst of a relentlessly shrinking and interdependent world. This realization calls into question the deeply ingrained American preference for isolationism and/or unilateralism (that is, the preference for playing by no rules but one's own). With regard to the Muslim world, September 11 disclosed the lack of a viable political agenda (outside and apart from terrorism and the use/abuse of religion)-thus underscoring the need for a political reconstruction of the dar al-Islam. With regard to the international community, September 11 revealed the weakness of mediating institutions between hegemonic globalism and fragmented localism, hence counselling the building of regional institutions (after the model of the European Union)." [Journal Abstract]

Davis, J. M. (2004). *Martyrs : Innocence, Vengeance and Despair in the Middle East*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

Focussing on the role of the martyr in the Middle East this book is useful for the interviews with relatives of suicide bombers and others living within the communities from whence they came. Pointing to a fault line within Islam between 'moderates' and 'extremists', Davis asks whether suicide bombers are truly martyrs (according to Islam) or just murderers. Whilst mainly looking at Islamic communities she also interviews the family of a Christian suicide-bomber and the common themes she finds even in this example are those of social and economic deprivation, coupled with political oppression.

For these interviews alone Davis's book is excellent source material for understanding the roots and causes of extremist terrorism, especially in the Middle East. However, this is a journalistic rather than scholarly work, and her audience (by her own admission, see her response to the book review by Ian Reader) is the everyday-person in the US. Because of this bias (she is open about her Christian background and indeed cites her beliefs as one of the inspirations for the book) the book does lose some its possible appeal as a key work. This bias can be found in such unsupported comments such as the Middle East looking to the US for leadership, a statement completely undermined even by her own interviews.

That said, this book is a pre-eminent example of journalistic literature in this field.

Deegalle, M., Ed. (2006). *Buddhism, Conflict and Violence in Modern Sri Lanka*. Routledge Critical Studies in Buddhism. London, Routledge.

"Interdisciplinary in its approach, this book explores the dilemmas that Buddhism faces in relation to the continuing ethnic conflict and violence in modern Sri Lanka. Prominent scholars in the fields of anthropology, history, Buddhist studies and Pali examine multiple dimensions of the problem. Buddhist responses to the crisis are discussed in detail, along with how Buddhism can help to create peace in Sri Lanka. Evaluating the role of Buddhists and their institutions in bringing about an end to war and violence as well as possibly heightening the problem, this collection puts forward

a critical analysis of the religious conditions contributing to continuing hostilities.”
[From publishers]

DEMOS web site

[Www.Demos.Co.Uk](http://www.demos.co.uk) Demos is a think tank with research interests in areas such as public services and security. Available on the website are its publications which can be downloaded free of charge. It is also undertaking future research, for example a project called 'Tackling the New Terror Threat' which is aimed at a 'community-based approach to counter terrorism' (see <http://www.demos.co.uk/projects/tacklingthenewterrorthreat/overview>)

Dingley, J. and M. Kirk-Smith (2002). 'Symbolism and Sacrifice in Terrorism.' ***Small Wars and Insurgencies* 13(1): 102-128.**

“This article compares an ETA shooting incident in the Basque lands with an IRA bombing in Northern Ireland with the aim of examining the often overlooked role of symbolism in ethnic nationalist terrorist acts. The study of symbolism is important because it plays a part in impelling the terrorist to act and then in defining the targets of their actions. And one of the most important symbolic acts is that of sacrifice, particularly the blood sacrifice whereby acts of violence link with religion and with man's collective being. The article examines how the importance of symbolism to ethnic nationalist terrorist arises from the particular cultural, social and religious milieu in which they live. This analysis suggests that the terrorist act itself is symbolic of the terrorist cause and should not be only understood in purely rational 'means-ends' terms.” [Journal abstract]

Durodié, B. (2004) 'Sociological Aspects of Risk and Resilience in Response to Acts of Terrorism'. *World Def Syst*, 7, 214-16.

Article pointing out that the lack of direction to and cohesion within society is of more pressing concern than the attention to technical and legal fixes to the problem of terrorism.

Durodié, B. (2005). 'Terrorism and Community Resilience - a UK Perspective'. *ISP/NSC Briefing Paper*. Chatham House, Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Looks at human responses to disasters, including the idea that social capital is often increased in such situations and that denying the communal response through only allowing professionals to respond to crises is counter-productive. Creation of public distrust through counter-terrorist measures actually undermines the social capital, thus doing the terrorists job for them and undermining our ability to counter them.

Eickelmann, D. F. and J. P. Piscatori (1996). *Muslim Politics*. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

This book looks at the use of symbolism in Islam, and how Islamic politics (as indeed in western politics) uses symbolism. It has chapters on the invention of tradition, sacred authority as well as looking at the changing political landscape within Islamic countries. Contesting the [Huntington](#) thesis of a clash of civilisations the authors argue that Islamic culture and politics has a greater fluidity and ability to adapt than Huntington's thesis allows.

Well researched and argued this work provides a far more nuanced view of modern Islam than is found in most other contemporary books and would be essential reading for those seeking a greater understanding of political Islam.

EI-Enany, R. (2006). *Arab Representations of the Occident: East-West Encounters in Arabic Fiction*. London, Routledge.

“This is one of the first books in English to explore Arab responses to Western culture and values in modern Arab literature. Through in-depth research EI-Enany examines the attitudes as expressed mainly through works of fiction written by Arab authors during the twentieth, and, to a lesser extent, nineteenth century. It constitutes an original addition to the age-old East-West debate, and is particularly relevant to the current discussion on Islam and the West.”

“Alongside raising highly topical questions about stereotypical ideas concerning Arabs and Muslims in general, the book explores representations of the West by the foremost Arab intellectuals over a two-century period, up to the present day, and will appeal to those with an interest in Islam, the Middle East, nationalism and the so-called ‘[Clash of Civilizations](#)’.” [From publishers]

Elworthy, S. and G. Rifkind (2005). ‘Hearts and Minds: Human Security Approaches to Political Violence.’ London, Demos.

This pamphlet seeks to show how a non-violent approach to terrorism and conflict would provide a much better long-term solution than resorting to armed conflict. This approach focuses on the human side of conflict and the psycho-emotional causes of political violence and ends by suggesting a plan to prevent and resolve conflict without resort to armed violence.

Esposito, J. L. (2002). *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Covering aspects such as Jihad and charting the development of Osama bin Laden's early career this book seeks to shed some light on modern Islam and its links to terrorism. Pointing out that Islam is not alone in its struggle with modernity (Christianity also struggles with it) this treatment is more understanding than other more journalistic works on the subject. Esposito also recognises the limits and

dangers of a 'war on terror' in terms of the limits that a military campaign can have in resolving the issue, and in the danger of a curtailment on civil liberties that such a war can 'justify'. Esposito argues that only by seeking to understand and address the political and economic causes of this current wave of unrest can we hope to successfully end it and this can only be done by working together, not in conflict.

Franks, M. (2001). *Women and Revivalism in the West : Choosing "Fundamentalism" In a Liberal Democracy. Basingstoke, Palgrave.*

“Why do some western women choose to join Christian and Islamic revivalist movements at the beginning of the 21st century? Revivalist religions (often called "fundamentalist") have a reputation for the policing of gender boundaries and roles and the blanket subjugation of women. This study aims particularly to establish what the attractions might be for women who choose to swim against the prevailing consumerist current and affiliate themselves with such groups in a liberal democracy.” [From Amazon]

Geaves, R., T. Gabriel, et al., Eds. (2004). *Islam and the West Post 9/11. Aldershot, Ashgate.*

This book looks at the impact of '9/11' on Muslims, such in increased Islamophobia and antipathy towards Muslims. It also looks at the impact on multicultural communities, both where Muslims are in the minority (UK and US) and where there are large minority non-Muslim communities (Nigeria and Indonesia). The aim is to provide a more critical understanding of the consequences of '9/11' than is found in the more journalistic accounts available.

Gibbs, S. (2005). "Islam and Islamic Extremism: An Existential Analysis." *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 45(2): 156-203.

“Islam, like all religions, offers solutions to existential anxieties. This article provides a timely analysis of Islamic mainstream and extremist doctrinal and ritualistic structures through an existential lens to gain an understanding of the psychological underpinnings of Islamic extremism. It is shown that Islam offers an interlocking trade-off among the ultimate concerns of meaning, freedom, and death in addition to individual solutions for each. It is argued that this container for holding existential anxiety is under assault by modernization and that the resultant psychic pressure is at the core of the psychology of Islamic extremist organizations. The work of Tillich, Yalom, May, and others provides the existential lens through which Islamic doctrines and practices, both mainstream and extremist, are examined.” [Journal abstract]

Gilliat-Ray, S. (2005). "Closed Worlds : (Not) Accessing Deobandi *Dar Ul-Uloom* in Britain." *Fieldwork in Religion* 1(1): 7-33.

This work has no direct reference or relation to the issue of terrorism and this point should be stressed. What it does chart is the author's unsuccessful attempts to gain

access to various Deobandi (one of the sectarian traditions of Islam) dar ul-uloom (Islamic seminary). As the institutions responsible for training religious professionals within the Islamic traditions research into dar ul-ulooms is desirable on many levels. The issues the article raises in terms of the close links with the Deobandi institutions in Britain and those on the Indian sub-continent, their closed (and oppositional) nature and their importance in respect of the training of British Islamic professionals are important ones, and the lessons learnt in terms of strategies employed/suggested for research should be taken on-board for any further research into aspects of British Muslim communities.

Gilliat-Ray, S. (2006). 'Educating the Ulama: Centres of Islamic Religious Training in Britain.' *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 17(1): 55-76.

This paper examines the profile of Islamic centres of teaching within the UK. Providing differing opinions from within the British Muslim community on the success and methodologies of these schools in how they provide religious training this article is not intended to have any direct input into the current debate on terrorism. However, this article should be placed within the context of some of the comments [for example, [Moussaoui](#)] made in relation to the radicalisation of young Muslims that point to a lack of available 'proper' religious instruction (as opposed to that provided by extremist groups). One of the points to come out of this paper is the paucity of research into this field and the fact that none of the centres commented on in this paper are believed to have any links to terrorism in any way only strengthens the argument that further research could only serve to strengthen and assist the development of Islamic religious training to fill the (at least perceived) gap in instruction for inquisitive young Muslims.

Girard, R. (2005). *Violence and the Sacred*. London, Continuum.

A key idea in Girard's work is 'mimetic rivalry', which suggests that, at the root of conflict, is competition between cultures, a desire to imitate and acquire the same things as the 'other', by violence if necessary. A prime example of this would be the traditional 'mimetic rivalry' between Islam and Christianity.

Glover, J. (1990). *Causing Death and Saving Lives: The Moral Problems of Abortion, Infanticide, Suicide, Euthanasia, Capital Punishment, War, and Other Life-or-Death Choices*. Harmondsworth, Penguin.

An overview of the ethical problems surrounding causing death, chapters 18 & 19 relating to war.

Goddard, H. (2000). *A History of Christian-Muslim Relations*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

This book charts the interaction between Christianity and Islam from the inception of the latter up to the twentieth century. A useful book for anyone seeking to understand the context and background of Christian-Muslim relations, and a crucial

historical guide to anyone looking to learn about the events that shaped many of today's understandings, misconceptions and knowledge between the two religions.

Gregory, F. and P. Wilkinson (2005). Riding Pillion for Tackling Terrorism Is a High-Risk Policy. ISP/NSC Briefing Paper. Chatham House, Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Looks at the problems in countering terrorism due to UK foreign policy being dictated to a certain extent by the US, also looks at the role of the intelligence community in prevention and pursuit of terrorists.

Haar, G. t. (2005). Religion: Source of Conflict or Resource for Peace? *Bridge or Barrier : Religion, Violence and Visions for Peace*. G. t. Haar and J. J. Busuttill. Leiden, Brill.

This article serves as an introductory chapter to the rest of the book as providing an overview of the question at hand. Most specifically Haar is concerned that religion has unfairly received a bad name due to recent world conflicts. She cites two often proffered observations about religion's involvement in conflicts: 1) that religion is an obstacle to peace and 2) that when religion is used within conflicts (for instance as justification) it does so contrary to its true nature. Whilst these statements are contradictory she goes on to point out that they reflect the truth that religion is neither inherently good nor evil.

Haar points to the role religion plays within a grander political or ideological scheme: for instance in former colonies the return of religion to the political scene, in place of the secular governments favoured by colonial powers, is seen as a 'de-colonisation' of the mind, a return to a previously existing religious authority. In other words religion is often used as a means, rather than as an ends in itself and Haar asks: "Has religion simply become a suitable instrument for political mobilisation, providing a resource that like any other - can be effectively exploited for rather mundane purposes?"

Whilst following [Juergensmeyer's](#) thesis that there is a new, religious, cold war following the collapse of the Soviet bloc, Haar also points out that in modern times there have been numerous *secular* conflicts that have led to a multitude of deaths (she quotes 167 million since the beginning of the twentieth century), she cites examples such as the two World Wars, Pol Pot, the Stalinist purges and China's Cultural Revolution. She points out that all ideologies, religious or not, can be manipulated to serve human interests (indeed one could argue that that is their aim). She also argues that migration is a political issue often associated with religion. For example, in the south of the Côte d'Ivoire, immigrants from the Sahel are associated with Islam. When their mosques are burnt down by the Christian majority it is not so much to do with their religious symbolism as their symbolism of a migrant presence.

However, religion is equally able to be used as a tool for peace, and Haar also looks at the role of ritual or religion (not religious) education in healing societies riven by conflict. She cites examples from Liberia and Lebanon.

Haar's chapter provides a useful overview of an argument built upon in the rest of the book she edits and is itself a useful introduction to the role religion plays in modern conflict, and can play in its resolution.

Haar, G. t. and J. J. Busuttil, Eds. (2005). *Bridge or Barrier: Religion, Violence and Visions for Peace*. International Studies in Religion and Society. Leiden, Brill.

Starting from Haar's own introductory article this work addresses the question of whether or not religion has gained an unreasonable bad name due to the recent conflicts. This negative image has come about largely because of the popular conception that there is a clash between two civilisations- the Arab-Muslim versus Western-Christian worlds. This view is so ensconced in political ideology that it leads to the unquestioning assumption that religion is the root cause of many of the world's conflicts.

In order to address this, the book is split up into several sections. Part 1 looks at the role of religion as a source of conflict. Part 2 considers questions of peace- moving religion from being an obstacle to, to an instrument of, peace. Part 3 reviews actualisations of visions of peace, considering a couple of case studies where religion has made a significant positive difference, and also looking at some insights offered by Buddhism (the rest of the book focussing mainly on the Abrahamic religions). Part 4 provides documentary resources, mainly to do with Human Rights, and in addition to the UN charter on these rights also contains similar charters published by Muslim, Jewish and Christian groups, affirming their commitment to, and support on religious grounds of, basic human rights.

Hadden, J. K. and A. Shupe, Eds. (1986). *Prophetic Religions and Politics: Religion and the Political Order*. New York, Paragon House.

This edited tome covers case studies into many regions of the world as well as different religious movements. Taking a Weberian understanding of prophecy and change within religion, it looks at the resurgence of religion onto the world political stage addressing issues such as fundamentalism, militancy, revivalism and politics in regions as diverse as Scotland and Ulster, Poland, Malaysia, China, North and South America and so on. Although written in the mid-eighties this work is useful as a comparative analysis of religious resurgence through all of the worlds' major faiths.

Haleem, H. A., O. Ramsbotham, et al., Eds. (1998). *The Crescent and the Cross: Muslim and Christian Approaches to War and Peace*. Basingstoke, Macmillan Press Ltd.

Contributed to by a number of leading scholars this work turns firstly to the shared heritages of the Islamic and Christian traditions before turning to how each then approaches the concepts of war and peace. Focussing also on common and

divergent themes between these two faiths there are then two cases studies, one on the (first) Gulf War and another on the Bosnian conflict.

Whilst showing the significant overlap between the two traditions the authors question the suggestion that there is a conflict between the two cultures and that in fact they have more in common than the secular societies in which they often find themselves. This scholarly work is a useful resource to understanding a lot of the similarities between Islam and Christianity and where (and how) exactly the differences lie.

Hall, J. R., P. D. Schuyler, et al. (2000). *Apocalypse Observed: Religious Movements and Violence in North America, Europe and Japan*. London, Routledge.

This book covers case studies of five new religious movements, or cults, and the violent events that brought them to the attention of the world. The authors look beyond the charismatic leaders and millennial outlooks to events external to the groups that contributed to their violent actions. The role of law enforcement agencies and anti-cult groups in these confrontations are seen as parts of the story which must be properly analysed in order to fully understand the reason why these violent events occurred.

Whilst Aum Shinrikyo is the only group covered that waged a 'campaign of terror' the use and justification of violence in new religious movements is an aspect that needs to be better understood if it is to be predicted and avoided in other religious movements. This book helps by going beyond the usual suspects to including the impact of external events and actions on the groups.

Halliday, F. (2001). *Two Hours That Shook the World : Causes and Consequences*. London, Saqi.

Important counterpoint to the arguments of [Huntington](#) from a respected political scientist who specialises on the Middle East. Argues that any conflict can not be reduced to cultural or religious factors and prioritises instead the explanatory power of the political economy. Highlights major real-world divisions within the fictive unities of both 'Islam' and 'the West'.

Hashmi, S. H. (2002). *Islamic Political Ethics: Civil Society, Pluralism and Conflict*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press.

"Explores, in both classical and contemporary contexts, the Islamic ethics of civil society, pluralism and war and peace including the question of jihad, examining both the legitimate conditions of the declaration of war and the proper conduct of war."
[From the publisher]

Hauerwas, S. (1992). *Against the Nations: War and Survival in a Liberal Society*. Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press.

This book is concerned with Christian ethics and considerations of Just War theory and pacifism as they relate to contemporary Christianity. Of most use is a chapter on the Jonestown tragedy as Hauerwas' takes a particularly interesting approach to this event. He argues that we should 'morally honour and respect' the people who took their own lives but that, ultimately, what occurred was wrong because they believed in was untrue.

In understanding this apparently contradictory position we need to know that Hauerwas is a practising Christian and that he understands that the Christian and Jewish traditions (as indeed Islamic) believe wholeheartedly that their beliefs are worth dying for. The problem with the Jonestown suicides was that what they believed in was not true.

The issue of truth itself is problematic (although not raised in this chapter) however the important points that Hauerwas raises relates to the lack of religious capital both within the Peoples Temple and in the wider community that meant that people were either unable or unwilling to point out the contradictions and falsehoods within Jones' thinking. This criticism is directed as much at the church as at Jones' followers. Hauerwas also points out that some of the typically understood notions of 'cultish behaviour' - the severe sacrifices, brainwashing, the abandonment of family and friends were equally as divisive issues relating to early Christianity as for these new religious movements.

Hervieu-Léger, D. (2000). *Religion as a Chain of Memory*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

The author demonstrates the difference between religion and modern belief systems by arguing that religion contains a chain of memory that involves and invokes the believer in a shared symbolism, ideology and social community. By denying these memories modern society has presided over a collective amnesia that has led to the loss of shared meaning and identity. Hervieu-Léger then argues that in the absence of these over-arching meaning systems a number of 'small memories' which in turn are creating new emotional communities. Whilst written against the backdrop of a European secularisation thesis that is not necessarily applicable to the rest of the world this theory of religion as inevitably involved with memory finds resonance when placed in the context of the re-creation of myths and memories used in the Serbian/Bosnian conflict and indeed in other political and religious conflicts around the world. The role of memory is clearly very important in these conflicts and this text is a key work in understanding the role memory plays.

Hillyard, P. and Liberty (1993). *Suspect Community : People's Experience of the Prevention of Terrorism Acts in Britain*. London, Pluto Press.

This book focuses on the experiences of the Irish communities as a consequence of legislation brought in to tackle political violence arising as a result of the troubles in

Northern Ireland. Featuring a large number of interviews, and some case studies it is a useful look at one aspect of the consequences of terrorism, namely the experiences of a 'targeted' community and of the effects of legislation. The particular focus in this book is the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act, introduced in 1974 following public outrage at the Birmingham pub bombings. Liberty (National Council for Civil Liberties) collaborated closely with the author and the outcome is that this book is very much an examination about the morality of such a law, and its effect on civil liberties in the UK as a whole, not just the Irish population.

Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain (2002). *The West's Weapons of Mass Destruction and Colonialist Foreign Policy : The Assessment of the Muslim Community in Britain.* London, Khilafah Publications.

The report aims to reveal the true aims of Anglo-American interests in the Middle Eastern region, both through historical analysis and a review of the contemporary crisis. Written shortly before the invasion of Iraq it demonstrates the chasm in understanding between the political rhetoric of the Bush/Blair governments and the concerns and outrage of at least a section of the British Muslim community.

Citing interviews, memoirs and government publications the report states that Western interest in the Middle East, specifically the area controlled by the former Ottoman Empire (referred to here as the last Khilafah / Caliphate) has always been about self-interest and not the interest of the inhabitants. The report concludes by calling for a new Islamic State that is needed to save all peoples from the morally bankrupt and ideologically unsound tyranny of Capitalism.

Whilst written with a readily apparent bias the report does serve, as mentioned above, as an important resource for understanding the resentment of British Muslims towards actions undertaken in the Middle East. Depending on the viewpoint it could be seen both as assisting the understanding of the roots of terrorism, but also as a consequence of state-sponsored terrorism.

Hoffman, B. (1996). 'Holy Terror: An Act of Divine Duty.' *World Today* 52(3): 79-81.

"Events during 1995 clearly demonstrated terrorism's re-emergence as a global security concern. Though unconnected, the series of indiscriminate bombings that rocked France, the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in Israel, and the bombings of a joint Saudi-American military training centre in Riyadh and of Egypt's embassy in Pakistan, all arguably point to the beginning of a new era of international terrorism - more lethal and severe than any other. As in the Tokyo nerve gas attacks and the bombing of a government building in Oklahoma City, the connecting thread in this wave of violence and bloodshed is religion." [*Journal abstract*]

Hoffman, B. (1999). *Inside Terrorism*. London, Indigo.

Instead of focussing on conceptualising terrorism this book concentrates on what the author identifies as "... the most salient and important trends in terrorism - both past and present..." This book provides a useful historical view on terrorism, organised into themes such as the post-colonial era, religion and terrorism and the role of the media.

Well researched and with an extensive bibliography this book is an important text by an author who has written extensively on the subject.

Huntington, S. P. (2002). *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order*. London, Free Press.

Huntington's work assesses the global political post-war landscape. Assuming a civilisationalist as opposed to statist approach he states that future conflicts and cooperation will be based on loyalties to civilisations rather than states. He cites as examples the support for the Bosnian Muslims by Muslim states such as Libya and Iran, whilst Russia provided diplomatic support for the Serbians. Noting the return of substantial religious involvement in world politics he draws particular attention to the role that a resurgent Muslim Civilisation plays in the shape of the new fault lines, in particular between the Western Christian bloc, and the Muslim countries. It is Huntington's thesis that the countries in the 'South' are playing an increasingly important role in world politics and that to avoid global conflict all the key countries within the different civilisations must partake in a global organisation of equals (i.e. the UN). It must also involve greater sensitivity on the part of key states in abstaining from interfering in the issues of other civilisations (e.g. the US action in Vietnam should not be repeated) in order to avoid global unrest.

This book provides a well-argued paradigm by which to understand the shifting nature of global politics and also an explanation for the rising tensions between different civilisations. That said it is worth noting that many scholars (e.g. see [Eickelman](#) and Piscatori) argue that Huntington's thesis is flawed and relies too much on an out-dated understanding of culture that is too monolithic to cope with the fluid reality of Islamist politics within what Huntington sees as a homogenous Islamic bloc.

Interfaith Network for the UK

Since its foundation in 1987, the Interfaith Network for the UK has published various books and pamphlets on subjects pertaining to the role of religion in public life in the UK and interfaith relations. Many of these are available free to download from the Network's website (see <http://www.interfaith.org.uk/publications/index.htm>). They do not deal with terrorism per se but with subjects of relevance to the pre-empting of religious violence, the development of religious capital and literacy, and the role of faith communities in community cohesion and urban regeneration.

Jacobson, J. (1998). *Islam in Transition: Religion and Identity among British Pakistani Youth*. London, Routledge.

This work builds on fieldwork carried out by the author in a London borough. Looking at the identities of young British Pakistanis it examines how the religion they are taught by their parents is a stabilising identity in a world and culture which due to their dual heritage they are both a part of and outside from. Building on extensive interviews this work is extremely useful in understanding the outlook and identity of young British Muslims.

Johnson, J. T. (1984). *Can Modern War Be Just?* New Haven, Yale University Press.

"Now that mankind has created the capability of destroying itself through nuclear technology, is it still possible to think in terms of a "just war"? Johnson argues that it is, and in the context of specific case studies he offers moral guidelines for addressing such major contemporary problems as terrorist activity in a foreign country, an individual's conscientious objection to military service, and an American defense policy that requires development of weapons that may be morally employed in case of need." [*Journal abstract*]

Juergensmeyer, M. (2003). *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*. Berkeley, California, University of California Press.

This work seeks to understand the linkage between violence and religion and does so through a series of case studies, from the Christian bombers of abortion clinics in the United States to Aum Shinrikyo in Japan. Looking at the role that cosmic ideologies and siege mentalities play in the violent episodes of some religious movements, Juergensmeyer also argues that such violence is an inherent part of religion. This work is considered to be of key importance to anyone seeking to understand the reason why, in recent times, there would seem to have been a resurgence in religious movements utilising violence.

Kakar, S. (1996). *The Colors of Violence: Cultural Identities, Religion, and Conflict*. London, The University of Chicago Press.

The book focuses on religious tension and violence between Muslims and Hindus in India, especially Hyderabad. Following on from the 1990 riots in that city the author presents in-depth interviews with participants and victims from both sides of the disturbances. He also looks at the issue of group dynamics, symbols and memories, especially how these can be created (or re-invented) to suit the ends of politicians/communities and so forth. This analysis is useful however, the author is a practising psychoanalyst and whilst it is his aim not to be charged with psychological reductionism there is a tendency towards this and as such the nature of the book does tend to take it out of the stricter remit of this review.

Kamalipour, Y. R., Ed. (1999). *Images of the Us around the World: A Multicultural Perspective*. Human Communication Processes. New York, State University of New York Press.

This book looks at the perception of the United States through the media of twenty different countries. Whilst this does have some use in terms of the actual perceptions and views recorded it is obvious that world politics have changed considerably since 1999 when the book was written, and these views will be of more limited value now. However, the concept and methodology of the book is clearly of use, not least when it is remembered that information and opinion are frequently shared between immigrant communities in Britain and their 'home' cultures abroad. In light of this understanding the media's portrayal of Britain and its foreign policy is clearly pertinent to understanding how these portrayals could affect opinions and decision making (within related communities) in this country.

Karsh, E. (2000). *Fabricating Israeli History: The "New Historians"*. London, Frank Cass.

This book seeks to debase the 'revisionist' history of Israel. The author states that a history of Israel has been created that places it at 'the source of all evil' and that this 'history' either deliberately distorts or fails to take into account certain historical facts. Setting aside the validity of the arguments this book demonstrates the power of re-creating memories/histories in order to justify actions and create identities. Very much a live issue in the Middle East.

Kelsay, J. and J. T. Johnson, Eds. (1991). *Just War and Jihad : Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on War and Peace in Western and Islamic Traditions*. Contributions to the Study of Religion. Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press.

The product of a series of discussions, in 1988-89, on Western and Islamic approaches to war, peace and statecraft. Considering historical and theoretical perspectives it aimed to bring together two fields which up to that point had been disengaged: the study of Western responses to the above issues, and that of Islamic religion and culture. All the contributing authors are based within 'Western' academia.

Kepel, G. (1994). *The Revenge of God: The Resurgence of Islam, Christianity and Judaism in the Modern World*. Cambridge, Polity.

This book looks at similarities between religious movements enjoying a resurgence within the Abrahamic traditions. However, whilst most books take Western notions and indicators of fundamentalism (itself a term rooted in Western modernity) Kepel starts off by looking at Islam, and then seeking out the common identifiers, such as the resistance of secular values and the spirit of the Enlightenment, within Christianity and Judaism.

Kepel, G. (2002). *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*. London, I.B. Tauris.

This book charts what Kepel refers to as the rise and fall of Islamist movements around the world. Starting in the 1970s with Qutb, the Iranian Revolution and the growth of the Muslim Brotherhood Kepel tracks the rise of Islamists movements and their increasing political significance on the world stage. In the second part of the book he then turns to their decline, particularly how violent actions such as the assassination of Sadat and the World Trade Centre attacks failed to achieve their intended aims. For example in the latter case al-Qaeda sought to galvanise world-wide support, amongst Muslims, for their aims, through this high-profile attack. However, Kepel argues that this aim failed as the Taliban was forcibly removed from power and the global uprising was significant only by its absence. Furthermore, he states that the New York attacks were actually the signs of a movement in its death throes, as opposed to the marking of a triumphalist resurgence that many commentators believe it is.

Written before the March 2003 invasion of Iraq and the continued incidents involving Islamic terrorist cells the suggestion by Kepel that Islamist movements are in decline seems to be premature. That said he remains one of the more highly regarded academics within this field and his work is still helpful in learning more about these movements themselves.

Kermani, N. (2002) *Roots of Terror: Suicide, Martyrdom, Self-Redemption and Islam*. *openDemocracy*

Extant on the web at:

<http://www.opendemocracy.net/debates/article.jsp?id=5&debateId=57&articleId=88#>

“After 11 September 2001 I was frequently asked, as many scholars of Islamic studies probably were, why certain people are prepared to hijack an aeroplane and plunge themselves and all the other passengers to certain death. I do not have an answer. What I have done instead is to tell three stories – about the cult of martyrdom in Shi’ite Islam, about modern fantasies of salvation through self-sacrifice, and about power politics in the Middle East – which together assemble the elements of a fourth: the unfinished story of the modern world.” [Author’s introduction]

Klein, N. (2001). *No Logo*. London, Flamingo.

This book is an account of the abuses of multi-national corporations and how they value their brands above their products. The products themselves are ruthlessly marketed to unthinking consumers, having been manufactured in poor, and sometimes illegal, working conditions. Whilst the book is not about violence or terrorism in anyway, it does include a chapter on 'Reclaim the Streets' movement that led to violent clashes in the City of London, as well as other cities around the world.

Nor is the book an analysis of the anti-corporate movement (or of the violence that took place in support of it), however, as it is written by a proponent of the movement it does serve as a primary source of information into the aims and goals of (part of) the disparate anti-corporate struggle. From reading this we do see that in common

with (violent) religious groups, for example, the followers of this movement also see themselves 'at war' against a bigger and stronger common enemy (multinationals) and this sense of 'us' against the 'other' is just as strong.

Knott, K. and Randolph Horn, D. (2002). *Religious Literacy: A Practical Guide to the Region's Faith Communities*. Wakefield, Yorkshire and Humber Assembly.

This short booklet notes the lack of religious literacy in Britain, examines the place of faith in the public sphere at national, regional and local levels and in relation to individual religious identity, offers definitions of faith, religion and spirituality and their relationship to broader issues of culture, race and ethnicity, examines religion in the Yorkshire and Humber region, and offers suggestions for forward action and good practice. A list of useful resources and contacts is provided. The report is available to download in pdf format from

<http://www.yorkshireandhumberfaiths.org.uk/faiths/religiousliteracy/>.

Kose, A. (1996). *Conversion to Islam: A Study of Native British Converts*. London, Kegan Paul.

“Religious conversion is an immensely complex phenomenon. The term comprises such diverse experiences as increased devotion within the same religious structure, a shift from no religious commitment to a devout religious life, or a change from one religion to another. This study focuses on the conversion experiences of 70 native British converts to Islam. It addresses the following questions - why do people become Muslims, what are the backgrounds of the converts, what are the patterns of conversion to Islam, and how far are existing conversion theories applicable to the group under study. The full range of social and psychological forces at work in the conversion experience are examined with reference to the converts, whose whole life history - childhood, adolescent experiences and the conversion process itself - were examined in detail. Chapter 1 deals with the history and present situation of both life-long Muslims and converts living in Britain. Chapter 2 focuses on childhood and adolescent experiences reviewing the psychological and sociological theories of conversion and attempts to find out how far these theories are applicable to the converts to Islam. Chapter 3 examines the backgrounds of the converts regarding religion. It then analyzes the immediate antecedents of the conversion as well as the conversion process, focussing on version motifs. A conversion process model is also developed in this chapter. Chapter 4 looks at the post-conversion period to find out what changes the converts underwent. It also examines the relationship between converts, their parents and society at large. Chapter 5 reveals the findings on conversion through Sufism. Comparisons between conversion through Sufism and through new religious movements in the West are also made. This study should be an important addition to the study of religious conversion, as conversion to Islam either from outside or within Islam is widely neglected in the literature.” [From Amazon]

Kureishi, H. (1995). *The Black Album*. London, Faber.

Story charting the involvement of a young British Muslim in a small Islamic group that displays increasingly 'extremist' tendencies. The book deals with issues of identity as the young man struggles between his Pakistani/Muslim heritage and his Western upbringing.

Kureishi, H. (2005). *The Word and the Bomb*. London, Faber and Faber.

Contains extracts from several works ('The Rainbow Sign' (published with the screenplay of *My Beautiful Laundrette* in 1986), *The Black Album* (1995), 'The Road Exactly' (published with *My Son the Fanatic* in 1998, itself first published in *Love in a Blue Time*, 1997) 'Bradford' (*Granta* 20, Winter 1986) 'Sex and Secularity' (published with *Collected Screenplays One*, 2002) 'The Arduous Conversation Will Continue' (*The Guardian*, July 2005) 'The Carnival of Culture' (July, 2005). This book's usefulness is found insofar as it serves to introduce the reader to the views and fictional works of the author. Mr Kureishi himself makes strong statements about the alienation of (particularly the younger generation of) Pakistani communities in Britain both from British and Pakistani cultures.

Whilst writing from a position of antipathy towards religion, the author also clearly states the need for recognition and understanding of religion and constructive dialogue with its adherents. Coming from his own experience of dual-belonging (and therefore a feeling of not belonging anywhere) the author's high-profile and successful works of fiction provide a useful insight into the problems of identity within ethnic-minority communities within the UK.

C. Kurzman, (ed.) (1998). *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Kurzman maintains that at least three modes of 'liberal Islam' can be discerned. These begin to describe the different ways in which Muslim writers have engaged with the sacred sources on matters from theocracy to democracy, freedom of thought to the rights of women and non-Muslim minorities. First, he identifies a 'liberal *shari'a*' perspective, which suggests that certain liberal positions are actually sanctioned by divine command. However, such interpretations are always open to contestation by more 'traditional' or 'fundamentalist' readings of the texts. Second, the 'silent *shari'a*' perspective suggests a freedom to adopt liberal positions where no clear guidance is given from God. However, the implication that revelation is incomplete is still a risky one to advance in the Muslim world; it would also seem to accept guidance in the *shari'a* that is 'illiberal'. Finally, the idea of an 'interpreted *shari'a*' suggests that while understood as divinely inspired, the *shari'a* is actually open to plural human interpretations. Kurzman notes that this approach is perhaps closest to Western Liberalism but is also most vulnerable to accusations of relativism and apostasy.

Lawrence, B. (1991). Holy War (Jihad) in Islamic Religion and Nation-State Ideologies. *Just War and Jihad : Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on War and Peace in Western and Islamic Traditions*. J. Kelsay and J. T. Johnson. Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press: 141 - 160.

Looking at the concept and meaning of Jihad and the variations of meaning between different denominations and interpretations.

Lewis, B. (2003). *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror*. London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Most useful as a historical account of Islam over the past thirteen centuries of Islamic history, looking at the main fault-lines that have developed into the modern conflict between Islam and the 'West'. The author has written extensively on this subject and his works can be considered to be amongst the key contributions to the understanding of the roots and causes of modern Islamist terrorism.

Lewis, J. (2005). *Language Wars: The Role of Media and Culture in Global Terror and Political Violence*. London, Pluto.

This book looks at the relationship between media, culture and their role in political violence. Looking at how this violence is found within the public discourse of society he charts how this discourse has been used to construe Islam in a negative light, often with the mass media at the vanguard of the process. Access to information through the media is one example of how this discourse can be controlled, for example through shocking and emotional accounts of 'terrorist' atrocities whilst scaling back coverage of the ongoing Iraqi casualties during the Gulf War and occupation of Iraq.

Lewis, P. (1996). *The Functions, Education and Influence of the 'Ulama in Bradford's Muslim Communities*. Leeds, University of Leeds.

This short paper looks into the role of the 'ulama (religious professionals) focussing on concerns about the level and kind of education, language skills and relevance to the young British Muslim population. Lewis also looks at the expectations and experiences of British trained 'ulama in Bradford.

Lewis, P. (2002). *Islamic Britain: Religion, Politics and Identity among British Muslims*. London, I.B. Tauris.

This book focuses on the Muslim communities within Bradford with the aim of providing a more informed view into British Muslim communities than that found within popular discourse. At the same time Lewis charts the increasing engagement between these communities and the local and national state whilst being more attentive to the specifics of religious and ethnic traditions than other contemporary works.

In the 'Postscript' added to the second edition of this book he argues that South Asian heritage Muslim leaderships and institutions have failed in the task of transmitting Islam in a contextually relevant way. As a result, they have opened up possibilities for 'radical' movements. In part, such failures can be explained by the weak social capital of some South Asian Muslim heritage communities, that is, the way in which 'underdeveloped' contexts of emigration continue to have consequences of 'underdevelopment' in the UK. However, Lewis also points to a dispersed (as opposed to centralised) structure of religious authority in Islam that would seem to allow for marginal 'radical' figures to capture the centre of attention, not least under conditions of globalisation.

Lewis, P. (a.p.). Faith in the city – religious and secular traditions collaborating to limit the appeal and impact of radical Islam: Bradford, a case-study, University of Bradford.

This article lists some of the problems facing Muslim communities, but focuses mainly on inter-religious initiatives undertaken within Bradford to build up social capital and prevent a repeat of recent disturbances. Lewis argues that demonstrating the benefits of these approaches on a city-wide scale could also provide valuable data for those seeking to address similar problems on a much wider scale.

Limage, L. J. (2000). 'Education and Muslim Identity: The Case of France.' *Comparative Education* 36(1): 73-94.

"The French republican principles upon which public education is based include strict separation of religion from schooling. At the same time, public funds subsidise a large number of private schools, over 90% Catholic. Virtually no recognition or public support is provided for Muslim or Jewish schools, nor is there any public or group demand that it do so. This article examines the complex and changing context in which Muslim identity has evolved in France for and by second and third generation immigrants of Muslim origin from the Maghreb (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia) or to a lesser degree from ex-Yugoslavia, Turkey or sub-Saharan Africa. The latest phase is the most confrontational as the Muslim origin population, regardless of its actual heterogeneity or length of stay in France, is affected by the waves of terrorism and fundamentalism flowing from the Algerian civil war. Ill-informed French public opinion frequently amalgamates all Maghreb or Machrek individuals and communities when faced with the threat of violence. This article situates the official discourse which proclaims that the state and its schools promote a secular and equal opportunity for all and at the same time makes no allowance for cultural, linguistic, religious or socio-economic diversity. It examines more recent attempts by French governments to address the longer term needs and aspirations (especially religious) of immigrant populations of Muslim origin as it becomes clear that these populations are massively becoming French citizens and have no further plans to return to countries of origin. The article concludes with reflections on the specificity of the French approach to religious and cultural diversity. Above all, it emphasises a certain unity of view across political parties and communities that this specificity, although in crisis, does not require major change of the traditional republican approach." [*Journal abstract*]

Lyall, S. (2006). " Hungry for Fresh Recruits, Cult-Like Islamic Groups Know Just When to Pounce." *The New York Times*. New York. 17th August 2006.

Extant at

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/17/world/europe/17converts.html?ex=1156564800&en=e0eae37d43273795&ei=5070&emc=eta1>

This short article highlights the problems facing new converts to Islam, in the form of fundamentalist groups seeking to radicalise them whilst they are still new to the faith, and less sure in themselves.

Macey, M. (1999). 'Class, Gender and Religious Influences on Changing Patterns of Pakistani Muslim Male Violence in Bradford.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22(5): 845-866.

Suggests that analysis of Pakistani Muslim communities requires explanation not just in terms of social class and 'race' but also with reference to religion and culture insists that there is an increasing tendency towards public and domestic violence amongst Pakistani males in Bradford and that this cannot be explained simply in terms of material deprivation and social exclusion. Citing examples such as a vigilante campaign to remove prostitutes from Manningham and the 'policing' of 'un-Islamic' activities amongst young Muslim women by the 'mobile phone mob', she argues that it is necessary to examine the way in which Islam - whether 'orthodox' or not - can be deployed to legitimate such violence.

Marty, M. E. and R. S. Appleby, Eds. (1991). *Fundamentalisms Observed : A Study Conducted by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*. The Fundamentalism Project. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

The first volume in The Fundamentalism Project this volume is a historical and empirical introduction to a number of distinct movements as explored within fourteen case studies from across five continents and several different academic disciplines.

Marty, M. E. and R. S. Appleby, Eds. (1993). *Fundamentalisms and Society : Reclaiming the Sciences, the Family, and Education*. The Fundamentalism Project. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

The second volume in The Fundamentalism Project looks at the influence on branches of society (such as science, education and women's rights) by various fundamentalist movements. Whilst they often espouse separatist ideologies they need and choose to enter into a dialogue with the modern and secular societies around them and this volume charts the influence that this process has on both parties. The volume also looks at the role of women within these movements, finding that often women support and reinforce patriarchal modes of organisation, whilst emphasising the sacralized spheres of female authority (such as the family and the home).

Marty, M. E. and R. S. Appleby, Eds. (1993). *Fundamentalisms and the State : Remaking Politics, Economies, and Militance*. The Fundamentalism Project. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Volume three of The Fundamentalism Project charts the involvement of fundamentalist movements in politics, economics and lawmaking up to 1992. It also investigates how involvement in the political process can lead some movements to compromise and change their character, to the extent that the definition of them as 'fundamentalist' no longer seems appropriate.

Marty, M. E. and R. S. Appleby, Eds. (1994). *Accounting for Fundamentalisms : The Dynamic Character of Movements*. The Fundamentalism Project. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

The fourth volume of The Fundamentalism Project looks at the process of change within fundamentalist movements as they react with the societies outside of their enclaves. Addressing questions about what makes the movements act in different ways, why some movements are aggressive, whilst others are more accommodating or even separate themselves as much as possible. Looking at the internal and external dynamics of change this volume also charts the processes of recruitment, governance and decision making in a series of case studies.

Marty, M. E. and R. S. Appleby, Eds. (1995). *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*. The Fundamentalism Project. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

The fifth and final volume of The Fundamentalism Project provides analytical and comparative takes on the original hypothesis of the project: that fundamentalist movements share certain family traits namely reactive, absolutist and anti-secular religious activism. It charts four different ways that fundamentalist movements react to the world around them and in its concluding four essays provides a framework for the study and analysis of fundamentalisms.

Marty, M. E. and R. S. Appleby. *The Fundamentalism Project*

<http://www.press.uchicago.edu/Complete/Series/FP.html> This URL points to the online details of the published works coming out of The Fundamentalism Project. Individual publications are listed in this bibliography.

McCormick, P. T. (2006). "Violence: Religion, Terror, War." *Theological Studies* 67(1): 143-162.

"The survey examines writings in three areas: (1) the causes and cures of the rise of religious violence and terrorism, with particular attention to how Christian theology and the Bible contribute to or challenge this violence; (2) the ethical challenges of terrorism and the need to find a moral response to this threat; and (3) the strengths and limits of just war thinking in responding to contemporary forms of violence."

[*Journal abstract*]

McLoughlin, S. (1996). 'In the Name of the Umma: Globalisation, 'Race' Relations and Muslim Identity Politics in Bradford', in *Political Participation and Identities of Muslims in Non-Muslim States*, Shadid, W.A.R. and P.S. van Koningsveld. The Netherlands, Kok Pharos.: pp.206-228.

Describes a "Charity Dinner for Bosnia and Kashmir" held in Bradford after *'id ul-fitr* in 1994. The dinner was organised by local Muslim businessmen who were frustrated that human rights abuses against Muslims in Bosnia and Kashmir were continuing unchecked by a post-communist 'new world order'. In the accounts of the speakers who addressed the gathering before dinner, the idea of the *umma* produced Muslims - whether they might be in Bradford, Bosnia or Kashmir - as a community that should be unequivocally bounded in solidarity against a hostile world outside. They debated how through unity and a self-reliant activism, grounded in a view of the world distinctive from the status quo represented either by the British establishment or the United Nations, Muslims might best generate an empowering alternative to their current local-global oppressed status. A local-global intersection of Muslim interests does not suggest a mobilisation of Muslims on a global scale however. Rather because identification positions are contingent, unity, even on a national or local level, is difficult to organise. Therefore what is under discussion in this paper is the emergence of temporary and localised political struggles that attempt to imagine their projects through discourses that transcend both local and national belongings. The description and analysis of the dinner explores both the potential, and the actual limits, of the idea of a globally connected Muslim community, as one basis for local protest.

McLoughlin, S. (2005). Writing a Br-Asian City: Ethnicity, 'Race', Culture and Religion in Accounts of Postcolonial Bradford. *A Postcolonial People : South Asians in Britain*. N. Ali, V. S. Kalra and S. H. Sayyid. London, Hurst & Co.: 110-49.

Argues that unless we have a better understanding of social and historical change in 'BrAsian' cities like Bradford, we can not properly evaluate the reality of their contemporary dilemmas. The publication of Ouseley's *Community Pride Not Prejudice: Making Diversity Work in Bradford*, is an overdue admission of the failure of 'multicultural' policies in the city. However, set against the political context of a revived emphasis on 'integration' under the banner of 'community cohesion' and 'citizenship', a concern with Ouseley's report is that, read alone, it is in danger of decontextualising the emergence of Bradford as a particular sort of post-colonial, trans-national, 'BrAsian' city, that has been in the making for at least half a century now.

Miles, J. (2004). 'Religion and American Foreign Policy.' *Survival* 46(1): 23ff.

"American foreign policy will more effectively counter Islamist terrorism if it more effectively counters the terrorists' invocation of Islam. The indirect promotion of religious tolerance in the Muslim world, rather than direct promotion of Western-style

democracy, is the key. To that end, the United States must cultivate Muslim human-rights activists and intellectuals as assiduously as it did their Soviet counterparts during the Cold War. First, however, it must reassert the constitutional separation of church and state that some Americans seem eager to blur. No velvet revolution impends in any case: the Muslim political future will probably look more like Yugoslavia than Czechoslovakia. But long-running internecine conflicts may have left the umma [Muslim worldwide community] in a state of exhaustion analogous to Europe's at the end of the Thirty Years War. There is, in short, a moment to be seized if American diplomacy can muster the cultural sophistication to seize it." [Journal abstract]

Milton-Edwards, B. (2005). *Islamic Fundamentalism since 1945*. London, Routledge.

"Since the Second World War, Islam and politics have combined to form a potent force known as Islamic fundamentalism. This force has, in recent years, grabbed the headlines as a new and grave threat to the West. Milton-Edwards analyses the roots and emergence of the new Islamic movements and the main thinkers that inspired them. Providing a much-needed historical overview, the main facets of Islamic fundamentalism are put in a global context, with a thematic debate of issues such as: the effects of colonialism on Islam; secularism and the Islamic reaction; Islam and violence; globalisation and trans-national Islamic movements; and Islam in the wake of 9/11." [Summary from Book Data Limited, UK]

Modood, T. (2005). *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

Within the existing literature on Islam in the UK one of the most important 'structural' explanations of the roots of 'radicalisation' amongst Muslim diasporas can be found within the works of Tariq Modood and this book is a good example of these. He looks at important issues concerning the impact on Muslim youth of socio-economic deprivation and exclusion, racism and Islamophobia. In addition to addressing 'Britishness' and other such issues on the basis of race, Modood also looks at the emergence of an underclass based on religion and the effects of an 'unexpected challenge to secular modernity' which for example has seen Islam labelled as the 'Other' within British society.

Modood, T., R. Berthoud, et al. (1997). *Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage*. London, Policy Studies Institute.

This book is the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities and contains useful data on this area broken down into issues such as employment, families, income, housing, religion, etc. Essential reading, especially given the lack of data (this survey is pre 2001) about religion and belonging available on a national level.

Modood, T. and P. Werbner (1997). The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe: Racism, Identity and Community. London, Zed Books.

This book contains a series of chapters looking at the practise of multiculturalism in Europe, including the problems it faces and also case studies on particular areas, such as Bradford or countries such as France and Germany. Demonstrating that multiculturalism is the result of a fluid discourse as opposed to political strategy the articles show how a new Europe is being reshaped and created.

Moghissi, H., Ed. (2006). Muslim Diaspora: Gender, Culture and Identity. Islamic Studies Series. London, Routledge.

“*Muslim Diaspora* identifies those aspects of migratory experience that shatter or reinforce a group’s attachment to its homeland and affect its readiness to adapt to a new country. The contributors to this collection examine many dimensions of life in the Diaspora and demonstrate that identity is always constructed in relation to others. They show how religious identity in diaspora is mediated by many other factors such as: gender; class; ethnic origin; and national status.”

“A central aim is to understand Diaspora as an agent of social and cultural change, particularly in its transformative impact on women. Throughout, the book advances a more nuanced understanding of the notions of ethnicity, difference and rights. It makes an important contribution to understanding the complex processes of formation and adoption of trans-national identities and the challenging contradictions of a world that is being rapidly globalized in economic and political terms, and yet is increasingly localized and differentiated, ethically and culturally. *Muslim Diaspora* includes contributions from outstanding scholars and is an invaluable text for students in sociology, anthropology, geography, cultural studies, Islamic studies, women’s studies as well as the general reader.” [From publisher]

Moussaoui, A. S. and F. Bouquillat (2003). Zacarias Moussaoui: The Making of a Terrorist. London, Serpent's Tail.

This book is written by the brother of Zacarias Moussaoui, the man alleged to have been part of the September 11th 2001 plot. Arrested in August 2001 he was in prison at the time the planes hit their targets, but in 2006 was found guilty of involvement. In this book his brother, Abd Samad tells of their childhood, and the difficulties they faced growing up in France.

Born in France to Moroccan parents they faced poverty from an early age, as well as racism and a lack of identity in both their home cultures. Abd Samad charts these difficulties through to where he lost contact with his brother, who was then living in London and who had become involved in a Wahhabi sect. The author also provides one chapter of a friend of his who also ended up involved in a Wahhabi sect in London, and who lost his life fighting in Chechnya.

This book provides an essential insight into the life of a terrorist and contributes immensely to a personal understanding of the issues that caused a young man to

take this route. The author also takes pains to point out the difference between moderate Islam and the minority, who he places in groups under the label of well-funded and ideologically extreme Wahhabism. He points out that for so many young people there is a risk of recruitment into these groups, and that to counter this strong cultural and religious anchors are needed, so that they have a sense of identity and the religious knowledge to counter the arguments put forward by these sects.

Mueller, J. (2005). 'Response.' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17: 523-528.

Response to the papers written examining and questioning his paper in the same volume. Clarifies some of the points raised in a helpful fashion.

Mueller, J. (2005). "Six Rather Unusual Propositions About Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17: 487-205.

This article argues that the industry of terrorism, perpetrated by politicians and authors (as well as the public) actually does more damage to the US than the terrorists themselves. It points out that the fear generated by this industry and the over-reaction to actual attacks costs more to the American economy than is necessary. 2001 aside, Mueller points out that more people fewer people have died within the US as a result of international terrorism than have drowned in toilets, in addition the measures the requiring people to spend an extra half an hour in airports alone costs the US economy \$15 billion a year. Mueller states that not doing anything at all in response to terrorist attacks, or at least not over-reacting is by far and away the most sensible course of action as 'our way of life' is under more threat from ourselves than terrorists. Whilst Mueller's reasoning seems far more sensible than the hyperbole he correctly de-bunks it would be fair to suggest that his hypothesis should be expanded to include the social dimensions to shocking incidents (for instance compare the over re-action to the Anthrax scare to that of the death of Diana, Princess of Wales) as the psychology of communal fear is something that he does not deal with in enough depth. That said, his argument is an important and necessary counter to the majority of papers submitted warning us (or silently accepting the premise) of potentially lethal risk.

Mukta, P. (1995). *The Politics of Religious Nationalism and New Indian Historiography: Lessons for the Indian Diaspora*. Warwick, Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations.

This paper looks at the increase in religious violence in India, particularly between Hindu and Muslim communities and looks at this in relation to the rise in Hindu nationalism. It addresses the influences of colonial politics and ideals on the construction of a Hindu identity and the re-creation of a violent Hindu identity (and history) to support political aims. It argues that intellectuals as well as community/national leaders need to be careful with constructs such as 'Hinduism' if they are not to unwittingly support the kind of creative-history that supports the kind of violent nationalism seen in India.

Neuburger, L. d. C. and T. Valentini (1996). *Women and Terrorism*. Basingstoke, Macmillan Press Ltd.

This book initially sets out to provide a better understanding of women's participation in terrorism. It contains interviews with some female terrorists. The data is predominantly found from within Italy and the discussion focussed around psychology and legal issues. As the cases in question are predominantly political issue groups the relevance of this book to the current review is limited, although mentioned as one of the few books to focus solely on the role of women within terrorism.

Nandi, P. K. (1996). 'Socio-Political Context of Sikh Militancy in India.' *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 31(3-4): 178-190.

This paper explores the social and political context of the recent conflict and militancy of the Sikhs in India and seeks to test Brass' theory that such (ethnic) conflicts are not "givens" but are socio-political constructions. Following a brief sketch of the history of the Sikhs as a religious minority in India, the paper brings into focus the inevitable conflict between the demand by a militant wing of the Sikh community for an independent state based on religion, and the principle of secularism as enshrined in the Indian Constitution. Political manoeuvring by both sides of the divide and using each other for temporary advantages is seen as rampant. Random acts of terrorism by the militants in pursuit of their goal(s) and some desperate, often indecisive, governmental responses are highlighted. Additional perspectives are brought to bear by way of interpretation and specification. [*Journal abstract*]

O'Day, A. (2004). *Cyberterrorism*. Aldershot, Ashgate.

This work charts some the history and issues involved with cyber-terrorism. Assaults on computers, networks and the information carried on them are quite common in recent years, but unless there is a terrorist intent then these works are seen primarily as the result of *hacktivists*. The articles contained in this book also consider the difficulties in telling the difference, not least due to the vagaries of any definition of 'terrorism'. One of the articles charts al-Qaeda's use of the internet, and provides a list of websites believed to be linked to the organisation.

Opendemocracy web site

www.opendemocracy.net/home/index.jsp features articles on a number of issues relating to global current affairs. The website states it is committed to democracy and human rights and aims to ensure that 'marginalised views and voices are heard'.

Phillips, M. (2006). Londonistan : How Britain Is Creating a Terror State Within. London, Gibson Square.

Populist book written by a leading journalist and arguing that Britain is only just waking up to and debating the problem of potentially thousands of 'home-grown' terrorists. The style of the book and its sometimes sweeping conclusions mean it is not of much value to a properly academic debate on terrorism or the problems facing multiculturalism in Britain.

Poole, E. (2002). Reporting Islam: Media Representations of British Muslims. London, I.B. Tauris.

This book takes its data from the British press, tabloid and broadsheet, and seeks to analyse and understand how the media portrays Islam. Using specific case-studies as well as general analysis this book also looks at the implications of the media's (generally negative) coverage for British Muslims as well as society in general. Given the media's influence in shaping the views about Islam of many non-Muslims and indeed the nature of the debate for Muslims as well, this study has great importance especially for anyone seeking to understand the cultural climate that British Muslims find themselves within.

Primoratz, I., Ed. (2004). *Terrorism: The Philosophical Issues*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

This work compiles articles written about what defines terrorism, as well as the moral and ethical stakes that need to be considered. The articles are contributed from a wide variety of sources, for example as well as a consideration of whether a utilitarian morality can justify terrorism there is also Trotsky's defence of terrorism through revolution ('A defense of the Red Terror') as well as case studies one of which argues that the British "area bombing" campaign in WWII was a clear example of state-sponsored terrorism.

Qureshi, S. and J. Khan (1989). *The Politics of Satanic Verses : Unmasking Western Attitudes*. Leicester, Muslim Community Studies Institute.

This booklet seeks to explain the responses to The Satanic Verses as well as "unmask Western attitudes" towards Muslims in Britain, international politics, etc. Written by two "Islamic activists" (their terminology) the book does have a clearly stated bias, but is nonetheless a useful insight into the feelings of the British Muslim community at the time of the Rushdie affair.

Reader, I. (2000). Religious Violence in Contemporary Japan: The Case of Aum Shinrikyo. Richmond, Surrey, Curzon.

This excellent study of Aum Shinrikyo explores the reasons why the movement developed a violent response to the society around it. Exploring factors such as its charismatic leadership, sacred world view and millennial disposition Reader also

argues that Aum Shinrikyo is not unique in developing these violent tendencies and that the linkage between violence and religion itself must be properly acknowledged to understand the course of action it took.

Reader, I. (2002). 'Spectres and Shadows: Aum Shinrikyo and the Road to Megiddo.' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 14(1): 145-186.

This article examines intelligence agency reports, such as the FBI's Project Megiddo, that focus on millennial religious movements and the year 2000. It does so in the context of the Japanese millennial religion Aum Shinrikyo, whose use of chemical weapons was cited in the reports as a significant watershed in the history of terrorism. Showing why the reports used Aum in this way as a 'textbook case' of millennial violence, it analyses the Aum affair in comparative millennial contexts and shows how and why its violence occurred. In so doing it shows how Project Megiddo and other reports err in many of their claims, such as the possible parallels between Aum and Christian Identity movements, the notion that Aum was trying to precipitate a final war, and the assumption that specific dates such as 2000 serve as triggers for millennial violence. [*Journal abstract*]

Rippin, A. *Muslims, their Religious Beliefs and Practices*, 3rd edn. (2005). Abingdon, Routledge.

Excellent general introduction. Includes a valuable orientation to matters of revivalism and 'fundamentalism' in an historical context. Strong on the significance of the interaction of history with present contexts (as attested by the need for subsequent editions) or, to put it another way, of the historical context of contemporary developments.

Robbins, T. and S. J. Palmer, Eds. (1997). *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements*. New York, Routledge.

"As we approach the Millennium, apocalyptic expectations are rising in North America and throughout the world. Outside the symbolic aura of the millennium, this excitation is fed by currents of unsettling social and cultural change. The "millennial myth" ingrained in American culture is continually generating new movements, which draw upon the myth and also reshape and reconstruct it. *Millennium, Messiahs and Mayhem* examines many types of apocalypticism such as economic, racist, environmental, feminist, as well as those erupting from established churches. Many of these movements are volatile and potentially explosive. *Millennium, Messiahs and Mayhem* brings together scholars of apocalyptic and millennial groups to explore aspects of the contemporary apocalyptic fervour in all original contributions. Opening with a discussion of various theories of apocalypticism, the editors then analyze how millennialist movements have gained ground in largely secular societal circles. Section three discusses the links between apocalypticism and established churches, while the final part of the book looks at examples of violence and confrontation, from Waco to Solar Temple to the Aum Shinri Kyo subway disaster in Japan. Contributors include: James Aho, Dick Anthony, Robert Balch, Michael Barkun, John Bozeman,

David Bromley, Michael Cuneo, John Hall, Massimo Introvigne, Philip Lamy, Ronald Lawson, Martha Lee, Mark Mullins, Anson Shupe, Susan Palmer, Thomas Robbins, Philip Schuyler Catherine Wessinger." [Book Data Limited,UK]

Roy, O. (1994). *The Failure of Political Islam*. London, Tauris.

This book charts what the author sees as the failure of political Islam- Islamism. He states that whilst Afghanistan and Iran were both the subject of successful Islamist revolutions the movements themselves failed as they could not change the society in their stated way. Whilst Islamist movements still exist he argues that the political movement has moved beyond the revolutionary stage into a neo-fundamentalism where whilst groups still clamour for a global umma the debate has remained framed by more pressing issues of nationhood, ethnic and religious differences. The neo-fundamentalism it leaves behind is inflexible in its dealings with modernity, in comparison to its Islamist roots who engaged with and recognised their role within it.

Roy, O. (2004). *Globalised Islam : The Search for a New Ummah*. London, Hurst & Company.

A sequel to Roy's (1995) [*Failure of Political Islam*](#) this book focuses on the movement of Islam beyond its traditional boundaries. Roy examines the differences between movements which seek to secure (and restrain) Islam in a religious space within a secular state and those that desire to see a global Islamic community. Unlike other commentators Roy does not see the revival of Islam outside of its traditional boundaries as a backlash against westernisation, but rather as a product of globalisation.

He points to evidence showing that many of the trans-national Islamic groups are based amongst and draw their support from, western Muslims. Striving to establish their own identity in a globalised, western society these groups constitute a neo-fundamentalist movement that seeks a return to a idealised global umma.

A key author in this field Roy is important to consider in any debate on the roots and causes of modern forms of (Islamic) terrorism not least because of his understanding and discussion around the role and identity of western Muslims in neo-fundamentalist movements.

Runnymede Trust (1997). *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All*. London, Runnymede Trust.

The report from a multi-ethnic, multi-religious committee looking into the history of British Muslims in the United Kingdom, the nature of anti-Muslim prejudice and the role of the media in reinforcing Islamophobia. The report also highlights problems facing the British Muslim community, through the eyes of the young people as well as community leaders.

Ruthven, M. (1990). *A Satanic Affair: Salman Rushdie and the Rage of Islam*. London, Chatto & Windus.

Looks at the Rushdie affair and how the attention of the world got focussed on the divide between the two cultures, between secularism and religion.

Sageman, M. (2004). *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Example of a book providing limited usefulness. Whilst quite open about the reliance on publicly available sources the book appears to take an un-critical stance with regard to the validity of much of the information.

Sardar, Z. (2004). *Desperately Seeking Paradise: Journeys of a Sceptical Muslim*. London, Granta.

This biographical work charts the author's relationship to Islam. As a Muslim intellectual on the boundaries of mainstream Islam he argues that the problem with modern Islam (framed within the same understanding of the problem as Bernard Lewis' thesis) is that it remains bounded by Western categories of knowledge and understanding, in addition it has allowed itself to become intellectually stagnant in this situation whilst it allows itself to be led by "bearded ones" (conservative leaders).

Whilst the book allows some insight into someone closely involved in the battle for a more critical, understanding Islam this book should not be substituted for properly reviewed academic debate, coming across as it does as significantly one-sided in its approach and the time it gives to alternative viewpoints.

Sayyid, B. S. (1997 / 2003). *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism*. London, Zed.

"This is a re-evaluation of political Islam. The book breaks with the Arab-centrism of Islamic studies and shows how Islamism can only be understood in the context of its relation with Eurocentrism. Using a neo-pragmatist approach inspired by Richard Rorty, and drawing on political and cultural theorists such as Stuart Hall, Agnes Heller and J.F. Lyotard, the book disrupts the conventional accounts of modernity and post-modernity, and presents a radical new reading of Islamism as a response to the "de-centring of the West", decolonization and the passing of the Age of Europe." [From Amazon]

Schmid, A. P. (2004). 'Frameworks for Conceptualising Terrorism.' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16(2): 197-221.

This article looks at five frameworks which are commonly used to understand/discuss terrorism. The author argues that just using one of these models can leave some aspects of 'terrorism' left outside the debate and that all are needed to ensure a thorough discussion and therefore understanding of terrorism. The models are: 1.

terrorism as/and crime; 2. terrorism as/and politics; 3. terrorism as/and warfare; 4. terrorism as/and communication; and 5. terrorism as/and religious fundamentalism. The author acknowledges that these models do probably take enough account of the psychological dimension of terrorism, though that this will overlap to a certain extent with the communication and religious models.

Select Committee on Intelligence (2002). *Current and Projected National Security Threats to the United States* [S. Hrg. 107-597]. 6th February 2002. United States Senate: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Government report into the current threat of terrorism.

Silberman, I., E. T. Higgins, et al. (2005). 'Religion and World Change: Violence and Terrorism Versus Peace.' *Journal of Social Issues* 61(4): 761-784.

Our article portrays religion as a double-edged sword that can both encourage and discourage world change, and can facilitate both violent and peaceful activism. The article demonstrates how the meaning system approach to religion can shed light on the complicated relationship between religion and world change by illuminating the meaning of world change and the means to achieve it, inherent differences across religious groups, the complexity and malleability of religious meaning systems, and processes that can facilitate either the status quo or violent and peaceful activism. The article discusses context and personality variables that may determine whether religion supports world change and either violent or peaceful activism. It recommends intensive collaboration between researchers, policy-makers, and religious leaders in the contexts of national and international conflicts and religious terrorism. [*Journal abstract*]

Sinclair, A. (2003). *An Anatomy of Terror: A History of Terrorism*. Basingstoke, Macmillan.

This book is a broad sweep through the history of movements that Sinclair places under the category of terror. From Ancient Greece and Rome, through the Crusades, the Reformation and the time of the British Raj to the more recent Islamic attacks in the US Sinclair provides a potted history of these various movements. Some of the subjects suffer from the brevity with which they are treated and the book as a whole is a popular rather than academic work. The book ends in a manner belying its title, by suggesting a means to end terrorism: market forces.

The somewhat simplistic conclusion aside, the book provides a useful introduction to various 'terror' movements throughout the centuries. However, this aside the book should not be relied upon for a more thorough presentation of the facts (which would take several volumes as opposed to this one tome) and certainly not used for its brief analysis at its conclusion.

Singh, G. (2005). 'British Multiculturalism and Sikhs.' *Sikh Formations* 1(2): 157-173.

Whilst not about terrorism this article does discuss the violence that followed the decision by a theatre to put on the play *Behzti*, which offended the Sikh community. However, primarily the author is interested in the idea of multiculturalism and how the Sikh community has made a space for itself within British public life.

Taji-Farouki, S. (1996). *A Fundamental Quest: Hizb Al-Tahrir and the Search for the Islamic Caliphate*. London, Grey Seal.

This book details how in the 1990s Hizb al-Tahrir (the organisation that perhaps assumed the Muslim Institute's mantle of 'radicalism' in the UK), which seeks to revive the umma and liberate Muslims living under systems of unbelief through non-violent means, gained an audience amongst British-Asian Muslims at university.

Tambiah, S. J. (1992). *Buddhism Betrayed? : Religion, Politics and Violence in Sri Lanka*. London, University of Chicago Press.

"This volume seeks to answer the question of how the Buddhist monks in today's Sri Lanka - given Buddhism's traditionally non-violent philosophy - are able to participate in the fierce political violence of the Sinhalese against the Tamils." [From Amazon]

Tatla, D. S. *The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood*. London, UCL Press.

This book charts the development of the Sikh diaspora and its changing and continuing involvement with the 'sending' communities. Looking at their campaigns for a Sikh homeland, economic and religious links as well as diplomatic relations between India and countries hosting Sikh diasporas this book charts the continuing two-way movement of information and influence between a diasporic community and its cultural homeland. The author also examines some of the organisations supporting Sikh independence and their roots in the diasporic communities.

Thorne, S. (2006). *The Language of War*. Abingdon, Routledge.

This text looks at the use of military language in everyday communication, showing how the English language has become increasingly militarised. It also considers the connotations of words used in the language of war. It is useful for analysing this and showing, for example, the emotive content of such words, but it is also useful for showing a model of analysis that could be useful if also applied to the language of terrorism or other related fields (for example, refugees, religion, race and so on).

Tully, M. and S. Jacob (1986). *Amritsar: Mrs Gandhi's Last Battle*. London, Pan Books.

This book provides a historical account of Operation Blue Star and the battle between Indian government forces and Sikh fundamentalists at the Golden Temple in Amritsar in 1984. Leading to a large number of deaths on both sides, as well as civilian casualties this violent episode in modern Indian history also led to the assassination of the Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. This book focuses on the developments that led to the occupation of the Golden Temple by a Sikh fundamentalist sect, including the demands for a Sikh homeland, debates over the borders and water rights of the state of Punjab and the religious unrest stored up within its borders and throughout India by the crisis. A useful account to understand the causes and practices of what could be described as a terrorist group within the world's largest democracy.

United States Department of State (2006). *Country Reports on Terrorism 2005.*, United States Department of State Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism.

Country by country risk analysis of terrorism. Format of report that replaces the former *Global Patterns of Terrorism* as produced by the US government.

United States General Accounting Office (1997). *Combating Terrorism - Federal Agencies' Efforts to Implement National Policy and Strategy. Report to Congressional Requesters*. Washington, DC, United States General Accounting Office.

U.S. governmental report on the deterrence and prevention of terrorism.

United States General Accounting Office (1997). *Combating Terrorism : Status of Dod Efforts to Protect Its Forces Overseas. Report to Congressional Requesters*. Washington, DC, United States General Accounting Office.

U.S. Governmental report, including the threat of terrorism and efforts to counter that threat.

United States Senate Committee on Appropriations (1998). *Counterterrorism* [S. Hrg. 105-383]. 13th May 1997. United States Senate: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Addressing increasing concerns with regards to terrorism this hearing covered issues such as the threats, measures in place to counter these, roles and responsibilities of agencies in this effort as well as budgets and points covering the prevention of terrorism.

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United States Senate Committee on Appropriations (1998). *Counterterrorism - Evaluating the 5-Year Plan* [S. Hrg. 105-711]. 31st March 1998. United States Senate: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. government evaluation of their counter-terrorism plan.

United States Senate Committee on Appropriations (1998). *Preparedness for Epidemics and Bioterrorism* [S. Hrg. 105-630]. 2nd June 1998. United States Senate: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Government report on the possibilities of bio-terrorism.

United States Senate Committee on Appropriations (1999). *U.S. Policy on Terrorism in Light of the Faln Members' Clemency* [S. Hrg. 106-228]. 21st September 1999. United States Senate: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Government report on the clemency given to members of a terrorist movement (FALN) and the ramifications of this to the current 'War on Terror'. Interesting insight into legislative-level arguments relating to the 'War on Terror'.

United States Senate Committees on Appropriations and Veterans' Affairs (2000). *Bioterrorism - Domestic Weapons of Mass Destruction* [S. Hrg. 106-352]. 16th March 1999. United States Senate: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Government report into bioterrorism.

United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary (2003). *Oversight Hearing on Counterterrorism* [S. Hrg. 107-920]. 6th June 2002. United States Senate: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Government report into counter-terrorism.

Vertigans, S. and P. Sutton (2001). 'Back to the Future: 'Islamic Terrorism' and Interpretations of Past and Present.' *Sociological Research Online* 6(3): U55-U60.

Extant at: <http://ideas.repec.org/a/sro/srosro/2001-57-1.html>. "Commentaries on September's acts of terrorism have tended to rely upon secular accounts to explain both the terrorism and the wider, less violent Islamic resurgence. This has meant that the explanatory focus has been upon threats to Muslims, the negative impact of globalization and interrelated modernization and the role of America within global relations and the Middle East in particular. These generalisations are problematic because they fail to explain the broader appeal of Islam, the character and contemporary nature of Islamic movements and in the instance of the terrorists and al-Qaeda, the relatively wealthy and educated backgrounds of a significant number of the terrorists. As a corrective, the paper expands the focus to include the awareness

of contemporary problems and the historical origins and successes of Islam that are both seen to legitimise the need for a radical form of Islam, interpreted as a comprehensive way of life. This awareness has been significantly aided through contemporary developments in technology, mass communications and transport networks allied to the rapid growth of education across Muslim countries. These factors, rather than diminishing the appeal of religion, as secularists have argued, are instrumental in the Islamic resurgence generally and specifically in facilitating terrorist activity." [Journal abstract]

Virilio, P. (2002). *Ground Zero*. London, Verso.

Difficult read which amongst other arguments also suggests that whilst '9/11' may have been provoked by encroaching Westernisation, Islam as a tradition contains a specific myth of origin and historical resources that can be used to justify violence.

Warner, R. S. (1993). 'Work in Progress toward a New Paradigm for the Sociological Study of Religion in the United States.' *American Journal of Sociology* 98(5): 1044-1093.

This paper highlights the problems that the secularisation theory has in its application to a study of religiosity in the United States and argues that a new paradigm is needed to account for the much higher levels of religiosity in the U.S. than in comparison to Europe.

Weisbrod, B. (2002). 'Fundamentalist Violence: Political Violence and Political Religion in Modern Conflict.' *International Social Science Journal* 54(4): 499-+.

"There is more to modern "political religions" than political ritual and religious semantics as is normally assumed with regard to National Socialism and other totalitarian regimes. Ideologies and political style do matter, but they do not provide the answer as to how "dead certainty" was achieved about the ultimate mission. The terror of the revolutionary "furies" and the "sacrifice" of national revivalism provide a historical trajectory for the proposition that, in the modern world it is not the violence that is in the religion, but the religion that is in the violence. Fundamentalist violence - from the Holocaust to the attacks of 11 September 2001 - must therefore be seen as the touchstone for an economy of the sacred in a secularised world. Thus, the "morality of violence" (Sorel) feeds into acts of political terrorism and genocide not just by way of legitimation but also as a proof of the transcendent quality of political violence itself." [Journal abstract]

Werbner, P. (1994). *Diaspora and Millennium: British-Pakistani Global-Local Fabulations of the Gulf War*. Islam, Globalisation and Postmodernity. A. S. Ahmed and H. Donnan. London, Routledge: 213-236.

This piece looks at the first Gulf War and how the Pakistani community in Manchester took a confrontational stance against the majority of British society and supported Saddam Hussein. In particular Werbner focuses on the process of global and local

fabulations, how a global event was translated into a local narrative forming part of an important identity for the Muslim diasporic community within Manchester and indeed Britain as a whole.

Werbner, P. (2002). *Imagined Diasporas among Manchester Muslims : The Public Performance of Pakistani Transnational Identity Politics*. Oxford, James Currey.

Werbner's book makes an important link between the local and international identities within diasporic communities. Focussing on the Muslim community in Manchester she demonstrates how their self-identity is much more fluid than traditional studies into diasporas would suggest. Rather than just being defined in relation to the country they left behind, the identity of the communities are also shaped and guided by local events, factions and personalities.

However, just as important is the impact of the international scene, with events such as the break-up of the former Yugoslavia (and the atrocities committed against Bosnian Muslims), the first Gulf War, hostilities over the disputed region of Kashmir and other events all having a crucial role to play in the local community. This localisation of global events is shown by Werbner to have a key role in the dialogue between the diaspora and its 'host' nation.

Werbner, P. (2002) *The Predicament of Diaspora and Millennial Islam: Reflections in the Aftermath of September 11*. ssrc after sept. 11, DOI:

The identity of the community and the work by Werbner in this book provide an important insight into the roots of terrorism, insofar as they help explain why British Muslims are so strongly influenced by international events. Turning to current global events this book would be essential reading to help show how anger against present British foreign policy fits into the picture alongside more local concerns.

Whittaker, D. J., Ed. (2003). *The Terrorism Reader*. London, Routledge.

This reader compiles papers from various sources on issues such as definitions of terrorism, psychological factors and case studies on certain movements from Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland and Libya. An excellent starting point to many of the key debates within the discussion on terrorism.

Wiktorowicz, Q. (2005). *Radical Islam Rising: Muslim Extremism in the West*. Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield.

“Represents one of the first systematic attempts to explain why thousands of Westerners heed international calls to jihad and join radical Islamic groups. Drawing on his unprecedented access to a radical Islamic group, Quintan Wiktorowicz details the subtle process that can turn seemingly unreligious people into supporters of religious violence. The author's extraordinary fieldwork forms the basis of a detailed case study of al-Muhajiroun, a transnational movement based in London that

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supports Bin Laden and other Islamic terrorists. Through its rich empirical detail, the case study explains the larger question of why ordinary people join extremist movements." [From Amazon]

Williams, R. (2002). Writing in the Dust: Reflections on 11th September and Its Aftermath. London, Hodder & Stoughton.

Theological reflections of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was in Trinity Church at the time of the attack.

Yaeger, C. H. (1991). 'Sikh Terrorism in the Struggle for Khalistan.' *Terrorism* 14(4): 221-231.

"The attack on the Golden Temple, the "Holy of Holies" of the Sikh religion in Amritsar, India, in June 1984 found the world's attention on a long-simmering but low-keyed conflict-the fight of the Sikh separatists for an independent Punjab, renamed Khalistan. The Sikh struggle has all of the earmarks of the type of conflicts breaking out in the new third world nations, which are remnants of the old colonial empires; a quest for ethnic identity, a desire for religious purity (i.e., the fear of being absorbed by the majority Hindus), and the desire for nationhood. The Sikhs are a proud and achieving people who feel unequally yoked with the Hindus, but their desire for an independent nation in the middle of a hostile India borders on fantasy." [*Journal abstract*]

Žižek, S. (2002). Welcome to the Desert of the Real! : Five Essays on September 11 and Related Dates. London Verso.

Fundamentally a commentary on the state of modern/post-modern societies Žižek's book is part of three books commissioned to provide an alternative viewpoint on the World Trade Centre attacks in New York, and the significance of the after-effects. Žižek argues that the choice provided by the 'Allied' administrations, between (Muslim) fundamentalism and liberal democracy is a false choice- not least because Western Capitalism is itself fundamentalist and therefore complicit with its Islamic counterpart. By no means an easy read Žižek's work does at least bring to our attention some difficult questions and this ethic of questioning is essential in the quest to see beyond one's own culture and understand the dynamic between the ['clash of civilisations'](#).

Zulaika, J. and W. A. Douglass (1996). Terror and Taboo: The Follies, Fables and Faces of Terrorism. London, Routledge.

This work questions the use of 'terror(ism)' as a concept and questions to what extent it is useful, accurate and even complicit in creating the climate in which 'terrorists' can exist. A 'mythography of Terror' the authors use a broad variety of approaches, including cinematic, literary and philosophical sources to ask what makes 'terrorism' a credible subject and to challenge whether or not it is used as a 'substitute for genuine political debate'.

Whilst not denying the reality of events such as the Oklahoma or Lockerbie bombings this postmodern work seeks to argue as to the value of a discourse in terrorism. Whilst not contributing to an understanding of causes or practises of terrorism this work does remind us of the areas where we may be in danger of conflating the concept.

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Karsh, E. (2006). *Islamic Imperialism: A History*, Yale.

Kippenberg, G. and Seidensticker, T. Eds. (2006). *The 9/11 Handbook: Annotated Translation and Interpretation of the Attackers' Spiritual Manual*, London, Equinox.

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Lawrence, B. (2005). *Messages to the World : The Statements of Osama Bin Laden*, Verso.

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Ramsey, P. (2002). *The Just War : Force and Political Responsibility*. Oxford, Rowman & Littlefield.

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Schönteich, M. (2004). 'The Emerging Threat? South Africa's Extreme Right.' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16: 757-776.

Simon, C. A. (2004). 'Religion and Terrorism: An Interfaith Perspective.' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16(1): 182-186.

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Vaux, K. L. (2002). *Ethics and the War on Terrorism*, Wipf and Stock.

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9. Appendix: List of Indicative Key Words

al-muhajiroun
Amritsar
Animal Liberation Front
Animal Rights
Anti-Americanism
Anti-Corporate
Asian masculinities

Bangladeshis
Biography
Bioterrorism
Black nationalism
Bosnian Conflict
British Muslims

Caliphate
Case studies
Catholicism
Charismatic leadership and its effects
Christian Ethics
Christianity
Civilisation
Colonialism
Communication
Community resources
Companies
Consequences
Converts
Counter terrorism
Crime
Cults
Cultural identities

dar ul-uloom
Decision making
Deobandis
Deter terrorism
Development / emergence of fundamentalism
Dialogues with secularism / modernity
Diaspora

Education
Ethics
Ethnic minorities
Ethnic relations

Ethnic relations, Great Britain
Existentialism

Fabulation
Family characteristics of fundamentalist movements
Family resemblances
Fear
Feminism
Fiction
Fieldwork
Foreign Policy
Fundamentalism

Gangs
GAO Report
Global justice
Globalisation
Golden Temple
Governance
Gulf War

historical interpretation
History of fundamentalism
History of terrorism
Hizb al Tahrir al Islami, History
Human behaviour

Identity
India
Intelligence community
Internal and external influences
International Security
Involvement in the political process
Islam
Islam and politics
Islam and politics, Europe
Islam and politics, Great Britain
Islam and social problems, Europe
Islam and state, Europe
Islam, essence, genius, nature
Islamic countries
Islamic ethics
Islamic fundamentalism
Islamic fundamentalism, Great Britain
Islamic sects
Islamism

Jihad
Judaism

Just war
Just war doctrine
Justice

Khalistan

Media
Middle East
Minorities
Minority youth
Mobilization
Modernity
Multiculturalism
Muslim Community, Britain
Muslims
Muslims, Europe
Muslims, Great Britain

Nationalism
New Religious Movements
Non-violence
Northern Ireland

Organization
Organization of Islamic Conference

Pacifism
Peace
Political Islam
Political science
Political violence
Politics
Politics and government
Post-Islamism
Postmodernism
Prevent terrorism
Prevention
Protestant
Punjab

Quietism

Race relations
Radical Islam
Recruitment
Reducing fear
Religion
Religion and Politics
Religious fundamentalism

Religious violence
Responses to terrorism
Right-wing extremists
Risk
Role of women

Senate Hearing - Committee on Appropriations
Senate Hearing - Committee on the Judiciary
Senate Hearing - Select Committee on Intelligence
Sikhism
Sikhs
Socialization
Sociology
South Asians, Great Britain

Terrorism
Terrorism, Religious aspects, Islam
The Fundamentalism Project
Threat of terrorism

unilateralism
United States

Wahhabism
War
War on terrorism
War, religious aspects, Islam
Weapons of Mass Destruction