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An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni men to Islamist extremism, in the contemporary era

By

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Ethical approval

Ethical approval was required, sought and granted for primary research to be conducted within the Middle Eastern.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Giulio Regeni, the Cambridge University PhD student who was abducted, tortured and killed, whilst conducting PhD primary research in Egypt in 2016. May the light of critical thinking and independent academic research live on in the Middle East.

Acknowledgements

I should like to express my thanks and appreciation to my Supervisor and Director of Studies, Dr Peter Hough who inspired me, guided my work and was the source of much wise counsel.

Finally, and especially, to the Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men I met and interviewed, who gave so much so freely; I owe them a great debt of gratitude. May their trust, kindness and generosity of spirit be rewarded a thousandfold.

Personal Statement

I would be greatly flattered if the new knowledge and greater understanding that this research yields assists in some small way in tackling the complexities of this important, multifaceted and pressing issue.

Declaration

This dissertation is the sole work of the author and has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree. All quotations and sources of information have been acknowledged.

Signed: Paul Anthony Rashid McIvor   Date: 20th January 2019

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INTRODUCTION

Aim and Original Contribution to Knowledge

The aim of this study is to conduct an academic investigation into the role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* Muslim men to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era. In so doing, it is the desire of the study to provide an original contribution to knowledge within this academic field of enquiry and a novel contribution to the discourses that it is examining. It will achieve this by ascertaining a more accurate picture of the present state of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men, how it is woven into the Islam*ist* narrative and what role it plays in attracting Arab *Sunnis* to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era. It will also seek to appraise these related concepts in new ways that mediate between academic discourse and popular incarnations; and Middle Eastern and Western perspectives, so that new light may be shed on the problems at hand.

The primary qualitative research will be conducted within a Middle Eastern, Arabian Gulf[1] autocratic state (United Arab Emirates (UAE)) *via* the use of Interpretative Phenomenological[2] Analysis[3] through semi-structured interviews with English speaking Arab *Sunni* men, from six separate Arab states (Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya and Syria), which will constitute the sample population. This approach has been selected as a means of making the research effective by maintaining focus on matters relevant to the research question, whilst analysing the discourse data by way of codes and the emergence of themes. As far as can be established, this study is the first of its kind to be conducted successfully within the contemporary Arabian Gulf in the English language and presents a unique contribution to knowledge. Furthermore, the findings and conclusions will also update and refresh earlier academic research within this field of knowledge. Therefore, this forms part of the justifying criterion for this academic

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[1] Arabian Gulf - The term 'Persian Gulf' is not used in this thesis, as it is culturally insensitive and implies preexisting rights of ownership and cultural hegemony by Iran. Furthermore, the term has been well established and accepted within the Arab World for over 60 years. It was originally devised by the British diplomat Sir Charles Belgrave (1894-1969) who first advocated the use of the term 'Arabian Gulf' in the journal *Soat Al-Bahrain* (*Voice of Bahrain*) in 1955 and thereafter it became the accepted term used by Middle Eastern Arabs.

[2] Phenomenology – Ancient Greek *phainómenon* ('that which appears') and *lógos* ('study') or *lógia* (logical discourse) is the philosophical study of consciousness and experience. It is a method of inquiry originated predominantly by the philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859 –1938) and developed by others such as Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) (Farina, 2014).

[3] Related Phenomenography – qualitative research methodology that investigates the different ways in which people experience phenomena or consider such phenomena.

investigation and study. However, in so doing, the researcher will enter a complex 'terrain' that is laden with emotive religious, ideological and cultural sensitivities, with related epistemic and ontological factors. Furthermore, the Middle Eastern primary research brings with it a concomitant degree of risk, not least: sophisticated electronic surveillance; human monitoring; a proliferation of informers for state security within the Arab community; and the potential of difficult encounters with some of the participants in the study.

Importance of the Study and Hypothesis

This emotionally laden yet dynamic issue is of paradigm importance not just to the Middle East but to the global community and is therefore a legitimate matter of academic inquiry. Its importance is exemplified by: events such as 9/11; proliferation of Islam*ist jihādist*[4] groups in Iraq, Syria, Libya and Yemen; creation and 'demise' of the so called 'Islamic State'; recent Islam*ist* terror attacks in Europe and the increase in Islam*ist* extremism in many countries. Consequently, in the post-9/11 era, the pressing question of Islam*ist* extremism has been marked by: manifestations of violence that have been deemed to be 'terrorist'; the rise of prejudicial attitudes towards Islam in the West, *qua* 'Islamophobia'[5]; and the countering of perceived 'terrorism' with 'counter-terrorism', in its various manifestations. Furthermore, an additional reason why this study is of pressing importance is the continued growth of anti-Americanism within the Middle East, as evidenced by the 2017 Arab Youth Survey which revealed that "anti-American views are on the rise: in eight Arab nations[6], a majority of youth now consider the US their enemy" (Arab Youth Survey, 2017). This percentage increased from 32% in 2016 (Arab Youth Survey, 2016) to 49% in 2017. In the most recent 2018 Arab Youth Survey, this has risen further to 57% of Arab youth who considered America to be their enemy (Arab Youth Survey, 2018). Within the Levant (*Al-Mashriq*) this figure rose still further to 65% (Arab Youth Survey, 2018). This therefore, highlights a growing trend which is pertinent not only to this study but the wider global community.

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[4] *Jihād* – means 'striving, struggling or persevering'. In Islam, this may be any sincere striving against wrongdoing (for Allāh's sake). It is also interpreted as the duty of Muslims to maintain and spread their religion. Those who conduct *jihād* are referred to as *Mujahideen* (singular – *Mujahid*). For example, the term *jihād* appears in the Holy Qur'an in Chapter 2:190-192.
[5] Islamophobia is generally understood to mean a fear, prejudice, or even hatred of Islam, Muslims, or Islamic culture. The concept of Islamophobia was originally formulated by the Runnymede Trust (Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia).
[6] Eight Arab nations - Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Palestinian Territories, Qatar and Yemen.

It is the hypothesis of this thesis that anti-Americanism is not only a real, significant and developing phenomenon in Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* but that it is: woven into the narrative of Islam*ist* extremism; feeds into Arab society and Islam*ist* extremist organisations at different levels; is a conduit for carrying a broad spectrum of perceived grievances and wrongs which are skillfully manipulated by Islam*ist* extremists and others, for their own purposes; and forms the 'fertile ground' upon which Middle Eastern Islam*ist* extremism is grown. Additionally, it is posited that Arab *Sunni* anti-Americanism and Islam*ist* extremism are considerable threats to Western and American interests and especially Middle Eastern Arab allies. Furthermore, it will be argued that anti-Americanism presents a significant threat due to its symbiotic relationship with Islam*ist* extremism and the danger of it becoming even further embedded within Middle Eastern states with its perfidious influence on Arab populations.

Consequently, direct and organic empirical research is required that inductively appraises these related phenomena at a micro level, rather than remaining a set of academic and political abstractions, that may not be directly indexed to everyday Arab reality. Although it is acknowledged and accepted that there is no single 'Arab Mind' or 'Arab View' on almost any given issue, the primary research will 'tap into' the 'beating heart' of the contemporary 'Arab Street', notwithstanding the challenges presented by sophisticated electronic surveillance, human monitoring and the proliferation of state informers. Furthermore, engaging directly with Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men about these sensitive matters, in what is the 'melting pot' of the Middle East, under conditions of anonymity and risk, is considered worthwhile, challenging and of academic value. It is argued that this type of empirical research and presentation of credible findings, which can be generalised and applied across Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis*, should ascertain a more accurate picture of the present state of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men and what role it plays in attracting some to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era.

Approach and Implementation

Sources, Theorists and Conceptual

Due to the multifaceted nature and context of the research, it is necessary to take a multidisciplinary approach drawing from sources and texts across a range of academic disciplines and fields, such as: political science; Islam*ic* and Christian theology; Western and Middle Eastern philosophy; history; Islam*ist* ideology; Arab and Middle Eastern culture; whilst touching upon selected literature, as exemplars. This will involve recourse to Western and Middle Eastern sources, including ancient and modern, where they can advance this academic investigation. Such sources include Western and Middle Eastern established academic literature and emerging and developing scholarship such as: books; peer-reviewed journals; refereed articles; and various digital sources. Contemporary Middle Eastern surveys, such as the Arab Youth Survey 2018, Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey 2018 have also been accessed and used.

In order to conduct broad and deep research, Islam*ist* sources have also been accessed. These have included publications which are lawful in much of the West but are proscribed in many Arab states and a range of other data such as Islam*ist* websites that have been accessed *via* Virtual Private Networks (VPNs). Where these websites appear as references in the bibliography, a warning has been included which reads – 'Warning, this is an Islam*ist* site and subject to lawful surveillance and tracking by intelligence agencies such as the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ). GCHQ is the UK intelligence and security organisation responsible for providing Signals Intelligence (SIGINT) to the British Government'.

Authorised Islam*ic* source documents such as the Holy Qur'an (authenticated transliterations) and *Fiqh* (Islam*ic* Jurisprudence) will also be utilised where required (Ali, 2006; Badawi, 2007; McAuliffe, 2017; University of Leeds, 2018). Where *Hadith* (the sayings and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him)) are mentioned, the sources are from the *Sihah as Sittah* (the 'Six Correct Ones') – *Al-Bukhari, Muslim, Ibn Majah, Abu Dawud, At-Tirmidhi and An Nasa'i* (Brown, 2009).

Such *hadith* have been scrutinised, tested and validated for authenticity by a process known as *Ilm Al-Hadith* (Center for Muslim-Jewish Engagement, 2017). Additionally, relevant ancient and modern theorists will be drawn upon, including: Al-Ghazālī[7], Al-Mawdudi[8], Al-Suwaidi[9], Atwan[10], Averroes[11] (Ibn Rušd[12]), Badawi[13], Hegghammer[14], Milton-Edwards[15], Murray[16], Qutb[17], Sookhdeo[18], and a broad spectrum of other academics, authors and commentators. A clarification of the conceptual basis of the study is also regarded as essential given the ambiguous and amorphous nature of the concepts being explored which frequently acquire radically distinct meaning, dependent upon the context and the actors that define them. In so doing, the study will seek to appraise the concepts in question so that new light may be shed on the problems at hand.

Perspective and Viewpoint

It is well understood that this thesis deals with what many Arab *Sunnis* consider sensitive and contentious subject matter, as it touches upon important and deeply held beliefs. However, whilst cognisant of such sensitivities, the research, analysis and conclusions will be based upon academic objectivity and written without fear (of *fatwa*, state or public censure) or favour (to any nation, faith, group or individual). However,

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[7] Al-Ghazālī (1058–1111), Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Al-Ghazālī, Islamic theologian and philosopher.
[8] Sayyid Abu Al-Mawdudi (1903-1979) – significant Islam*ist* theorist and author of influential works such as, *Let Us Be Muslims* (2016), (Milton-Edwards, 2014; Brown, 2014). He sought to establish "Allāh's law in Allāh's land" (Zaman, 2012, pp. 100-101).
[9] Dr Jamal Sanad Al-Suwaidi - Director General of the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (ECSSR), Professor of Political Science at the UAE University and author of works on Islam*ist* extremism such as *The Mirage* (2015).
[10] Abdel Bari Atwan – editor of *Rai Al-Youm*, (pan-Arab digital news site), former editor *Al-Quds Al-Arabi* newspaper and author of books such as *Islamic State: The Digital Caliphate* (2015), *After Bin Laden* (2102) and *The Secret History of Al-Qaeda* (2006).
[11] Ibn Rušd (1126-1198) - from Córdoba known to the Latins as 'Averroes'; the great 12th century Middle Eastern philosopher, polymath and prolific scholar. He is credited by some, as having 'sown the seeds of the Renaissance' in Western Christendom through his commentaries on the great classical works of Aristotle and Plato and was known to Aquinas by the *sobrique*t 'The Commentator'. He is the only Islam*ic* Middle Eastern philosopher to appear in Raphael's Vatican Renaissance fresco *The School of Athens* (1511) and in Dante's *Inferno ('The Divine Comedy'), Circle 1, Canto 4* ('Limbo') (Kenny, 2002).
[12] The works of Ibn Rušd include philosophical and theological topics, such as '*Tahdfut al-Tahafut'*, (The Incoherence of the Incoherence) and his famous commentaries of the works of Aristotle and Plato. He was the progenitor of provocative and heterodox ideas. Following his work on Plato's '*The Republic'* and especially the '*The Allegory of the Cave'*, he posited a controversial view that religion, for the common people, was a metaphor for truth but that philosophy is a much more precise tool to access the same truth and that religion and philosophy were not in contradiction. His defence of Aristotelian philosophy was considered controversial by Islam*ic* theologians such as Al-Ghazālī as exemplified in their famous debate 'Who wills the storm'? His views ultimately resulted in him being exiled and many his philosophical books being destroyed (Kenny, 2002).
[13] Dr Abdul Azeem Badawi – acclaimed Arab author of '*Fiqh of the Sunnah and the Noble Book'*, (2007).
[14] Dr Thomas Hegghammer – academic and author on subjects such as Islam*ist* extremism and *jihādism.*
[15] Prof Beverley Milton-Edwards – academic and author of works such as: *Islamic Fundamentalism since 1945,* (2014).
[16] Douglas Murray - author, journalist, commentator, founder of the Centre for Social Cohesion, Associate Director of the Henry Jackson Society, Associate Editor of The Spectator and author of: *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam* (2017).
[17] Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966) - one of the main ideologues of the MB and influential author of a range of works including, *Milestones* (1966). He developed and extended Al-Banna's Islam*ist* philosophy making it more radical and extreme (Milton-Edwards, 2013).
[18] Dr Patrick Sookhdeo (PhD DD) – Director of the Institute for the Study of Islam and Christianity and author of numerous works including: *Unmasking Islamic State* (2015), *Reforming Islam* (2014), *Global Jihād* (2008) and *Faith Power and Territory* (2008).

whilst conducting an academic investigation into this sensitive subject matter, it is considered particularly important to consciously avoid an Orientalist (Said, 1978 and 1985), Neo-Orientalist (Schmidt, 2014) or Eurocentrist viewpoint. To complement this, the approach will retain a generic understanding of Islam*ic* and Arab perspectives and how they may inform the creation of the Islam*ist* viewpoint, but also, how they may be framed or reframed differently from a Western non-Muslim perspective. Although this approach brings with it the inherent risk of being seen as Orientalist or even Neo-Orientalist; in reality, the intention is quite the opposite. It is to provide an insight to the 'Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* perspective', within this domain of research. In order to do so, it will be necessary to touch upon rational philosophy and what can be referred to as a Western or Middle Eastern *weltanschauung* or worldview. This approach should also assist with the comparison of Western frames of Arab Muslim extremism which have often been equated with terrorism. However, it is stressed that the thesis will retain a generic understanding of Arab and Islam*ic* perspectives as this element is on occasions missing from Western scholarly investigations into Middle Eastern, Arab and Islam*ic* matters (Al-Suwaidi, 2016; Atwan, 2015; Said, 1978). It is further argued that this will also assist the researcher and reader to avoid using a Western lens in the investigation and analysis of Middle Eastern, Arab and Islam*ic* matters.

Implementation

In order to examine the role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men to Islam*ist* extremism in the contemporary era, and make an original contribution to knowledge, it will necessitate direct and organic empirical research that inductively appraises these matters at a micro level. Bypassing the linguistic rhetoric of sensation, the thesis engages in an extensive multi-disciplinary approach drawing from sources and texts, ancient and modern, across the aforementioned range of disciplines. It also explores the causes behind, and theoretical infrastructure that permeates these multifaceted phenomena and seeks to establish and clarify any links or extent of influence. Furthermore, it investigates the overarching normative, epistemic and ideological criterion that permeates each of these. The will be achieved by exploring established literature, developing scholarship and conducting primary research. As

touched upon above, the primary qualitative research will be conducted within the UAE *via* the use of IPA through semi-structured interviews with English speaking Arab *Sunni* men, from six separate Arab states. This discourse data will be analysed by way of codes and the emergence of themes, aided by NVivo and complimented by traditional manual checking methods. In so doing, it is well understood that conducting primary research within the Middle East may well present a spectrum of challenges and a concomitant degree of risk. Therefore, the researcher will plan and prepare thoroughly and adjust procedures as circumstances require.

Regarding the complexity of factors that cause Islam*ist* extremism, the research requires a bifurcated approach of studying the structural factors (including political and economic conditions as well as foreign policy challenges) that may ferment extremism while investigating the ideational aspect of extremism. As a result, a constructivist approach provides analytical tools to explore ideational factors to understand how and why the Islam*ist* extremist message becomes appealing to Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis*. To complement constructivist analysis, social movement literature will be used in understanding the rhetoric employed by extremist groups and the ideological bases of those groups' messages. As the study involves a value-free and proximally objective approach, the ethical considerations and other limitations that may be faced during the research will be indicated in the conclusion.

Format and Thesis Structure

Format. The Arabic writing at the apex of the cover page (بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم) is Bismillahir Rahmanir Raheem which means 'In the Name of Allāh[19] the Compassionate, the Merciful'. This is an Islam*ic* dedication which is common in the Arab and Islam*ic* World and is used by Muslims at the beginning of publications or any human endeavour, no matter how large or small. Throughout the thesis, Arabic words are written phonetically in an accepted form of transliteration. Arabic transliteration and other non-English terms appear in italics, but individual's names will not for aesthetic purposes. Hereafter, where the name of the Prophet Muhammad is mentioned in the

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[19] In Islam, Allāh has 99 attributes or 'Names', such as Al-Aaqq meaning 'The Truth' (Islamic Book Service, 2018, p 55).

text, the letters PBUH will appear after the name in brackets. This abbreviation meaning 'Peace Be Upon Him'[20] is an accepted convention and a mark of cultural and Islam*ic* respect. Throughout the thesis, Islamist will be shown as Islam*ist* and Islamic will be shown as Islam*ic*. This is intentional in order to emphasise the difference and to avoid conflation at a conscious or subconscious level. In order to manage effectively a significant quantity of research data, appendices have been produced. These are outlined on the contents page and include: an overview of the religion of Islam (*Sunni*); explanation of Islam*ic* terminology; summary of the most frequently recurring phenomena in terrorism; overview of Arab Islam*ist* groups and organisations; explanation of Islam*ist* terminology; overview of Arab *Sunni* - dress and appearance; summary of Arabic transliteration terms; key personalities; House of Commons Muslim Brotherhood Review - summary of overarching conclusions; chronology of Middle Eastern Islam*ism* through the ages; primary research – relevant 2018 'Arab Street' sayings; overview of the *Hashshāshīn* (Assassins); summary of suicide attack data; primary research interview questions; initial themes; main themes; other themes; detailed analysis of semi-structured interviews; codebook; and highlighted interviews with line numbers.

Thesis Structure. Following the introduction, the thesis will be presented in six chapters. Chapter 1 consists of a literature review that: provides context; considers the research problem as a whole; aggregates the broader research on the issue; highlights the gaps in relevant literature; and provides a framework for relating new findings to previous academic work. Additionally, the 'state of the field' is examined critically to situate the research problem clearly within broader scholarly literature. Specifically, it examines the literature and contemporary academic debate on this important matter. This is achieved by assessing: established literature; developing scholarship; contemporary surveys; and digital sources in order to capture innovative, 'cutting edge' information and emerging areas of scholarship.

It also considers the problem at large, as a conflict between opposing sets of actors that has been set in motion in both an historical and contemporary sense. As previously

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[20] Arabic - *Alayhi as-Salām*. Henceforth, abbreviated to PBUH.

indicated, in order to address the research topic at the appropriate length, breadth and depth, it has necessitated the use of texts and academic debates across 'time and space', both ancient and modern, crossing a range of disciplines and encompassing Western and Middle Eastern academic sources.

There is an immense body of scholarly literature that exists in relation to this generic field of academic enquiry. Consequently, in the conduct of this research, it was necessary to filter the data for the thesis in general and this chapter in particular, and limit it according to its direct relevance and what was required to address the specific research question. This has necessitated the exclusion of some academic sources, where such work did not contribute to addressing the specific research question[21]. Therefore, this chapter is problem-centred and narrative-oriented.

Chapter 2 outlines the conceptual framework of the thesis. It therefore defines relevant concepts and clarifies its distinctive approach. A clarification of its conceptual basis is regarded as essential given the ambiguous and sometimes amorphous nature of the concepts being explored. Furthermore, it is considered vital to this thesis because such concepts acquire radically distinct meaning, dependent upon the context in which they are employed, and the actors that define them. In so doing, and given that it is the desire of this study to provide an original contribution to knowledge and a novel contribution to the discourses that it is examining, the chapter seeks to appraise the concepts in question in new ways that mediate between academic discourse and popular incarnations, and between Middle East and West, so that new light may be shed on the problems at hand.

The conceptual framework is based upon the literature that explores and defines the concepts relating to: anti-Americanism, Islam*ic* fundamentalism, Islam*ist* extremism, *Jihādism*, radicalisation, terrorism, Arab Islam*ist* groups, counter-terrorism and Islamophobia. Notwithstanding the main focus of the thesis being anti-Americanism and Islam*ist* extremism, the chapter argues that in order to differentiate these concepts from other related concepts, such related concepts need to be examined critically and reviewed. As the literature on these related concepts is extremely rich and consists of a

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[21] Examples of these sources which have been accessed but not included in the main thesis are at the rear of the bibliography.

wide range of definitions, often competing; the chapter provides definitions of anti-Americanism, Islam*ic* fundamentalism, Islam*ist* extremism, *Jihādism*, radicalisation, terrorism and Islamophobia, upon which to take forward the study. Finally, the chapter stresses that from an interpretivist approach, radicalisation and extremism are considered as products of dynamic social, political, religious and cultural processes.

Chapter 3 provides an examination of anti-Americanism from its origins to the present day and its nature and growth in the Arab world. Prior to considering Middle Eastern Arab Muslim anti-Americanism, the chapter charts the conceptual and chronological origins of anti-Americanism in order to lay the appropriate foundations for the study. It examines the most dominant types of criticism of America in order to provide background, context and focus for this research. However, specific regional or localised forms of anti-Americanism, such as Korean or Latin American, are not considered, as they fall beyond the scope of this thesis. The examination is based upon what scholars and commentators have labelled 'anti-Americanism', as there is no widely agreed definition of the term. In so doing, well established academic sources and emerging scholarship are utilised, where relevant. This examination is therefore considered pivotal to the thesis. The chapter argues that anti-Americanism is not a comprehensive or coherent belief system or ideology, but rather a series of criticisms and prejudices regarding America that have for convenience been labelled anti-Americanism.

The chapter also argues that because there is no widely agreed definition of the term, what differentiates anti-Americanism from reasonable criticism of America is often confused or sometimes deliberately distorted and therefore is a legitimate matter of academic inquiry. Finally, the chapter concludes that given the current state of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* and how it is woven into the narrative of Islam*ist* extremism; that the direct primary research of this study is of pressing importance.

Chapter 4 presents information and analysis on the origins and development of Middle Eastern Arab Islam*ist* extremism. The chapter begins by touching briefly upon the great Islam*ic* schism between *Sunni* and *Shi'a* in order to provide context to the

origin of some of the early Islam*ist* extremist groups and the basis of current Middle Eastern Islam*ic* sectarianism. It then focuses upon specific groups and significant ideologues during certain historical periods. These include the *Hashshāshīn*[22] (Kjeilen, 2016); Islam*ist* ideologues such as Al-Banna, Al-Mawdudi and Qutb; and the Islam*ist Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* Muslim Brotherhood (MB)[23]. It will then touch upon *Salafism*, *Wahhabism,* the role of Western colonialism in the Middle East and address the Iranian Revolution and its legacy to contemporary Middle Eastern Islam*ist* movements. The chapter also discusses how Islam*ist* extremism has developed and its relationship to anti-Americanism, in order to take forward this academic investigation.

The chapter also offers background and context for the current growing levels of anti-Americanism within the Arab world. This is considered important so as to provide a greater understanding of current Arab Islam*ist* extremism and anti-Americanism within the Middle East; as their roots are deep, complex and historical (Arab Youth Survey, 2018; Arab Youth Survey White Paper, 2017, p. 21; Stump and Dixat, 2012, pp. 3-4). Also, as Middle Eastern Arab Islam*ist* extremism is a multifaceted phenomenon, the chapter evaluates its structural causes within the context of ideational frameworks in particular; and how and why the extremist message becomes appealing to contemporary Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis.* Chapter 4 also discusses how US foreign policy and interventionism may have helped shape the conditions for the creation of contemporary Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* Islam*ist jihādist* groups, and reflects upon Bin-Laden, Al-Qaeda (AQ)[24], Al-Baghdadi[25] and ISIS[26] as the newer generation of extreme Islam*ist* groups. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the enduring and developing factors that may contribute to contemporary Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* Islam*ist* extremism.

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[22] *Hashshāshīn*, sometimes spelt *Hashisheen* or *Hashishiyya*, and referred to in some texts as *Fedayeen* or *Fada'iyan*. The Assassins are famous for their targeted political assassinations during the Crusades (1096 - 1291) such as Crusader leader and *de facto* King of Jerusalem (as King Conrad I) who had been one of the major participants in the Third Crusade (Kjeilen, 2016).
[23] Muslim Brotherhood – *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn,* full name - *Jami'ah Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* (The Society of the Muslim Brothers), a *Sunni* Islam*ist* organisation which was founded by Islamic scholar Sheikh Hassan Al-Banna in 1928.
[24] Al-Qaeda (AQ) founded in 1988 by Usama bin Mohammed bin Awad Bin-Laden (Osama Bin-Laden) and Sheikh Abdullah Azzam. AQ was established (initially with Arab fighters) to combat the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan using *Jihād* and *Mujahideen* (those who conduct *Jihād*). The term Al-Qaeda is most commonly translated as 'the base'.
[25] Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi (born 1971), leader of the so called 'Islamic State' and 'Islamic Caliphate' (PhD from the University of Baghdad). He became a 'Specially Designated Global Terrorist' on 4 October 2011.
[26] ISIS - Islamic State Iraq and Syria or in Arabic - *Ad Dawlah Al-Islamiyah fi Iraq wash Sham.* ISIS is commonly referred to throughout the Middle East and the Arab World by the acronym *Da'ish*. This is derived from its name in Arabic. *Da'ish* declared itself to be the Islamic State and a worldwide *Khilaafah* (caliphate) on 29 June 2014 with Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi as its caliph.

Chapter 5 presents the theory, methodology and research methods used in the study. It therefore establishes the general strategy and theoretical framework of the thesis and outlines the methodology and research methods used. In the interests of academic transparency, reflexivity and accountability, the limitations, weaknesses and significant challenges encountered in conducting the primary research, and how they were managed, are articulated in this chapter.

The chapter also highlights the range of relevant theorists, academics and authors that have been used to advance this academic investigation, within this area of research and domain of knowledge. Because of the approach of this thesis, these include Arab and Middle Eastern authors such as Atwan, Al-Ghazālī, Al-Soudi, Al-Suwaidi, Ibn-Rušd and Said. It touches upon rational philosophy in terms of a Western and Middle Eastern Worldview and covers Orientalism and Neo-Orientalism from a theoretical framework perspective. It then outlines selected concepts, arguments and theoretical tools from social movement scholars and adopted qualitative methodologies of critical research, drawing upon collected data *via* in-depth semi-structured interviews from a cohort of Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men, analysed by IPA. The chapter reveals that the theoretical ontological[27] perspective adopted in the study is that knowledge of a mind-independent reality is not feasible, particularly with respect to cultural issues. Therefore, it argues that humans exist in relation to others and can only be understood, in relation to others. Turning to epistemology[28], the chapter stresses that the thesis focuses upon a perspectivist[29] epistemology which argues that claims of a general nature can be made as a result of reasoned argument and persuasion, with a resulting perspective that is bolstered by credibility of research.

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[27] Ontology – derived from Ancient Greek *óntos* or *ŏv* ('being' or 'that which is') and *lógos* ('study') or *lógia* ('logical discourse'). It is a branch (metaphysics) of philosophy (from Greek *philo* or *philia* ('love') and *sophos* 'wisdom' dealing with the nature of being, existence or what can be said to exist and the nature of the world. One of its earliest proponents was Parmenides of Elea (late sixth century BC) who was a pre-Socratic Greek philosopher from Elea in Magna Graecia and founder of the Eleatic school of philosophy.
[28] Epistemology – derived from Ancient Greek *epistēmē* ('knowledge') and *lógos* ('study') or *lógia* ('logical discourse'). It is a branch of philosophy that deals with the nature or theory of knowledge and rationality of belief, especially methods, validity, and the distinction between justified belief and opinion. In a relatively modern context the term was popularised by the British philosopher James Ferrier in 1854.
[29] Perspectivism – a philosophical view (coined by Friedrich Nietzsche but with ancient Greek conceptual origins) that all ideations originate from particular perspectives. Therefore, numerous perspectives about 'truth' can be made. However, it is stressed that this does not mean that that all perspectives are equally valid.

Chapter 6 presents the findings of the research and reveals the analysis thereof *via* evaluation and interpretation of the data, within a theoretically informed conceptual framework. It also provides a discourse analysis of the primary research narratives within the general context of the secondary research.

The conclusion forms the final element of the thesis which begins with a brief summary of what was deduced from the research, in relation to the concepts which were considered germane to the study. It then progresses to the main conclusions of the primary research. Then, it looks beyond this study and reflects on the wider geopolitical developments within the Middle East, upon which this study has 'shone a light'. In so doing, it highlights areas of policy relevance, articulates action and draws out implications for a more comprehensive approach in dealing with growing anti-Americanism and Islam*ist* extremism within the Middle East.

Current Middle Eastern Context

Prior to proceeding to an exploration of the literature, the concepts considered germane to this investigation, and the primary research, it is considered apposite to place the study into its proper context by providing a brief generic overview of the recent and current situation within the contemporary Middle East. This will form the 'backdrop' to the study. However, in doing so, it is worth acknowledging that within the contemporary Middle East, the 'legacies of history' are never far from the Arab World and as Rogan puts it, "In the Middle East more than any other part of the world, the legacies of the Great War continue to be felt down to the present day" (2015, p. 406).

Turbulent Change. It is axiomatic that the Middle East has experienced turbulent change and numerous political crises since 9/11 (Al-Suwaidi, 2016; Rogan, 2018; Gorka, 2012; Sookhdeo, 2008). For example, it will be recalled that the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq developed into a brutal counterinsurgency conflict which was followed by: regional instability; the collapse of what many Arab *Sunnis* viewed as the 'Arab Wall' to Iran; increased Iranian interventionism within Arab states; an upsurge in virulent anti-Americanism; and a proliferation of fragmented Middle Eastern Islam*ist* extremism (Al-Suwaidi, 2016; Atwan, 2015; Arab Youth Survey, 2018; Palestinian

Center for Policy and Survey, 2018). Furthermore, America's unequivocal financial, military and moral support for the State of Israel[30], whilst the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories continue to suffer privations at the 'hands' of the Israelis, causes considerable anguish in the Arab Middle East (OCHA, 2018; MSF, 2018; WHO, 2018). This therefore, remains a visible 'canker' in the consciousness of many Middle Eastern Arab Muslims (Krähenbühl, 2018; Piper, 2018). The theme of America's bias in favour of Israel is enduring, as a 2018 poll of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip discovered (Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey, 2018). The poll revealed that, "The overwhelming majority of Palestinians view the American role in the peace process as biased in favour of Israel" (Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey, 2018).

Post 'Arab Spring' Events. What many in the West refer to as the 'Arab Spring', or what Ramadan refers to as the 'Arab Awakening' (Ramadan, 2012), was arguably the catalyst for a sequence of 'seismic' events across the region, especially in Egypt, Libya, Syria, Tunisia and Yemen; and to a lesser extent in Algeria, Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA), Kuwait, Lebanon, Morocco, Oman, and Sudan (Al-Mansoori, 2015). This period has also seen: the killing of Bin-Laden[31]; a ferocious 'civil war' in Syria; further Western interventionism in Arab countries such as Libya; the growth of Muslim sectarianism especially in Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Lebanon, Syria, and Yemen; an internecine sectarian conflict in Iraq; Iranian, Russian, Turkish, and Western military interventions in the Syrian conflict; the overt and covert sponsorship of proxy militia forces and Islam*ist jihādist* groups in Syria; the 'rise and fall' of ISIS (*Da'ish*) and their so called 'Islam*ic* State'; the disappearance of Al-Baghdadi; the proliferation of isolated Islam*ist* inspired terror attacks in the West or what the 'Arab Street' is referring to as the 'European Winter'; the Arab-Israeli peace process remaining in a moribund state; the devastating ongoing proxy war in Yemen; and progressive military victories of the Al-Assad regime supported by the Russian Armed Forces, Iranian Islam*ic* Revolutionary Guard Corps and *Shi'a* militias such as *Hezbollah*[32] and *Shabiha*[33] (Al-

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[30] The State of Israel is referred to by many Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* as the '*Al-Kayan Al-Sahyuni*' (the Zionist Entity). This carries with it the unspoken declaration that Israel is an occupying power within Palestine. Hereafter referred to as Israel.
[31] On 2 May 2011 - US Navy SEALs stormed the Bin-Laden compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan and killed Bin-Laden.
[32] *Hezbollah* - (*Hizbu'llah*). *Hezbollah* means 'Party of Allāh'. It is the largest and most important *Shi'a* (Shiite) Islam*ist* 'terrorist' militant group. It has a military wing – the *Jihād* Council which is based in Lebanon. *Hezbollah* has a large number of personnel fighting in Syria against Sunni Islamists and opposition forces. It is designated a terrorist organisation by numerous states including

Suwaidi, 2016; Al-Mansoori, 2015; Atwan, 2015; Sookhdeo, 2015).

ISIS. Touching briefly upon ISIS, unlike AQ which promulgates a transnational conception of *jihādism*, ISIS has undertaken strategic operations solely within the territorial borders of Muslim countries within the MENA region, which stands in stark contrast to the global reach of AQ operational doctrine (Hamid, *et al*, 2017; Lister, 2015). This is true not only of ISIS but also of many other Arab *Sunni* extremist groups that have emerged in the MENA region and especially within Syria and Iraq (Hamid, *et al*, 2017; Sedgewick, 2015). These extremist groups have often slaughtered civilians, violated International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and fought other Islam*ist* groups (Amnesty International, 2018; Battu, 2018; European Council, 2018).

Civil Wars and Displaced Populations. Following the 'Arab Spring', there has been an increase in the number of civil wars occurring within the Middle East such as in Iraq, Syria, Libya, and Yemen. These vicious conflicts are not only destroying lives but heritage, infrastructure, social fabric and in some locations, causing famine and epidemics. Also, rebuilding these Middle Eastern Arab Muslim states will not only require huge foreign investment and take decades but such investment may well come with conditions other than financial. An important consequence of these conflicts has been the large number of displaced populations escaping civil wars and rendering the states to which they flee more fragile. Refugees from Syria and Iraq have arguably made Jordan, Lebanon and even Turkey, more precarious than before. This has also altered the 'refugee landscape' within the Middle East. For example, more than six million Syrians have fled the country, while another ten million have been internally displaced (Brand and Lynch, 2017). Within Jordan, refugees now constitute more than a quarter of the population (Brand and Lynch, 2017). Twenty years ago, the only refugees within the Middle East whose presence had a geopolitical impact were the Palestinians. However, they have been demonstrably 'overshadowed' by Syrian and Iraqi refugees who now dominate the 'roster of the displaced' (Brand and Lynch, 2017).

US, Israel (IL), UK and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). The EU and New Zealand have proscribed the military wing but not Hezbollah. It continues to be seen as a resistance movement by many Arabs *Sunnis,* notwithstanding its use as an Iranian sectarian proxy in the war in Syria, in which Hezbollah has been used by Iran to revive support for the extremist *Shi'a* sectarian ideology championed by the Islamic Republic's founder (Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini).

[33] *Shabiha* - are mostly Alawite groups of armed militia. They fight with Syrian government forces and are fiercely loyal to the Al-Assad family. Many *Shabiha* militia groups have been linked to atrocities such as the slaughter of men, women and children.

Shifting Geopolitical Alliances. One of the less visible consequences of the 'Arab Spring' has been the growing realisation from some Arab states that notwithstanding their long term military alliances with America, that they may, in their 'hour of need', be quickly 'abandoned' in favour of Islam*ists*, posing as democratic reformers (Quilliam, 2018; Gertz, 2016; Al-Soudi, 2015). This is exemplified by the case of Mubārak who as a long term ally of America and a 'quiet ally' of Israel, was in essence 'let go' by the US, in preference to Morsi's Islam*ist* MB, posing as democrats (Gertz, 2016). This and the West's recent apparent loss of 'appetite' for Middle Eastern interventionism as exemplified by "Obama's failure to enforce his "Red Lines" over the Syrian government's use of chemical weapons" (Quilliam, 2018): sent 'shock waves' through long established Arab/Western alliances (Al-Soudi, 2015; McCormack, 2018; Milos, 2018); gave Obama[34] the appearance, to many Arabs, of what Mao Zedong once called a 'Paper Tiger'[35]; caused Arab states to "doubt the integrity" of Western promises; (Quilliam, 2018) and gradually move away from "dependency upon Western powers" (Quilliam, 2018). Additionally, Washington's ties with its Middle Eastern Arab allies loosened considerably during Obama's 'Pivot to Asia' away from the Middle East, which further 'shook' Arab leaders whom he had been supporting and created a vacuum of trust and support (Milos, 2018; McCormack, 2018). Quilliam[36] (2018) at Chatham House suggests that these factors have had a "profound impact" upon how contemporary Arab leaders view "traditional and new partners". This is exemplified in Russia's tenacity in standing by Al-Assad as an Arab ally, in the face of global opposition.

These and other post 'Arab Spring' circumstances have proved troubling and potentially debilitating for many Arab states, as they have become vulnerable to the destabilising influence of Islam*ist* extremists (Al-Suwaidi, 2016; Gertz, 2016; Al-Soudi, 2015). This is especially the case for Islam*ists* with well-established organisations and societal connections, such as the MB (Al-Suwaidi, 2016), which notwithstanding their social and educational programmes, seem to retain legacy 'Arab Street' credibility for their reputation in fighting 'Zionist' armed groups in Palestine during the 1948 Arab-Israeli

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[34] Barack Hussein Obama II, 44th US President, (2009-2017).
[35] Paper Tiger (Chinese – *zhilaohu*) - something that appears to be a real threat but is actually unable to withstand challenge. This term was famously used by Mao Zedong to refer to the US government.
[36] Dr Neil Quilliam, Senior Research Fellow at the MENA Programme, Chatham House.

War[37] (Rogan, 2018). The generic response of many Arab states to these increased threats to internal stability has included: taking proactive measures to upgrade their internal security forces and systems, in order to deal with the potential of violent revolutionary activities and widespread social unrest. This has generally included the introduction of: pervasive surveillance[38] measures; greater development and implementation of human monitoring[39]; and the widespread use of informers for state security within the Arab community.   Furthermore, some Arab countries could be referred to as 'failing states'. These include: Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Yemen, whilst others such as Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Sudan and Tunisia remain fragile and vulnerable to destabilisation. Within the Arabian Gulf, Qatar has: strengthened its links with Iran and Turkey; is openly hosting the Islam*ist* MB and Taliban; and has in effect, severed itself, or has been severed from, other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC[40]) states (Ashour, 2014).

KSA. Meanwhile, KSA, which can be regarded as the 'cornerstone' of the Arabian Gulf (Lacey, 2009) is modernising, pursuing economic diversification and social reform (Al-Jazeera, (2016a). The kingdom continues to face a spectrum of internal and external threats, whilst it fights an expensive and reputationally damaging war in Yemen. These threats include missile strikes on KSA by the Iranian backed Houthi[41]. Notwithstanding King Salman Bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud[42] remaining on the throne, power in this 'opaque' tribal Kingdom (Lacey, 2009) has in effect passed to the Crown Prince, Mohammed Bin Salman, known as 'MBS'. As such, he is: Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia; First Deputy Prime Minister; President of the Council for Economic and Development Affairs; and Minister of Defence. MBS has continued to consolidate his

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[37] 1948 Arab-Israeli War (First Arab–Israeli War) – between Israel and selected Arab states (Egypt, Jordan, Syria and some elements from Iraq). Arabs refer to it as *Al-Nakbah* ('the catastrophe') due to the expulsion of Palestinians from their land, when more than 700,000 Palestinian Arabs were either expelled or fled as refugees from their homes and up to 600 Palestinian villages were destroyed in the fighting which followed the Israeli Declaration of Independence in May 1948. The 1948 war had been preceded by the 1936–1939 Arab Revolt (Palestine), the 1944–1947 Jewish Insurgency, 1947 UN Partition Plan for Palestine and 1947 Civil War.

[38] In this context, surveillance refers to: communications (including internet), photographic and location tracking.

[39] In this context, human monitoring refers to: target identification, maintaining watch lists, behavioural monitoring, network identification and countersurveillance.

[40] GCC official title - The Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf. It is commonly referred to as the Gulf Cooperation Council, hence GCC, and consists of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, KSA, and the UAE.

[41] Houthi (Anṣār Allāh – 'Supporters of Allāh') is an Islam*ist*, predominately Zaidi sect militia that originated in Sa'dah (northern Yemen) during the 1990s. They are currently engaged in fighting the Saudi/UAE coalition within Yemen.

[42] Salman Bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud - King of Saudi Arabia, Prime Minister, Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques and tribal head of the House of Saud.

power against 'billionaire princes', critics of the regime (be they internal or external), whilst maintaining high profile international diplomacy, such as at the G20 Summit in December 2018. At the G20, the Khashoggi 'affair' did not appear to overly impact on his ability to interact with world leaders such as Chairman Xi Jingping, with whom he discussed Middle Eastern regional security and harmonising KSA's 2030 Vision and China's Belt and Road Initiative (The National, 2018).

Trump. The phenomenon of Middle Eastern Arab anti-Americanism has developed a new facet with the inception of the Trump presidency, which appears to be having an additional impact at different levels within the Arab *Sunni* Middle East. Trump's approach and initiatives relating to the Middle East, Arabs and Islam have arguably hindered attempts at American reconciliation with Arabs in general and more specifically, Islam. These are exemplified by: his use of simplistic and binary language which conflates Islam*ic* with Islam*ist* and Islam with terrorism (Nesser, 2016); his failed attempt at a so called 'Muslim Travel Ban'[43] (Goodman, 2017; Yuhas, 2017); his decision to relocate the US Embassy in Israel to *Al-Quds*[44] (Independent, 2018), which is viewed by the Palestinian Chief Negotiator[45] as a *de facto* recognition of Israel's sovereignty over occupied Jerusalem (Erekat, 2018); his withdrawal of the US from the UN Human Rights Council in 2018, in protest of its frequent criticism of Israel's treatment of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories (Harris, 2018; Piccone, 2018) that appalled many Arabs but which was lauded by Israel (Staff, 2018); his refusal to endorse the 'Two State Solution' according to 1967 borders (Erekat, 2018); his avoidance of any reference to the term 'Israeli occupation' (Erekat, 2018); his cancellation in 2018 of US humanitarian funding to the Palestinian National Authority, which was viewed by many Arabs as 'collective punishment' of Palestinians by Trump (Erekat, 2018); and his attempt to use Palestinian economic desperation to: "normalise Israel's occupation, to legitimise its illegal settlements, and its whole system of oppression" (Erekat, 2018; UNICEF, 2018). Therefore, the issue of America's continued role and that of its president, within the Arab Middle East and their impact, is not only

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[43] US Executive Order 13769 - 'Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the US', ('Muslim Ban' or Muslim Travel Ban') came into effect 27 January until 16 March 2017, when it was revoked and amended. It suspended the entry of Syrian refugees indefinitely and entries from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen.

[44] *Al-Quds* - Jerusalem.

[45] Dr Saeb Erekat – Palestinian Chief Negotiator and Secretary General of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

current but 'of the moment'. This is reflected in views of Middle Eastern Arab youth on Trump's presidency, which were captured by the recent 2018 Arab Youth Survey. The survey recorded that "Three-quarters of young Arabs view the impact of Trump's presidency on the region as negative" (Arab Youth Survey, 2018). Yet, despite this substantial list of potential difficulties which Trump has created for the Arab Muslim Middle East, his move against Iran and the 'nuclear deal' has garnered support from some of the Arab world, with whom he is now viewed as 'stronger' that Obama.

Turkey. Stepping beyond the Arab World but remaining within the region, Turkey which is supposed to be a parliamentary representative democratic and secular republic, now has an Islam*ist*-leaning controlling party[46], under presidential control, that has consolidated power with mass arrests of academics, army officers and others, following the supposed 2016 attempted *coup d'état.* Additionally, Turkey which remains concerned about Kurdish aspirations for independence, has conducted offensive military operations within Kurdish areas of Syria and 'border securing operations' against the YPG[47], which it regards as a terrorist organisation. Although there seems to be a collective view amongst Arab League leaders that they would not wish to see an independent Kurdish state, many appear to be watching with interest as America 'steps back' from its earlier financial, military and moral support to Kurdish YPG forces in their tenacious fight against ISIS (*Da'ish*), due to Turkish interventionism. From this, some may well draw their own conclusions. Additionally, in some Western minds, Trump's commencement of withdrawal of US troops from Syria in January 2019 may appear positive. However, to some Middle Eastern minds this may appear a sign of disengagement and even an 'abandonment' of their former Kurdish allies; notwithstanding Pompeo's[48] tour of Middle Eastern Arab allies in January 2019. However, this matter is complex, as historically the Arabs, Iranians and Turks have never shown any eagerness for an independent Kurdish state within their region. Also, Turkey under Erdoğan is fostering a curious relationship with Europe in relation to immigration control (Murray, 2017), whilst being suspected by many Arabs of Neo-

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[46] Justice and Development Party (AK Parti) – which has a declared ideology of Islam*ic* democracy but is Islam*ist* in orientation.
[47] YPG – (*Ḥdoywotho d'Sutoro d'Amo* - People's Protection Units) is a mainly-Kurdish militia in Syria and the primary component of the Democratic Federation of Northern Syria's, Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF).
[48] US Secretary of State Michael Pompeo, appointed April 2018; former Director CIA (2017- 2018).

Ottomanism (Rogan, 2015).

Summary. In summary, much of the Middle East remains: fragile; unstable; authoritarian; war-torn; riven by sectarianism; suffering political fragmentation; the growth of failed states; and greatly troubled by growing anti-Americanism and Islam*ist* extremism. Arguably, these characteristics have become more severe, dynamic, and dangerous than before. Notwithstanding these turbulent events, there are predominant, underlying and enduring issues that link the West in general and America in particular to the Middle East, which shape and influence the relationship between both. However, in the midst of this situation, long established Middle Eastern Arab geopolitical 'tectonic plates' may now be shifting slowly away from the West, towards new more 'reliable and consistent' authoritarian Eastern allies.

The following chapter consists of the literature review that: provides further context; considers the research problem as a whole; aggregates the broader research on the issue; highlights the gaps in relevant literature; and provides a framework for relating new findings to previous academic work. In addition, it will examine critically the 'state of the field' in order to situate this research clearly within broader scholarly literature.

CHAPTER 1

Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter will consider the research problem as a whole, aggregate the broader research on the issue and provide a framework for relating new findings to previous academic work. Additionally, the 'state of the field' will be critically examined to situate the research problem clearly within broader scholarly literature. Specifically, it will examine what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men to Islam*ist* extremism in the contemporary era by considering the literature and contemporary academic debate on this important matter. It will also consider the problem at large, as a conflict between opposing sets of actors that has been set in motion in both an historical and contemporary sense.

There is an immense body of scholarly literature that exists in relation to this generic field of academic enquiry. Consequently, in the conduct of this research, it was necessary to filter the data for the thesis in general and this chapter in particular and limit it to what was required to address the specific research question. This has necessitated the exclusion of some academic sources, where such work did not contribute to addressing the specific research question[49]. Therefore, this chapter is problem-centred and narrative-oriented.

In order to address this research question at the appropriate length, breadth and depth, it has necessitated the use of texts and academic debates across 'time and space', both ancient and modern, crossing a range of disciplines and encompassing Western and Middle Eastern academic sources. For example, where relevant, Middle Eastern scholars range from Ibn Rušd (Averroes) to the contemporary Al-Suwaidi; whilst Western sources range from Aquinas to Murray. Notwithstanding what appears to be a dichotomous divide in academic sources and authors, Western based Arab authors such as Said, Ramadan and Atwan have also been included, where they contribute to

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[49] Examples of these generic sources which have been accessed but not included in the main thesis are listed at the rear of the bibliography.

answering the research question. Finally, contemporary surveys, such as the Arab Youth Survey 2018, Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey 2018 and other digital sources have also been used in order to capture innovative, 'cutting edge' information and emerging areas of scholarship.

Initially, an overview of the problem will be provided, that commences with 9/11 as an incident that reawakened a conflict that can be viewed as centuries old and which continues to acquire new guises in the present age (Matar and MacLean, 2011; Vitkus, 1999). It will then delineate various problems that arise within this potential 'Clash of Civilisations'[50], centring upon the argument that anti-American sentiment and its correlate in Western hostility towards the Islam*ist* (and sometimes uncritically, Islam*ic*) world is a key variable that inspires continued conflict. The chapter will then centre upon the discourses surrounding fundamentalism, radicalisation and extremism. The language of "discourses" has been applied in a distinctively Foucauldian sense (Foucault, 1982). Foucault argues that centres of conversation are discursive formations: clusters of ideas that render a particular perspective on some data (1982). Understood in this way, discourse shapes the predominant conceptions of phenomena such as, anti-Americanism and Islam*ist* extremism.

The subsequent section will provide a brief overview and discussion of the *Dīn* (religion) of Islam[51] in order to place the religious beliefs of Arab *Sunnis* into context. Although a detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is considered not only apposite but essential to elucidate this subject matter, not least due to the popular conflation of the terms Islam*ic* and Islam*ist*. This is supplemented by an appendix on Islam (Appendix 1) and a further appendix on the Meaning of relevant Islam*ic* Terms (Appendix 2).

Common perceptions of the 'Muslim World'[52] by many in the West can be regarded as 'misrepresented', with conceptualisations of '*jihādism'* being used widely without a coherent understanding of this particular phenomenon (McCants, 2016).

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[50] An allusion to Samuel P Huntington's – *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order* (Huntington, 2002, pp. 2-9).
[51] Arabic – *Al-Islam*.
[52] The 'Muslim World' is a Western term which is often referred to by Arab *Sunnis* as the 'Muslim Nation'. This term has inferred unity which transcends state boundaries and creates transnational appeal. It is closely connected to the term *Ummah* (*Umma*) meaning nation or community, although *Ummah*. In a modern geopolitical sense, the term 'Muslim Nation' usually refers collectively to Muslim-majority countries or the global community of all Muslim believers. See also the Meaning of Islam*ic* Terms at Appendix 2.

Therefore, this chapter will clarify the distinction between Islam*ic* and Islam*ist* ideology and dogma, together with the specific precepts that permit violence or war. Particular attention will be given to the concept of *Jihād*[53]. To draw the chapter to a close, the study will turn to the phenomenon of anti-Americanism, as a factor that can influence the Islam*ist* conviction of the right to a just war (*Jus ad bellum*[54]). This will lead into the next chapter which will seek to define the conceptual framework and, more specifically, each of the concepts which the study addresses namely terrorism, Islam*ist* fundamentalism and extremism, Islamophobia, and anti-Americanism.

Overview of the Problem

The past two decades have served as harbingers of what some view as a 'new version of an old conflict'. Contrary to the predictions of Fukuyama[55], about the end of history being made manifest, the resurgence of hostility between the Western and Islam*ic* worlds was brought clearly into focus[56] (Fukuyama, 2012). The conflict between the respective spheres can be viewed as having spanned centuries. These include: the 'Islam*ic*' incursions into the 'Holy Land' and Europe[57]; the Crusades (11th-13th Centuries); *Reconquista* (718-1492); Fall of Constantinople (1453); later invasions into Europe by the Ottomans[58]; through to Western colonialism of the last two centuries, and recent Western invasions of Arab lands (Asbridge, 2011; Murray, 2017; Sookhdeo, 2015; Warner, 2014).

Historically, the conflicts between the respective centres of power were, overtly, between Christendom[59] and the Islam*ic* world (Cohen, 2015). However, in the contemporary era, they can be viewed as a conflict between that which is loosely dubbed the 'West', and particular Islam*ist* factions that interpret selected dogmas of Islam in such a manner that justifies violent or terrorist acts (Cohen, 2015). However,

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[53] *Jihād ad-dafʿa* means defensive *Jihād', Jihād aṣ-ṣaghīr* means offensive *Jihād* and *Jihād bis-saif* means 'Struggle by the sword'.
[54] *Jus ad bellum* – Just War (legitimate reasons for engaging in war) as enshrined in Articles 2 & 51 - UN Charter. The theory has Judeo-Christian, biblical and Roman legal roots and was developed most notably by the influential medieval philosopher, theologian and scholar Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), in his work *Summa Theologiæ.* He extended the earlier work of Augustine of Hippo (354 – 430) in 'The City of God' and '*Contra Faustum Manichaeum'. Jus ad bellum* is linked to *jus in bello* (behaviour of combatants).
[55] Francis Fukuyama (born 1952) – US political scientist, economist and author of *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992).
[56] Although 9/11 can also be viewed as a 'peak event' in a range of preceding Islam*ist* attacks against the US such as - USS Cole (2000); US Embassy Nairobi (1998); and World Trade Centre (1993).
[57] Such as the Battle of Tours (*Maʿarakat Balâṭ ash-Shuhadâ*) (732). Charles Martel defeated the invading army of Abdur Rahman.
[58] Ottoman invasion of Europe (1529), Siege of Malta (1565), second Ottoman invasion of Europe and Battle of Vienna (1683).
[59] Christendom – the historic Christian Catholic term applied to the nations in which Christianity was established as a theological and geopolitical power, often juxtaposed with the 'Muslim world'.

even in the contemporary era, some Western academics such as Sookhdeo and Warner[60] still view this as an historical and enduring conflict between the 'Islam*ic* East' and 'Christian West' (Sookhdeo, 2015; Warner 2014). This view is further supported by authors such as Murray[61], who take the position that Islam*ic* extremism and Muslim migration are contributing significantly to what he has termed, '*The Strange Death of Europe*' (Murray, 2017). Turning to the Middle East, contemporary Arab academics and authors such as Al-Suwaidi view this as an enduring internal struggle within Islam between the moderates and extremists (Al-Suwaidi, 2016).

This millennium, as a result of 9/11 and later events, has been marked by competing discourses (Cohen, 2015). In the West, the rhetoric of counter-terrorism has established itself in response to the perceived 'relentless Islam*ist* threat' (uncritically defined as Islam*ic*), as catalysed by 9/11 and rendered an all-out war that has morphed and adopted various guises, through the respective presidencies of America (Rosza, 2017; Stern, 2015; Walsh, 2008). Meanwhile, Islam*ists* have directed their hostility not just against America and its foreign policy, but also utilised a distorted matrix, through which perceptions of America are filtered (Stokes, 2015). This matrix contains a mixture of perceived values and behaviours that are considered to be transgressors of Islam*ist* norms and values, as premised on the precepts of Islam and interpreted by way of a confirmatory hermeneutic[62] (Madi, 2016). Such is this perception that it is aligned with the precepts of *Jihād*, or the religious justification of war against a declared enemy (Ahmad, 2017; Amin, 2015).

As is evident from the preliminary reflections offered, the opposing factions of the West (and, specifically America) and the Arab 'Islam*ist* world', appear to perceive each other in a distorted confrontational way and therefore not in a wholly objective manner. In America and the West, this can take the form of Islamophobia, defined not by Islam or the Arab world, but rather by way of the normative judgements of Western actors (Moghul, 2016). Similarly, Islam*ists* have seized upon a distinctive anti-Americanism, as

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[60] Dr Bill Warner (born Bill French), former professor at Tennessee State University, author and founder of the Center for the Study of Political Islam.
[61] Douglas Kear Murray - founder of the Centre for Social Cohesion, associate director of the Henry Jackson Society and author.
[62] Hermeneutic - from the Greek 'to interpret' or 'to make clear'. Traditionally, it was a branch of knowledge which dealt with interpretation of religious texts. Examples are the Holy Bible, Synoptic Gospels and literary texts. However, modern contemporary hermeneutics includes both verbal and non-verbal communication.

an 'othering' that hyperbolises the perceived threats and shortcomings of America in a manner that is analogous to the Islamophobia that is directed upon them and Muslims in general (Perez, 2013).

It is accepted that this set of claims may be understood to be controversial in particular contexts, especially in the situation of the uncritical nationalist sentiment that is currently prevalent in America (Gerson, 2017). Gerson (2017) argues that in the age of President Trump[63], any attempt at separating Islam*ist* from Islam*ic* has been blurred by way of a distinctive ethno-nationalism that has scapegoated isolated instances of Islam*ist* violence in the US and European Union (EU). Gerson further argues that this is in order to create a type of populism that has succeeded in pivoting the political orientation of America to, arguably, a 'far-right' stance (2017). Interestingly, Trump's first National Security Advisor (Flynn) considered 'radical Islam' to be the primary danger for America (Flynn, and Ledeen, 2016), although Burbach considers Flynn's claims to be "laughable as serious threat assessment" (Burbach, 2018, pp. 161-162).

Ghattas (2016) suggests that to mention the similarities between far-right rhetoric and the fundamentalism of the Islam*ist* world in a US 'Red State'[64] may well invite severe rebuke. Ghattas goes on to stress that in such settings, there prevails the uncritical belief in the terror of the enemy that is Islam, as premised on the universalising of selected events without subjecting any attendant discourses to critical analysis (2016). In accordance with these beliefs, America in 2017 made what many may regard as misguided advances in the direction of counter-terrorism, such as the 'Muslim Travel Ban' on seven predominantly Muslim countries (Goodman, 2017). The initial travel ban was met with fierce internal opposition, and ultimately judged unconstitutional before being replaced by a subsequent ban that was also challenged (Yuhas, 2017).

During the post-9/11 years, initially the Bush and then the Obama administrations[65] fought their various incarnations of the 'War on Terror' (WoT)[66] against

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[63] 45th President of the US, who assumed office on 20th January 2017. Hereafter referred to in this thesis as Trump.
[64] A state that is heavily Republican and therefore conservative.
[65] George W Bush, 43rd President of the US (2001–2009). Barack Hussein Obama II, 44th President of the US, (2009-2017).
[66] War on Terror (WoT), the term first used by President George W Bush on 20 September 2001, meaning a comprehensive global struggle against terrorist organisations and regimes. Its primary focus was and remains Islam*ist* terrorist groups.

entities such as AQ, Al-Shabaab (HSM)[67] and Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)[68], (Moeller, 2004; Savage, *et al*, 2016). However, the Trump administration has largely inherited a domestic terrorist problem that is 'non-existent', namely the presence of an Islam*ist* threat on American soil, as gleaned from isolated incidences such as San Bernardino[69] and Orlando[70] (Sanger and Haberman, 2016; Parvini, *et al*, 2017; Levine, 2016). However, the Trump administration has omitted to mention events such as the Charleston Episcopal Church mass shooting[71], which was carried out on ideological grounds but classified by the US as a hate crime of white supremacy, (Pate, 2015; Yeomans, 2015), as this perhaps did not serve an 'anti-Islam*ist* / anti-Islam*ic*' narrative (Miller-Idriss and Kohler, 2017). For example, the Charleston mass shooting has not been attributed the status of terrorism, which thus far appears to be reserved, in a US context, at least by its dominant political actors, solely for perceived enemies from the Islam*ist* world (Miller-Idriss and Kohler, 2017; Nakamura, 2017). Furthermore, later mass shootings in America that were carried out by non-Muslim Americans', such as the 2017 Harvest Music Festival, Las Vegas[72]; 2017 First Baptist Church, Texas[73]; and 2018 Stoneman Douglas High School, Florida[74] (FBI, 2018), seem to reinforce this point.

Notwithstanding this, it is axiomatic that Islam*ist* fundamentalism, radicalisation and extremism remain real challenges to many Western democracies and indeed Middle Eastern states. Mahmood and Rane (2016) suggest that Islam*ists* often sensationalise perceived American 'wrongs' in a propagandist manner, seizing upon individuals who are susceptible to persuasion and vulnerable to radicalisation. Some of the justifications for subsequent terrorist activity by these factions often include: overt grievances with American foreign policy; a loose and arbitrary amalgam of resentment; moral

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[67] Al-Shabaab (*Harakat Ash Shabab al-Mujahidin* - HSM), 'Movement of Striving Youth' - Arab Somali AQ *jihādist* terrorist group.
[68] ISIL – *Tanzim Qaidat al-Jihād fi Bilad al-Rafidayn and Ansar al-Islam.*
[69] 2 December 2015 - Inland Regional Center, San Bernardino, California, US, a mass shooting and attempted bombing took place at a Department of Public Health training event and Christmas party. The attack resulted in 14 fatalities (BBC, 2015).
[70] 12 June 2016 - Pulse Nightclub, Orlando, Florida, Omar Mateen attacked the Pulse (LGBT) nightclub in a mass shooting, resulting in 49 fatalities (Couvertier, 2016) and (Tsukayama, Berman, and Markon, 2016).
[71] 17 June 2015 - Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Charleston, South Carolina, Dylann Storm Roof (white supremacist) carried out a mass shooting during a prayer service. The attack resulted in 9 fatalities (all African Americans), including State Senator Clementa Pinckney.
[72] 58 x killed.
[73] 26 x killed.
[74] 17 x killed.

judgements; and the perception of America as the 'Other' and an enemy of Islam (Mahmood and Rane, 2016).

Ultimately, one of the key issues is the continued conflict amidst a culture of mutual resentment that has not, as of yet, yielded any resolution or attendant peace. Rather, the US government continues to extol a message of the threat of the Islam*ist* 'Other', universalised to encompass much of Islam, while chants of 'Death to America' continue to sound in some Arab states (Bayoumy, 2017; Holley, 2017; McKernan, 2017). Arguably, the partial instigator of this continued mistrust and hostility is the lack of definitional clarity that would otherwise arise from critical reflection upon the various problems discussed. Rather, what is observed are two opposing factions that proclaim justification for their own particular agenda, resorting to pressure and relations of power in order to establish a dominant ideology.

Therefore, this thesis will first and foremost separate the concepts that are relevant to the above-named conflicts and clarify them. Furthermore, it will focus upon one particular set of actors, without blurring the boundaries that separate them from other factions and ideologies. In so doing, it will consider the extent to which anti-Americanism is a key variable that bears upon Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men in relation to Islam*ist* extremism in the contemporary era. In order to set this problem into further context, the discussion will now turn to the relevant academic discourses surrounding these issues.

Discourses on Fundamentalism, Radicalisation and Extremism

In the present decade, extremism has come to be associated in a popular and politicised Western sense with Islam*ist* belief. This has equally been the case with the concepts of radicalisation and fundamentalism, particularly in the post-9/11 era (Aly and Striegher, 2012). Such a perspective has been legitimised by and reflected in legislation by many Western powers and America in particular, thus blurring the distinction between the related phenomena of fundamentalism, radicalisation and extremism (Moghul, 2016). Additionally, there has been a blurring of the distinction between the terms 'Islam*ic*' and 'Islam*ist*' and those who *purport* to represent ideologies that are claimed to be extracted from Islam (Islam*ists*), and those who more accurately

represent the inherently peaceful message of the Islam*ic* faith (Nesser, 2016; Slayton, 2015). However, the alternative usage of the concepts of Islam*ic* and Islam*ist* ideology[75] has resulted in a conflation of these concepts (Nesser, 2016).

It is noteworthy that the labels of fundamentalism, radicalisation and extremism have largely escaped the actions of white or otherwise Western harbingers of a radical, violent ideological agenda (Bayoumy, 2017). Whilst a more sustained definition and exploration of these concepts will be provided in Chapter 2; for the purposes of this section it is necessary to offer an indicative conceptualisation of these in order to set this investigation into an appropriate context. The phenomenon of extremism is indicative of a sway of belief that ventures into the arena of absolutes. Though it is relative to context, extremism emerges where discourse considers particular beliefs and actions to have strayed from that which is regarded as normative (Bonikowski and DiMaggio, 2017; Burke, 2004). This serves as a correlate of fundamentalism, where particular truth-claims and values are understood as absolute, universal, and over-riding any other truths or values. Extremism therefore appears in diverse arenas such as Western far-right ethno-nationalism, or the actions of AQ and the former agenda of Bin-Laden[76] (Bonikowski and DiMaggio, 2017; Burke, 2004).

Turning to radicalisation, this will be understood by this thesis as a process, a movement from some acceptable norms in the direction of extremism. As Aly and Striegher (2012, p. 850) adumbrate, "Radicalisation is…a process by which individuals and groups become socialised to a particular world-view that is considered radical or extreme". In a political and indeed popular sense it is indicative of the manner by which an individual acquires a sense of allegiance to some extremist ideology, such that their former world-view is usurped and replaced by a new set of fundamental ideals.

Many commentators attempt to grapple with these phenomena *via* the perspective of numerous discourses or, as Foucault (1982) describes, 'discursive formations', that bear their own distinctive vocabularies, norms, and perceptions. Additionally, it is worthy of mention that in various discourses be they political, academic, popular or media; extremism and radicalisation have been conflated with

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[75] To be explored in greater detail in the next section and later in the thesis.
[76] Usama bin Mohammed bin Awad Bin-Laden.

terrorism or acts of violence that are the culmination of the process of radicalisation that concludes with extremism. Gelfand and LaFree (2013, p. 496) cite LaFree and Dugan (2007, p. 183) stating that terrorism comprises, "The threatened or actual use of illegal force or violence to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion and intimidation".

Whilst conceptions of terrorism will be examined in greater detail in the following chapter, it is worthy of note that Gelfand and LaFree (2013, p. 496) argue cogently that, "Terrorism is *radical* or *extreme* in that it departs from the prohibition of unprovoked violence, central to most cultures and religions across history, especially of violence against unarmed civilians, uninvolved in hostile acts of any kind". Accordingly, radicalisation and extremism have emerged as cultural memes[77], resulting in scenarios where the labels are applied to both 'Islam*ic'* and Islam*ist* terrorists by Western 'hegemony', politics and media (Abaza, 2010). Whilst extremism exists across the breadth of cultures, religions and nations, this investigation will focus upon Islam*ist* extremism in the specific context of Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men. Prior to the consideration of the ideological agendas of the latter, further discourses on radicalisation and extremism in this context must be uncovered from within existing literature.

As Aly and Striegher (2012, p. 851) remark, "[Islamist] radicalisation can be segmented along four phases: the pre-radicalisation phase; the self-identification phase; the indoctrination phase; and finally, the *jihādisation* phase". Where this becomes fundamentalist, is the thrust towards origins, or some pure and untainted original form of a particular *weltanschauung*. This is indicative of the '*Salafi*[78] agenda', the desire of particular *Sunnis* to return to a 'pure' primordial[79] ideology and way of living, which is considered to have prevailed at the time of, and soon after, the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Similarly, as Islam*ist* and Islam*ic* agendas are conflated by many in the West, so too are a myriad of judgements conflated by many *Salafists*, and Islam*ists* culminating in hostility directed at America. It is noteworthy that *Salafi* ideology emerged

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[77] Meme - A system of behaviour or element of culture that is passed from one person to another.
[78] *Salafi, Salafist* or *Salafism* - an ultra-conservative branch of *Sunni* Islam and is closely linked to *Wahhabism*. It advocates a return to the traditions of the "devout ancestors" (*Al-salaf al-salih*), the adherents believed to be the epitome of Islam*ic* practice.
[79] This term is not intended in any pejorative sense.

in the 18th Century amidst European colonialism and consequently its present-day manifestation should not be viewed in a contemporary vacuum that is divorced from history (Slayton, 2015). For the purposes of this thesis, inherent in colonialism is the process of "subjugation, domination and exploitation" (UN Special Committee on Decolonisation, 2018 cited in UN Watch, 2018). Religious fundamentalism of this variety is considered to be indicative of: a strong belief in *jihād* between the Islam*ic* and Western worlds; individual and group dedication to *jihād* as an obligation for all Muslims; and dedication to establishing a pan-Islamic state through violent conflict (Ahmad, 2017; Aly and Striegher, 2012, p. 852).

Dominant collectives of such fundamentalists include AQ and ISIS (Edwards, 2015; Holbrook, 2016; Jabareen, 2015). Actors associated with these movements have been spread across the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), and appeared in the context of 'home-grown' Islam*ist* radicalisation that has emerged in Western and other states (Combes, 2017). An example is the 2013 Boston Marathon Bombing[80], perpetrated by two naturalised US citizens, 'the brothers Tsarnaev'[81] (Kotz, 2013; Combes, 2017). The Tsarnaevs claimed Islam*ist* allegiance, and Combes later described this as, "The 'introduction' of home-grown terrorists" (2017, p. 126).

Celso (2014, p. 229) stresses that *jihādist* movements are considered indicative of "irrationality", but which move through "cycles" nonetheless. These cycles are: "mobilisation, extremism, implosion and recreation". However, Celso arguably makes a less plausible remark on the opposition between academic attempts to construe *jihādist* doctrine as rational, and indeed their actual (in his view) irrationality (2014, p. 230). He argues that the attempted constraint of *jihādist* agenda by way of rational justification is indicative of, "A Western liberal bias toward logical explanations for seemingly inexplicable phenomena" (Celso, 2014, p.230). As will be examined at length in the next chapter, justification for *jihādist* ends and radicalisation as a process are governed by internal normativity, a moral compass that guides decision-making and regards a particular set of beliefs and associated actions as being righteous or justifiable.

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[80] On 15 April 2013, two homemade bombs detonated at the annual Boston Marathon resulting in 3 fatalities (Kotz, 2013).
[81] Chechen-American brothers Dzhokhar and Tamerlan Tsarnaev.

One could argue that to appraise them as being irrational is to consider them with 'foreign eyes', a perspective that views any moral transgressions in terms of deviance from some established rationality (Perez, 2013). The objectivity of any such claim on the supposed irrationality of *jihādists* is, therefore, highly problematic, being more of a value-judgement that presumes its own status as a standard of truth. In reality, from a Western and increasingly a Middle Eastern perspective, the actions of some Islam*ists* such as ISIS do appear almost irrational, by any reasonable standard. As will be discussed later, American norms and values are perhaps, similarly subject to the label of 'irrationality', when viewed by Islam*ist* fundamentalists, despite such norms and values 'ringing true' within an American context.

It is worth proffering a comment at this stage, prior to proceeding to an overview of the religion of Islam followed by a more sustained discussion of Islam*ic* and Islam*ist* ideology. The coalescing of diverse forms of political Islam into one convenient label is problematic. Along the ideological spectrum, Islam as a faith has, according to March, liberal or conservative factions with related interpretations and dogmas (2015). For instance, *Salafi* ideologies could be placed on the ultraconservative 'right' of this spectrum (2015 p. 104). March also suggests that various forms of utopian Islam are also positioned towards the 'far right' of the spectrum (2015). Examples of such Islam*ist* theorists are Al-Banna[82], Abul A'la Mawdudi[83] and Qutb[84] (March, 2015). Within the *Sunni* tradition are the aforementioned ultraconservative *Salafi*, who are "particularly insistent on rigour in interpretative method…and on the existence of scholarly authority" (March, 2015, p. 104). However, it is important to stress that the *Salafi* or *Salafists* are also on a spectrum and can be categorised as extreme quietists, activists and *jihādists*, with, ultimately:

> "A focus on purifying Muslim belief and practice from any imaginable form of idolatry (*Shirk*), and an obsession with mastering the words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) for the purposes of both knowledge and emulation in practice" (March, 2015, p. 104).

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[82] Hassan Al-Banna (1906-1949) – educated at Dar Al-Uloom (The House of Science) Cairo, where he graduated in 1927.
[83] Also spelt Syed Abul A'la Maududi.
[84] Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966) - one of the main ideologues of the MB and modern Muslim Sunni fundamentalism. He supported, developed and extended Al-Banna's Islamist philosophy making it more radical and extreme. Qutb advocated *jihād* to establish an 'Islamic state' in Egypt and explicitly used the term 'takfir' to condemn the rulers of Egypt and others on religious grounds.

Thus, this particular group is marked by differing degrees of fundamentalism.

The Religion of Islam

Although Islam is often viewed as 'homogenous' the reality is much more complicated. Islam consists of different branches such as *Sunni, Shi'a*[85], *Sūfīī*[86] and *Ibadis*[87]. Even within *Sunni* there are four leading schools of Islam*ic* thought (*Hanbali, Hanafi, Maliki* or *Shafie*) which differ on a wide range of matters, including religious practices and some beliefs. Although a detailed analysis of the *Dīn* (religion) of Islam is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is considered not only apposite but essential to provide a brief overview in order to place the religious beliefs of Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* into context.

The details of previous caliphates, or the practice and precedent of the aforementioned leading *Sunni* schools of Islamic legal thought have been intentionally omitted, as they are beyond the scope of this thesis. Furthermore, there is little to be gained from providing lengthy and detailed coverage of *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) or *Sira* (literature written about the Prophet (PBUH) by his companions). Therefore, the information provided is only what is considered sufficient to form a framework of understanding in relation to this thesis. An overview is adumbrated below and elucidated further at Appendix 1. The appendix covers the following aspects: Six Articles of Faith, Five Pillars of Islam, Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), Holy Qur'an[88], *Hadith* and *Sunnah*, *Ahkram* (Islamic principles of behaviour), the *Imam*, Islamic Calendar and Key Dates, Holy Month of Ramadan, Islam*ic* Festivals and Mosques (*masjids*). To add greater clarity, the meanings of Islam*ic* terms are at Appendix 2.

Interestingly, Moore, (2015, p. 227), states:

> "For most Americans, Islam remains a poorly understood religion, and Muslims are often stereotyped as misogynists, religious fanatics, terrorists and a mysterious "Other" that represents a direct threat to Western civilisation. The vast

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[85] *Shi'a* (*Shi'at Ali* - the party of Ali) has branches such as I*sma'ilism, Jafri, Zaidiyyah* and *Alawites.*
[86] Sūfīī, Sūfīīsm, or Taṣawwuf - 'Islam*ic* mysticism'.
[87] Predominately in the Sultanate of Oman.
[88] Qur'an is the closest approximation to the Arabic Holy Book of God. Other variant spellings exist. The full titles of Holy Qur'an, Holy Bible and Pentateuch (Torah) have been used throughout this thesis as a sign of respect for these Abrahamic religions.

majority of Americans receive their information on Islam from the popular media, which often misrepresents Islamic beliefs and practices, and perpetuates myths, distortions, and misconceptions".

Assuming that Moore's position is compelling, then it further emphasises the need for this thesis to achieve a degree of clarity on the nature and definition of Islam within this space.

The faith of Islam is a monotheistic, Abrahamic religion, with the absolute deity being (*Allāh*[89]) (Armstrong, 2002). On account of its Abrahamic origins, it shares many similarities with Judaism and Christianity, particularly with respect to the presence of the various prophets in the primary texts of the three religions (Ibn-Katheer, 2016, pp. 5-9, Corbin, 2014). An additional, important shared element is the narrative of the Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) (PBUH), Hajar[90] (Hagar) and Sarai[91] (Sarah) (Akyol, 2017; Ibn-Katheer, 2016). The split between the Prophet Ibrahim's (PBUH) sons Isaac[92] and Isma'il[93] mark an important separation of the Judaeo-Christian and Islam*ic* narratives, with Hajar being understood as the matriarch who eventually took Isma'il to *Makkah* (Mecca[94]), as per the biblical Yahweh's[95] instructions or alternatively through the scriptural lens of Islam, at the direction of *Allāh* (Akyol, 2017*;* Ibn-Katheer, 2016).

Muslims believe the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) to be the 'Last Prophet and Messenger[96] of *Allāh* and 'Seal of the Prophets'[97] (Ibn-Katheer, 2016; Corbin, 2014). Furthermore, it is believed that he received the Holy Qur'an from *Allāh* through the medium of the Angel *Jibreel* (Holy Qur'an, 96:1-5) and that it is the unaltered and final revelation of *Allāh* (Armstrong, 2002). The Holy Qur'an, therefore forms the central text of Islam, and is supplemented by the secondary accounts of the *Hadith*[98] and *Sunnah*[99]

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[89] *Allāh* - the Arabic word for God, sole deity in ancient Abrahamic religions and used in the Islamic World and by Arab Christians.
[90] Hajar – concubine of the Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) (PBUH) (Ibn-Katheer, 2016).
[91] Sarai – wife of the Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) (PBUH) (Ibn-Katheer, 2016).
[92] Isaac born of Sarai (Sarah) (Akyol, 2017).
[93] Isma'il (Ishmael), born of Hajar (Hagar) (Akyol, 2017).
[94] Hereafter referred to as *Makkah*.
[95] The ancient name the Abrahamic God of the Iron Age kingdoms of Israel (Samaria) and Judah.
[96] *Rasool Allāh* of Messenger The – *Allāh*. In Islam, each messenger, of whom there were 25, was a prophet but not each prophet was a messenger (Ibn-Katheer, 2016).
[97] Seal of the Prophets - *Khātam an-nabīyīn*, or *Khātim an-Nabīyīn*, meaning the 'final seal' or last prophet.
[98] *Hadith* - the sayings and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). *Hadith* are generally taken from the *Sihah as Sittah* ('Six Correct Ones') – *Al-Bukhari, Muslim, Ibn Majah, Abu Dawud, At-Tirmidhi* and *An Nasa'i*. Such *hadith* have been scrutinized, tested and validated for authenticity by a process known as *Ilm Al-Hadith*.
[99] *Sunnah* - meaning the 'well-worn' path, based upon how Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) lived his life (Brockopp, 2010, p. 15).

(Brockopp, 2010; McAuliffe, 2006). In addition, *Tafsir* (interpretations) comprise a series of commentaries on the *Hadith*[100] and *Sunnah* (Brown, 2009). In general terms[101], *hadith* are classified in relation to their credibility, such as, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (authentic), *Ḥasan* (good) or *Ḍaʿīf* (weak). What results is a series of judgements that are determined by the subjective reflection and interpretation of the particular appraising Islam*ic* scholar (Brown, 2009).

Sunni and *Shi'a*

Although it is covered in more detail at Appendix 1, it is worth touching upon the *Sunni* and *Shi'a*[102] divide. The majority of global Muslims are *Sunni* (87%), whereas *Shi'a* comprise about 13%[103] (Moore, 2015, p. 230). However, how Muslims identify themselves is also a noteworthy factor. For example, in America 55% of Muslims identify themselves as *Sunni*, 16% as *Shi'a* and the remainder identify with neither group, with some saying that they are just Muslim, (Pew Research, 2017, cited in Lipka, 2017). Although the rift originated primarily in a dispute over the line of succession following the death of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH); over time and a sequence of battles, this hardened into schism, civil war and enduring sectarian conflict (Armstrong, 2002; Sookhdeo, 2014). Although *Sunni* and *Shi'a* were in agreement on the Holy Qur'an, they had differing interpretations of *hadith* and *sunnah* resulting in diverging forms of worship, practice and precedent, Islam*ic Sharia* (law) and *Fiqh* (Moore, 2015; Al-Suwaidi, 2016). Furthermore, a clerical hierarchy of *imams* and *ayatollahs* emerged within *Shi'a* Islam. By contrast, the *Sunnis* held that there was no requirement for intermediaries to intercede between man and *Allāh* (Gray, 2010). Eventually the theological, legal and geopolitical tensions that formed around the core dogmatic differences became analogous to the post-Reformation split of Christianity. In the contemporary era, these separate theological, dogmatic and ideological convictions

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[100] *Hadith* are segregated into *isnad* (the 'chains' of their narration) and *matn* (the actual wording of the hadith); therefore, the genealogical space between the *hadith* and the Prophet (PBUH), and the text itself (Brown, 2009).
[101] Classifications include: *Mursal* (hurried), *Munqaṭiʿ* (broken), *Munkar* (denounced), *Muḍṭarib* (unreliable), *Mawḍūʿ* (fabricated).
[102] *Shi'a* or *Shi'at Ali* means 'followers of Ali' (Ali Ibn Abu Talib) or 'Party of Ali'. Shi'a are often referred to as *Shi'ites*.
[103] *Shi'a* - Iran (95%), Azerbaijan (65-75%), Bahrain (65-75%), Iraq (51%) and Lebanon (45-55%) (Moore, 2015, p. 230).

remain deeply held and a continued source of division and sectarian friction between *Sunni* and *Shi'a* (Al-Suwaidi, 2016). Additional information is at Appendix 1.

For many Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis*, Islam is inseparable from almost every aspect of Arab life and it is this prism through which the world is viewed. For these, it becomes a 'second nature' and consequently, 'what, when and how things are done', all fit into the Islam*ic* day, not *vice versa*. This key aspect is sometimes overlooked or unseen by Western commentators.

Islam*ic* and Islam*ist*

As previously mentioned in passing, the distinction between 'Islam*ic*' and 'Islam*ist*' has emerged as a result of the academic and political separation of one form of affiliation to Islam that understands it as a harbinger and proponent of peace. Meanwhile the other emerges from an extremist agenda that appropriates aspects of the faith and expresses them by way of violent ideology, citing Islam as justification for their *modus operandi.* Furthermore, in the interests of clarity, it is worth emphasising that it is demonstrably the case that the vast majority of the 1.8 billion[104] global Muslims (Lipka, 2017) are moderate and have no inclination towards Islam*ist* extremism. Therefore, despite the uncritical conflations that exist in Western political discourse and the popular mind, it is perhaps fallacious to assume the existence of a form of hegemonic Islam[105].

As with some other faiths, Islam is marked by differing hermeneutics of the key scriptural foundations of the religion and therefore it is important to avoid any sweeping demonisation of the faith, as has been the case with some Western Islamophobic agendas (Douai and Lauricella, 2014). Whilst this latter concept will be considered in greater detail in the following chapters, a brief mention of this phenomenon is warranted, at this point. Islamophobia centres upon the generalisation of particular perceptions, gleaned from empirical events, which is formed into a stereotype (Ghattas,

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[104] Source – Pew Research Center. 1.8 Billion Muslims (24% of global population) – (Lipka, 2017).
[105] Which could also be applied to Christianity or Judaism.

2016). It conflates the actions of particular individuals, such as terrorists (that have cited an affiliation to, and reasons extracted from, the religion of Islam as justification for violent acts) with the religion at large, in an ultimately uncritical manner that does not allow for the nuances that make up the vast array of interpretations of the faith (Ghattas, 2016). Islamophobia is therefore manifested as either cognitive prejudice or overt harmful acts.

Fundamentalism[106] exists in both *Sunni* and *Shi'a* Islam, however, with radically distinct theological ideas of what constitutes the 'true faith'. As Moore (2015, p. 231) remarks:

> "There are hard-line Islamists (fundamentalists) calling for the revival of traditional Islam and the restoration of Islamic values and law as the proper course to combat - godless secularism, colonial exploitation, and the encroachment of Western values, feminism, tolerance for homosexuality, rampant materialism, that is deemed un-Islamic".

Although it may not be popularly acknowledged in America, the above position is offset by the many Muslims who have a 'liberal orientation' and support ideals such as gender equality and the peaceful coexistence of Islam and democracy. It is vital for this thesis to stress this aspect as this distinction may become obscured amidst uncritical Islamophobia and the demonisation at both a popular and political level of "radical Islam*ic* terrorism" (Holley, 2017; Douai and Lauricella, 2014). However, it is acknowledged that the position of this thesis is not assisted by works such as Taheri's, *Holy Terror Inside the World of Islamic Terrorism* (Taheri, 1987). In addition, factions with a *jihādist* orientation can be found within elements of *Sunni*, *Shi'a* or indeed other sects, distinguished by their manner of trading in absolutes, and their willingness to militarise their agenda (Ahmad, 2017; Moore, 2015).

Jihād

Given that the phenomenon of *Jihād* is of paradigm importance to this thesis, both with respect to Western conceptualisations of Islam*ist* hostility and indeed the stated justification of Islam*ist* entities for acts of terrorism; it is necessary to explore the

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[106] This term is problematic, as one may be fundamentalist in belief but not translate that belief into extremist or unlawful action.

concept of *jihād* in greater detail. Sookhdeo (2008) emphasises that in Arabic the word *jihād* can mean to strive or struggle. In Islam, this may take the form of any sincere striving against sin (Ahmad, 2017; Al-Suwaidi, 2016; Sookhdeo, 2008). *Jihād* is also interpreted as the duty of Muslims to maintain and spread their religion (Al-Suwaidi, 2016; Sookhdeo, 2008). Turning to a Middle Eastern historical example of this specific dimension of *jihād;* the great Islam*ic* scholar Ibn Khaldūn[107], stated that one of the justifications for *jihād* is conversion:

> "In the Muslim community, the holy war is a religious duty, because of the universalism of the Muslim mission and (the obligation to) convert everybody to Islam either by persuasion or by force" (Ibn Khaldūn, 1981, p. 183).

However, this statement is probably better viewed in the historical context of the time in which it was written. Finally, *jihād* can be understood as conducting a 'Holy War', which is the common Islam*ist* and indeed Western popular interpretation (Al-Suwaidi, 2016). Other specific types include: *Jihād ad*-dafʿ (defensive *jihād*), *Jihād aṣ-ṣaghīr* (offensive *jihād*) which is declared by a caliph and *Jihād bis-saif* ('Struggle by the sword' or holy war) (Sookhdeo, 2008, p. 143; Al-Suwaidi, 2016). Furthermore, ISIS introduced yet another term "*Jihād* of the rear" "fighting to topple corrupt governments in Muslim lands" (Sookhdeo, 2015, p. 15). Those who conduct *jihād* are referred to as *Mujahideen*[108] such as the Afghan *Mujahideen* during the 1979-1989 Soviet-Afghan War (Cook, 2009). Viewed through a Western lens, *jihād* can be seen as almost synonymous with terrorism. However, viewed through an Islam*ic* lens, the perception may be entirely different. For example, the motto of the Army of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is "Faith, Piety and *Jihād* in the way of Allāh"[109] (Sookhdeo, 2008, p. 429).

Genealogically, contemporary *jihād* "is the lineal descendent of classical *jihād* theory as modified by contemporary radical Islam" (Cook, 2009, p. 177). As with religious ideologies in general, the processes of time and history and the various adaptive mechanisms that unfold through generations, are responsible for the emergence of a set of ideologies that are quite distinct from their original incarnation. As

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[107] Ibn Khaldūn (c1332-1406) – (Abū Zayd ibn Khaldūn al-Ḥaḍramī); Arab scholar, philosopher, known in the West as 'the father of Sociology'. His *Muqaddimah* or *Prolegomenon* (Ancient Greek for Introduction) was much used by later Middle Eastern historians.
[108] The singular of *Mujahideen* is *Mujahid*.
[109] *Iman*, *Taqwa Jihād Fi Sabil-Lilah* - Faith, Piety and *Jihād* in the way of Allāh.

Cook (2009, p. 177) writes, "Classical Muslim *jihād* theory is based upon a combination of Qur'anic selections, *hadiths*…legal discussions based on the *hadith* literature and formal treatises dealing with *jihād*".

The actual mention of *jihād* in the Holy Qur'an is uncommon. However, an example of a transliteration[110] from the Holy Qur'an is:

> "Fight in the cause of *Allāh* those who fight you, … slay them wherever ye catch them, and turn them out from where they have turned you out; … fight them not at the Sacred Mosque, unless they (first) fight you there; but if they fight you, slay them". (Holy Qur'an, 2:190-191).

The specific label of *jihād* is not explicitly applied to the warfare waged by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH); rather, it appears in the context of later Muslim conquests following the year 634 (Cook, 2009). From 634 until 740, the concept of *jihād* began to appear in the *hadith*, mingled with arbitrary passages from the Holy Qur'an. Cook emphasises that an important text in this regard was the *Kitāb Al-Jihād* by ʿAbd Allāh ibn Al-Mubārak[111], comprising the first explicit mention of the concept of *jihād* as it is understood in its popular sense (2009). What is critical about this text is that it is populated with battle slogans and description of martyrs' feats and rewards, and the author describes himself as being the "Defender of Islam" (Cook, 2009, p.178). Interestingly, this utterance is often echoed by contemporary Arab Islam*ist* groups.

The further emergence of the concept of *jihād* came about during the Crusades[112], with prominent authors being Al-Sulami and Al-Dumyati[113] (Cook, 2009). In order to be legitimate, *jihād* had to have the endorsement of the imam (Cook, 2009, p. 178). As Cook writes:

> "According to the jurisprudents, *jihād* is a process that begins with the summoning of the enemy to Islam, and either leads to Muslim victory, in which

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[110] Translation of the meaning.
[111] Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak (726-797) titled *Amir al-Mu'minin fi al- Hadīth*. He wrote *Kitāb al-Jihād*, a collection of *hadīth* and sayings of the early Muslims on war.
[112] The Crusades (from Latin *cruciatae* or *cruciatus*) were a sequence of Christian expeditionary wars initiated or sanctioned by Rome during the medieval period (11th-13th Centuries). There were nine Crusades (1096-1291). The First Crusade was initiated by the Pontiff in his sermon at the Council of Clermont in 1095 (Strack, 2012). The Crusades ended following the fall of Acre in 1291.
[113] Ahmad Ibrahim Muhammad Al-Dimashqi Al-Dumyati, commonly known as ibn Nuhaas, (killed in battle 1411).

case the enemy is either killed, enslaved or accepts protection (*dhimmi*[114]) of the Muslims, or to a tactical ceasefire (*hudna*)".

Jihād in its classical sense became primarily a tool of *Sunnis*, directed against minority groups such as *Shi'a*. The practical definition was expanded over subsequent centuries to accommodate circumstances in which Muslims sided with non-Muslims in warring against particular Muslim factions (Cook, 2009). Nevertheless, it is important to note that *Sunni* and *Shi'a* factions retained distinctive conceptualisations of *jihād*. Cook continues:

> "While *Sunni jihād* theory emphasises the triumphal process of conquest from non-Muslims in which martyrs either gain victory or paradise, *Shi'ites* emphasise the tragic and mournful quality of perpetual (but noble) defeat". (2009, p. 179)

Cook (2009, p. 179) suggests that the nineteenth century anti-colonial *jihāds* more closely resembled "nationalism and socialism". This preceded a shift to a more contemporary form of *jihādism* of the twentieth century, that became bound with the concept of *Fatwā*[115] (Cook, 2009). The proclamation of a *fatwā* is indicative of the legitimising of some particular 'enemy *qua* enemy'; henceforth justifying any declared war against the same. It was the latter decades of the twentieth century, however, that brought the rise of radicalised Islam*ist* factions that premised their endeavours upon the very concept of *Istishhād*[116] or martyrdom. This consisted of a somewhat liberal interpretation of classical *jihādism* in accordance with contemporary political fashions, including the advocacy of suicide bombing. *Jihādist* activity was, centuries prior, bound by extremely narrow and conservative constraints, in that there had to be some utilitarian benefits for Islam, as interpreted by the attendant ideologues. *Sunni* usage of suicide bombs became prevalent in the 1990s (Moore, 2015), whereas *Shi'a* conceptions of *jihād* remained wedded to the notion of the coming of the 'Rightful

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[114] *Dhimmi* status was in effect a 'second class status' applied to non-Muslims who accepted Islamic rule and paid a tax in order to continue practicing their own religion. Although this was applied in some locations and at times in a benevolent manner, it is recorded in ancient texts that elsewhere and at other times some of those of *Dhimmi* status felt oppressed and humiliated.

[115] *Fatwā* – An Islamic decree, interpretation or announcement by a qualified *Muftī* (an Islamic scholar) or *fatwā* committee, based upon *Sharia* or practice. An example of a *Sunni fatwā* committee is the *Al-Azhar* Islamic University *Fatwā* Committee in Cairo.

[116] *Istishhād* - Martyrdom. This term is closely linked to the Islamic term *Shahīd* which can mean 'witness', but almost always means 'martyr'. Islamists often apply the terms *Istishhād* and *Shahīd* to Islamist fighters who have been killed whilst fighting in a *jihād* or '*jihād fī sabīl Allāh*' (*jihād* for the sake of *Allāh)*.

Twelfth Imam[117,] and were expedited in a rather more defensive nature (Moghadam, 2007).

The attacks of 9/11 brought the widespread recanting of the hitherto undefined *Sunni* form of *jihād*, with an *ulama*[118] position being that a coherent enemy be defined, such as Israel. This emerged in contrast to the amorphous enemy of America, as distinct from the delineation of a clear set of vendettas in the cause of *jihād* (Amin, 2015). In recent decades, the concept of *jihād* has been further seized upon by extremist groups who have projected upon the concept their own agenda, be that either rebellious sentiment against a government, or as harbingers of an apocalyptic vision of a pan-Islamic world (Amin, 2015).

The delineation of a coherent enemy against which extreme violent acts are justified, bears upon this thesis in important ways. Over the past two decades, the particular actions of extremist factions have been informed by a perception of America as an enemy, on grounds which span culture, morality, foreign policy, and beyond (Jamal, 2012). The declaration of *jihād*, be it under a *fatwā* or the construal of classical *jihādist* texts, is, in terms of the theoretical approaches of political science and international relations, indicative of *jus ad bellum* (White and Henderson, 2013). It is important to stress that in this case, such a declaration of 'justified' war is not aligned with international or Western standards, but, rather, the dogmatic interpretations of Islam*ic* scripture, rendered in accordance with Islam*ist* ends. It is this alleged *jus ad bellum*, together with the conceptualisation of America as enemy, where the discussion will now turn.

Anti-Americanism as *Jus ad Bellum*

White and Henderson (2013) suggest that the concept of *jus ad bellum* does not encompass the boundaries of the world's collective actors, and their associated ideologies, norms, and world-views. Furthermore, Walzer (2015) stresses that it is particularly difficult to import the Western concomitant principles[119] of *jus ad bellum* into the specific context of Islam. Yet, viewed from a Middle Eastern and Islam*ic* perspective

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[117] Rightful Twelfth Imam - infallible ruler, whose edict legitimises the cause for a particular *jihād*.
[118] Muslim scholars who are acknowledged as having specialist knowledge of Islamic *Sharia, Fiqh* and theology.
[119] *Jus ad bellum* principles: proper authority, public declaration, just cause, probability of success, proportionality and last resort.

and notwithstanding the early Christian theological origins of just war theory, most of the key elements are consistent with the Holy Qur'an. However, in Islam*ist* extremism and terrorism, *jus ad bellum* collapses into the amorphous frame of *jihādism*, which is adapted to suit the ideological ends of the particular hostile actors. Therefore, *jus ad bellum* is liberally construed so as to be situated in the context of *jihād*, and indeed the principles that uphold anti-Americanism as reason for a 'just war'.

Anti-Americanism, as a phenomenon, has morphed and evolved over time (Perez, 2013). In historical terms, its existence is a relatively recent one, insofar as America is a young nation. As with the distorted perception of many Westerners about the Islam*ist*, or what is viewed by many as 'Islam*ic*' threat, anti-Americanism centres upon a combination of resentment and othering that blames America for some grievances of the resenting faction, in such a way that it transgresses the norms of this faction. In '*The Real Roots of Arab Anti-Americanism*' Rubin observes the ubiquitous dialogue that is the "blame game" (2002, p. 74). Yet, this account of the hostility between the Islam*ist* world and America although succinct, can be viewed as rather simplistic and should therefore be approached with caution. Rubin (2002) arguably slips into problematic territory in that what unfolds, is in effect, a post-9/11 designation of the problem as being solely Arab in origin. He writes that:

> "The United States is blamed for much that is bad in the Arab world, and it is used as an excuse for political and social oppression and economic stagnation. By assigning responsibility for their own shortcomings to Washington, Arab leaders distract their subjects' attention from the internal weaknesses that are their real problems. And thus, rather than pushing for greater privatisation, equality for women, democracy, civil society, freedom of speech, due process of law, or other similar developments sorely needed in the Arab world, the public focuses instead on hating the United States" (Rubin, 2002, p. 74).

It is worthy of note that Rubin's statements were made not long after 9/11, in an environment where even supposed academic objectivity could not escape the influences of a 'nation in trauma'. What is quite revealing is the manner in which it seems to *demand conformity* from a culture that is in effect, a 'patchwork quilt' of

cultures, with a different history, philosophy and predominant faith, from that of the West. Indeed, Rozsa (2017) suggests that claims emerging from the Whitehouse continue to involve 'self-righteous othering'. Rozsa (2017) stresses that Trump's presidency has been marked by othering declarations of hostile foreign entities that do not align themselves with perceived American values, whilst quietly excusing the US from these very same American values. Also, what is perceived by the Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular as America's bias in favour of Israel is problematic, as reflected in the 2018 poll of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip which revealed that, "the overwhelming majority of Palestinians view the American role in the peace process as biased in favour of Israel" (Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey, 2018).

The relevance of these remarks, for the purposes of this thesis, is that Islamophobia and anti-Americanism are analogous, and where both phenomena collide, there is the exacerbation of suspicion from both sides. The above passage is an example of a Western perspective on Arab anti-Americanism that views the 'other' as a transgressor (Lynch, 2016). It is detailed in a more contemporary treatment of the issue as, "A 'war of ideas' against radical Islam entail[ing] a breathtakingly wide array of local interventions into the political, economic, social, and cultural institutions of targeted states" (Lynch, 2016, p. 129). This results in a situation where, "Arab regimes often publicise such initiatives [US foreign policy] as violations of their national sovereignty in order to inflame local sentiment against the United States" (Lynch, 2016, p. 129).

The perspective from the opposing party, which comprises the central concern of this thesis, is an analogous yet opposite demonising of the 'other', which gives rise to the phenomenon of Arab anti-Americanism. Therefore, Arab anti-Americanism can be considered to have two key facets, namely: the perception of America as transgressor of Islam*ist* ideology and claims that America bears objective values and behaviours that are undesirable. These facets are intertwined with one another. Jamal *et al* (2015, p. 57) suggests that the literature is divided about the depth and nature of Arab animosity towards America and posits that it may be inherent to the culture and identity of Arabs and Muslims. Jamal *et al* also highlights an alternative position, namely that Arab anti-

Americanism reflects negative views of US policies in the region rather than of America as a society (2015, p. 57).

Given that this thesis seeks to ascertain a primary account of anti-American sentiments among Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis*, it would be apposite to examine similar primary accounts from recent years. Jamal *et al* (2015) are of assistance in their examination of anti-Americanism in Arabic Twitter discourses. Interestingly, the study found that anti-American attitudes in the Middle East are largely directed at US interference, which is seen as abuse of sovereignty of the nations in which America intervenes.

In addition to this thesis being concerned with what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* to Islam*ist* extremism, it is also concerned with how this occurs in the contemporary era. Social media can assist in this process by offering a compelling insight into dominant conversations and from which a discourse analysis can be extracted (Kadushin, 2011). Jamal, *et al* found that 3% of conversations spoke favourably of America in terms of its social character and that 45% of tweets centred upon "negative political" conversation about America (Jamal, *et al.*, 2015, p.59).

There are dimensions of the Arabic Twitter Study which perhaps reveal the complexity with which anti-Americanism is manifested. However, these do not necessarily bear the character that the authors may have intended. An example is the reactions to the 2013 Boston Marathon Bombing in which sympathy for victims was expressed by 9% of the studied cohort. But two other key categories of tweet dominated, namely a fear of backlash directed at the Arab world (33%) and the view that the incident was not considered to be important (40%) (Jamal, *et al.*, 2015, p. 64). The authors inferred that lack of sympathy was indicative of some measure of anti-American sentiment. However, whilst this might be considered plausible to some degree, it cannot be considered to be an absolute explanation. First and foremost, the fear of backlash is understandable, given the already prevalent presence of Islamophobia in the West. Secondly, the view that the incident was not important is indicative of an attempt to 'right-size' any American claims that assume that US 'loss and suffering' is of paradigm importance, outweighing those of any other nation. In fact, the deaths and injuries caused by the bombing pale in comparison to the fatalities in the

Middle East resulting from frequent terrorist attacks, 'collateral damage[120]' from American / Western airstrikes or Palestinian civilian deaths from Israeli airstrikes. Furthermore, it raises the moral and ethical question which is frequently posed in the Middle East; is an American life of greater value than that of an Arab Muslim life?

Ultimately, what could be extracted as distinctively 'anti-American' sentiment from this study is the general desire to decrease the importance of America on the world-stage. With indifference towards such attacks in America, the participants may be indicating that the incidences in question do not bear special importance to them *simply* on account of them occurring in America. This could also reveal the perspective that America contributes to the myth of its own supremacy and establishing a normative standard against which the world should compare itself, together with its declaration that *its* struggles are more important than, comparable or worse problems in other nations.

In relation to Hurricane Sandy, 32% of the studied cohort considered this news not to be important. Interestingly, a key theme that emerged was the perception that the natural disaster was indicative of punishment for the maltreatment of Muslims, and a testament to the innocence of the latter (Jamal, *et al.*, 2015, p. 66). Consequently, a natural occurrence was interpreted in such a way that is both indicative of, and inspires, continued anti-Americanism. To reiterate, a recurring theme of this discussion, Nisbet and Myers (2011, p. 687) state:

> "The "oppositional" nature of identity schemas means that identity must be defined in relation, and often in opposition, to some other identity or "imagined other"…. that "serves as an alter image of one's own country or tradition".

It is therefore safe for this thesis to make the claim that some and possibly many Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* that have developed prejudicial attitudes towards America, have done so through the use of 'lenses'. One such lens is the mainstream media. Whilst the media might be understood simplistically and uncritically as purveyors of objective 'fact', they are laden with values in their representation of cultural phenomena. It can therefore be difficult for the media to escape their almost 'propagandist' roles, as

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[120] The US military uses the terms 'collateral damage' to refer to unintentional non-combatant fatalities and casualties or incidental damage to non-combatant property. This intentionally constructed term has been created to reduce negative media / PR impact.

events are filtered through the lens of their (or editorial) cultural subjectivity. This may also be particularly the case in the Middle East where nearly all media outlets are subject to state control. Nisbet and Myers (2011) shed light on this aspect when they examined the influential relationship between transnational Arab television news channels and their audiences and how these channels shaped the attitudes of their viewers towards the West in general and America in particular. The study highlights the finding that the political orientation of the media outlet in question shapes popular anti-American sentiment in the Arab world (Nisbet and Myers, 2011).

The general results of the analysis revealed that individuals who identified as Muslim nationalists were more prone to having anti-American sentiment. However, an interesting distinction was raised between audiences of *Al-Arabiya*[121] and *Al-Jazeera*[122] (Nisbet and Myers, 2011). Those with a preference for *Al-Arabiya* did not experience an increase in anti-Americanism whilst those with a preference for *Al-Jazeera*, did (Nisbet and Myers, 2011, p. 700). Where the channel's disposition was towards a particular political orientation, the lens of the media served in the cause of attempting to engineer their world-view. What can be inferred from this is that television news is one amongst many competing representors of American 'reality' to the Middle Eastern Arab Muslim world. There may perhaps be another level of anti-Americanism present caused by an irritation at the exaggeration and misrepresentation of American media. This therefore can be distinct from holding anti-American political views or, even, anti-American cultural views.

As can be seen, anti-Americanism is indicative of an 'othering' process that views its enemy as a transgressor of some values that are held to be true and absolute. However, there is also ire levelled at US foreign policy, a resentment that then seizes upon various 'instruments' such as, but not limited to, religious scripture, in order to achieve its ends. Whether a real or perceived threat, it is used as a political device of hardened extremist thought that constrains America to fit within its models of a demonised 'other'.

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[121] *Al-Arabiya* – 'The Arab One' is a pan-Arab TV news network which is KSA owned.
[122] *Al-Jazeera* – 'The Island', is a pan-Arab TV news network which is Qatar owned.

Conclusion

To conclude, the literature review has revealed that there is a continuing narrative of mutual hostilities between the Arab Muslim and American 'worlds' respectively, borne of distorted or constructed conceptions of the 'other' through the framed lens of normativity and resentment. Additionally, the phenomenon of Islamophobia may well have been exacerbated by the Trump administration and its attendant perceived 'scapegoating' of Arab Muslims. Meanwhile, anti-American sentiment continues to survive and thrive within the Islam*ist* agenda and arguably many parts of the Arab World.

However, there remains a problem of definitional clarity that blurs the boundaries between the various concepts that are being examined, such as terrorism, Islam*ist* fundamentalism and extremism, radicalisation, Islamophobia, and anti-Americanism. It is for this reason that the following chapter will clarify these and define the central concepts of the thesis in order to assist in the further investigation and critical analysis of what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era.

CHAPTER 2

Conceptual Framework:

Terrorism, Islam*ist* Fundamentalism and Extremism, Radicalisation, Islamophobia and Anti-Americanism

This chapter will outline the conceptual framework of the thesis. It will therefore define relevant concepts and clarify its distinctive approach. A clarification of its conceptual basis is regarded as essential given the ambiguous and sometimes amorphous nature of the concepts being explored. Furthermore, it is considered vital to this thesis because such concepts acquire radically distinct meaning, dependent upon the context in which they are employed, and the actors that define them. In so doing, and given that it is the desire of this study to provide an original contribution to knowledge and a novel contribution to the discourses that it is examining, it will seek to appraise the concepts in question in new ways that mediate between academic discourse and popular incarnations, and between Middle East and West, so that new light may be shed on the problems at hand.

First and foremost, attention will be given to the complex concept of terrorism, which is a phenomenon that has occupied the popular and political mind on a global scale, particularly since the new millennium. In the post 9/11 years, 'terrorism' has been applied to all manner of phenomena, by academics and international organisations, each seeking to arrive at an adequate definition of this issue (Morell and Harlow, 2016). Rather than endorsing the rhetoric of sensationalism, this chapter will consider the manner by which 'Othering' binaries result in the emergence of that which is 'terrorist'. What this means is, that particular perspectives are adopted from which the 'Other' is viewed as deviant, and moreover, the view of the perceiver is judged moral and righteous.

In considering the phenomena of fundamentalism and extremism, the research will observe the particular conceptualisations of fundamentalism such as 'Islam*ic*', and, more particularly, 'Islam*ist*' fundamentalism, that have dominated both popular and political discourse. Furthermore, fundamentalism as such, can be understood more

broadly as a form of dogmatic reasoning. In so doing, 'fundamentalist' is opened up to what is, essentially, a battle of 'norms against norms', and an absolute conviction in particular forms of truth[123], which are understood dogmatically. Islam*ist* extremism will be understood to be a phenomenon that selectively uses the religion of Islam in order to further specific political ends by using extreme measures (Rabasa and Benard, 2014). Additionally, Heywood defines Islam*ism* as "The belief that political structures and social conduct should come into line with the religious principles and ideals set out within Islam" (2007, p. 297). These definitions will be contrasted with popular and political understandings of 'Islam*ic* terrorism', whilst stressing the importance of making the distinction between Islam*ic* and Islam*ist*, at an academic level (Nesser, 2016; Al-Suwaidi, 2016). This will then lead to the problem of radicalisation which will be understood as an extension of fundamentalism; a process that moves between varying degrees of conviction until an absolute state is reached (Koomen and Van Der Pligt, 2015).

The chapter will conclude with a consideration of the emotive subject of Islamophobia, the 'demonisation of difference' and its meaning within the contemporary lexicon prior to focusing upon anti-Americanism. To better understand these phenomena, the study will also consider the manner by which the 'Other' is viewed through the lens of subjectivity.

Terrorism

The phenomenon of terrorism appears in numerous guises, ranging from vague and ambiguous demonisations of particular acts, through to the uncritical attribution of the term to a member of, or a collective that is united by a particular ideology. The definition of terrorism can be based on how it is constructed by an individual or the state. Stump (2009) stresses that terrorism is dependent upon the social and cultural context. Heywood defines terrorism in its broadest sense as, "the use of terror for furthering political ends" (2007, p. 293), whilst Hough stresses that "terrorism is, perhaps, the most contentious term in political science" (2018, p. 64). Lewis (2002)

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[123] The medieval philosopher, theologian and scholar, Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) is noted for his maxim "doubt is the enemy of faith", whereas classical philosophers or scholars of the Enlightenment may have posited that 'doubt is the friend of reason'.

even suggests that the Middle Eastern *Hashshāshīn* (Assassins)[124], *Fida'is*[125] may even have been the first terrorists (Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2016). In the context of America, Said (2001, p.149) makes an interesting observation and stresses that, "As a word and concept, 'terrorism' has acquired an extraordinary status in American public discourse. It has displaced Communism as public enemy number one".

Analysis conducted by Spencer (2012) reveals that post 9/11, terrorism was constructed as 'a war'. 9/11 was associated with Pearl Harbour, due to its 'unprovoked, no warning attack' and references were made to the '*Kamikaze*'[126] tactics of the 9/11 terrorists[127] (9/11 Commission Report, 2004, pp. 231 and 235-239). Bin-Laden was also referred to as a 'War Lord' who fought a war against America. It can also be argued that metaphors of war in the media also contributed to the construction of Islam*ist* terrorism as a war. After 2004, metaphors referring to terrorism changed to the status of 'crime'[128] with terrorists being referred to as 'murderers' by officials and the media. Spencer (2012) stresses that through metaphors an image is constructed whereby attackers are viewed as 'uncivilised', 'barbarian terrorists' and 'merciless killers of innocent people' *versus* the 'civilised world'. For the purposes of British law[129] terrorism is defined by the Terrorism Act 2000 as:

> "The use or threat of action where, … the use or threat is designed to influence the government, or to intimidate the public, … and the use or threat is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause" (The National Archives, 2000).

In a taxonomy of the concept in the late 1980s, Schmidt and Jongman (1988, pp. 5-6) observed the most frequently recurring phenomena that were associated with terrorism. The detail of these twenty-two recurring elements are at Appendix 3.

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[124] *Hashshāshīn* (Assassins) were founded by Hassan al-Sabbāh (1050s-1124) who was a *Nizārī Ismā'īlī* Islam*ic Dā'ī* (missionary) leader. He was based in the Alborz Mountains of northern Persia (The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2016).
[125] Those within the group who conducted the actual assassinations.
[126] *Kamikaze* – (*Tokubetsu Kōgekitai*) meaning the 'divine wind' was a special Japanese suicide attack unit during World War II.
[127] 9/11 Terrorists – Of the 19 x hijackers, 15 were KSA citizens, 2 x UAE (Marwan Al-Shehhi & Fayez Banihammad), 1 x Egypt, and 1 x Lebanon. All were aged between 20-28, most were unemployed and none had a university degree. Sources, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the US (2004), (9/11 Commission Report, 2004, pp. 231 & 235-239) and CIA Report (2002) 'DCI Testimony Before the Joint Inquiry into Terrorist Attacks Against the United States', 18 Jun 2002.
[128] This is not unique as a similar transition occurred in the treatment of terrorism in Northern Ireland during 'The Troubles'.
[129] In England and Wales with special provisions for Northern Ireland. Scotland has separate but similar legislation.

Interestingly, in relation to this thesis, this data reveals no mention of religious conviction, fundamentalism, or dogmatism. Also, there is no mention of what has become a ubiquitous presence in post-9/11 discourse, namely the specific religion of Islam (Nesser, 2016). However, for the purposes of academic objectivity, it is important to observe that this analysis was conducted prior to the upsurge in Islam*ist* terrorism in recent decades. It is also interesting to note that in 1997, Said (1997, xii) stressed that the naturalisation of Arabs as terrorists had reached, "a startling prominence at a time when racial or religious misrepresentations of every other cultural group are no longer circulated with such impunity". It is therefore safe to make the observation, as will be explored during the course of this thesis, that contemporary considerations of terrorism have blurred the divide between generalities and particulars, conflating individual instances of terrorism with a wider assumption of that which is terrorism (Dearden, 2017). This has resulted in a situation in which some specific acts are declared to be expressions of violence or 'hate crimes', and others terrorist (Brown, 2015).

For Americans, particularly in recent years, the concept of terrorism has generally come to be associated with Islam, with other instances of hate crimes being excluded from this category (Woolf and Bell, 2016). As previously touched upon, the 2015 San Bernardino[130] and 2016 Orlando[131] attacks have been referred to as terrorism (Couvertier, 2016), but the 2012 Sandy Hook[132] shootings and the multiple killings in 2015 by Roof[133] in Charleston have not, even though, the Charleston attack was carried out on ideological grounds, (Pate, 2015; Yeomans, 2015). This conflation is problematic and may contribute to an exacerbation of the problem that is essentially based on the perpetual demonisation of the 'Other' (Yeomans, 2015). In the specific context of America, distinctions between mass murder, terrorism and hate crimes involve a

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[130] 2 December 2015, at the Inland Regional Center, San Bernardino, California, a mass shooting took place at a Department of Public Health training event and Christmas party. The attack resulted in 14 fatalities. The attackers were husband and wife - Syed Rizwan Farook and Tashfeen Malik who were killed in a shootout with police (BBC, 2015).

[131] 12 June 2016, at the Pulse Nightclub, Orlando, Florida, US, Omar Mateen attacked the Pulse (LGBT) nightclub in a mass shooting, resulting in 49 fatalities. Mateen was shot and killed by the Orlando Police Department (OPD) (Couvertier, 2016; Tsukayama, Berman, and Markon, 2016).

[132] 14 December 2012, at Sandy Hook Elementary School, Newtown, Connecticut, US, a mass shooting took place within the school. The attack resulted in 26 fatalities (20 children and 6 staff members); the attacker was Adam Lanza (Thomasch, 2012).

[133] 17 June 2015, at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Charleston, South Carolina, US, Dylann Storm Roof (white supremacist) carried out a mass shooting during a prayer service. The attack resulted in 9 fatalities (all African Americans), including State Senator Clementa Pinckney.

considerable degree of semantics, as crimes perpetrated by white individuals avoid the label of terrorism in an absolute sense, and without exception (Brown, 2015). Consequently, it can be difficult to distinguish lone wolf 'Islam*ist*' terror from lone wolf racist hate crime.

Interestingly, the UN does not have an internationally agreed definition of terrorism, but it has an attempted definition in its General Assembly Resolution A/RES/49/60, which is,

> "[Terrorism comprises] criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes… these acts are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be invoked to justify them" (United Nations, 1994).

The above definition is not without its difficulties, for example the use of the word "unjustifiable". In making this remark, the definition[134] presupposes that an objective appraisal of the concept of justification can be offered. An alternative position is that terrorism is indeed justified by particular actors, who view their actions as 'righteous and necessary' from the perspective of their own distinctive standards of normativity (Taheri, 1987).

For the purposes of this thesis, 'standards of normativity' will refer to an internal 'moral compass' in relation to actions. Where an individual is constrained by an internal set of convictions that are regulated by the moral compass in question, it is argued that they will view the world through this lens. Additionally, at the epicentre of the evolution of such standards of normativity are the complex socialising forces that surround the individual, from their birth, through adolescence and beyond. Some of these forces are present in the phenomenon of radicalisation, which will be examined later. Even though 'terrorist' actions are *justified* by particular actors by means of their internal moral compass, it is worth stressing that the aforementioned UN definition has been arrived at

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[134] And related measures to eliminate international terrorism (United Nations, 1994).

via human consensus, rather than being produced from a wholly disinterested perspective. It is from the perspective of this human consensus that terrorism is regarded as unjustifiable, but any such consensus is, of course, founded upon its own distinctive set of norms. However, it is also acknowledged that some governments use terror groups as proxy forces against enemies, when it is expedient to do so. A contemporary Middle Eastern example is the Syrian conflict where various 'terror groups' have been supported and used by specific states, in a clandestine manner, or 'proxy war', in what Amnesty International has termed a "War of Annihilation" (Amnesty International, 2018).

What appears to be a straightforward demonisation of 'acts of terror' is, on the contrary, far from straightforward. This is particularly the case where some acts of ideologically-inspired violence are excused from the label of terrorism, whilst others that are conducted in the name of, for example, Islam are regarded as terrorist (Yeomans, 2015). The process by which the 'Other' is evaluated is also plausibly governed by relations of power, such as the remarks of the then President-elect Trump on acts of "radical Islamic terrorism" (Holley, 2017), whilst other acts of gun violence by white perpetrators are not spoken of with a similar label (Nakamura, 2017). Additional definitions of this phenomenon will be considered, so as to arrive upon an aggregate depiction of the issue as it is manifested in the breadth of global discourses. Regional groupings also craft their own frameworks in order to define terrorism. Amongst these, the EU declares in Article 1 of the Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism that:

> "Terrorist offences are criminal offences, [...] which [...] may seriously damage a country or an international organisation where committed with the aim of: seriously intimidating a population; or unduly compelling a Government or international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act; or seriously destabilising or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organisation" (Council of the European Union, 2015).

Although this 2015 definition is in general, in accord with the definitions examined thus far, the reference to criminality necessitates further investigation. Terrorist acts are

differentiated from other acts of violence on account of this variable. However, the inclusion of criminality is problematic as conceptions of crime vary within cultural environments, as does what constitutes legitimate or lawful action. Revolutionary acts, guerrilla warfare and violent civil disobedience that are conducted in the name of particular causes, quite often fall away from the umbrella definition of terrorism. For instance, the rebel occupation of Aleppo might be understood as revolutionary by some and terrorist by others, depending upon the normative orientation that is adopted (Rodgers, *et al.*, 2016). Indeed, the use of chemical weapons by Al-Assad's[135] armed forces may, similarly, be regarded to be so (Rodgers, *et al.,* 2016). Another example is the activity of the 'Black Bloc', militant anti-establishment anarchists that appear at peaceful protests in America, resorting to violence and the destruction of property, as a means of conveying their ideological agenda (St. John, 2017). However, these manifestations of violence eschew the label of terrorism, whilst the attacks in the 2015 Bataclan Nightclub[136] (BBC, 2015) and the 2016 Berlin Christmas Market[137] (BBC, 2016) easily acquire this label. The US defines terrorism in Article 212 (a) (3) (B) of the Immigration and Nationality Act as follows:

> "Activities that (A) involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the US or of any state, that (B) appear to be intended (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion, or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping, and (C) occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the US" (US Department of State, 2016).

This particular definition gives cause for some considered reflection, where the introduction of nationalist sentiments tilts this passage in the direction of distinctive forms of sovereignty and patriotism that are indicative of America.

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[135] President Bashar Hafez al-Assad.

[136] On 13 November 2015, at the Bataclan Nightclub, 50 Boulevard Voltaire, 11th Arrondissement, Paris, a mass shooting occurred resulting in 90 fatalities (BBC, 2015).

[137] On 19 December 2016, at the Berlin Christmas Market, Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, Breitscheidplatz, Berlin, a truck was deliberately driven into the crowded Christmas market. The attack resulted in 12 fatalities and 56 injured (BBC, 2016).

America as a nation is marked by a strong sense of its status as a superpower on the global stage, as well as the harbinger of the world's liberal democracy (Hudgins, 2000). Blake (2016) stresses that a strong sense of patriotism establishes the country in its consideration of self as a standard of normativity with respect to global ethics. Whilst the aforementioned definition expands to the world stage, it establishes the autonomy of US laws which presumably comprises American norms and values. Singman (2016) highlights an issue with this definition, that being the quick manner by which America regards threats that are specifically affiliated with the Islam*ic* religion as being, a threat to America, and terrorist on the grounds of both the threat to America, and the affiliation with the religion of Islam. Mercia (2017) suggests that American public rhetoric in this regard has increased and has been emboldened as a result of Trump's rhetoric and the collapse of the distinction between 'Islam*ist*' and 'Islam*ic*', narrowing any definition of terrorism to that which is exclusively associated with Islam.

Where violence is acceptable as an act of war, Schmidt (2011, p. 15) emphasises that terrorism is a, "special category of violence that cannot be justified on any circumstance". Again, this does much to establish the narrow category of 'terrorism', but it does not clarify the concept of justification. As discussed earlier, the claim that terrorism 'cannot' be justified ignores the fact that terrorism is a highly contextualised phenomenon. For example, according to Bin-Laden one of the cited justifications for 9/11 was the alliance between America and Israel (Bin-Laden, 2002). Notwithstanding Bin-Laden's comments, Mearsheimer and Walt in *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*, found evidence of overwhelming and disproportionate support being provided to Israel by the US (Mearsheimer and Walt, 2008). They also found that Israel had gradually transformed into a strategic and moral liability to the US and that the lobby and alliance had fuelled anti-Americanism throughout the Arab and Islamic World (Mearsheimer and Walt, 2008, p. 8). Even in 2018, America's bias in favour of Israel seems enduring to Palestinians (Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey, 2018). Also, a 2017 poll found the Palestinians' hope for the liberation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip from Israeli occupation remains undiminished (Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey, 2017).

What the aforementioned definitions are essentially articulating is that where there is a justification provided, this is nullified by some other justification that regards such acts to be immoral or criminal. However, it is particularly difficult to find a consensus amidst multiple warring perspectives, each of which have the restricted vision of the enclosed solipsism[138] of their own particular convictions. James[139], when reflecting upon the American Civil War between the pro-slavery[140] and abolitionist factions, found that regardless of the nobility of either cause or the eventual outcome, the conflict was a product of the very absolute belief of both sides in their distinctive vision of the problem (James, 2000). This is perhaps equally the case when America 'clashes' internationally with what it regards as terrorism.

It is stressed that none of the aforementioned is intended to serve as an apology for particular acts of violence that have acquired the label of terrorism, nor is there a suggestion that there is a moral equivalence, for example, between the burning alive in a cage of Al-Kasasbeh[141] and the targeted killings in 2015 of Khan and Amin[142] by drone strikes. However, such extrajudicial killings raise pertinent legal and ethical questions that are worthy of academic scrutiny. Rather, it is intended to expose the complexity of such interactions, as opposed to entering into a moral and ethical debate, which is beyond the scope of this study. This therefore will serve as the basis for an understanding of the manner by which anti-Americanism and Islamophobia 'collide', and where Islam*ist* fundamentalists and their opponents engage in hostile opposition.

In another account, Juergensmeyer (2000, p. 125) refers to acts of terrorism as deterrent strategies or symbolic gestures that target a mass audience in order to convey some political end. Juergensmeyer (2000, pp. 127-128) stresses that victims are targeted by terrorists because it is believed that their suffering accomplishes the goal of spreading the terrorist message to the largest audience possible with maximal efficacy.

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[138] Solipsism – the philosophical concept and epistemological position that only one's own mind (or self) is sure to exist but that knowledge of anything outside one's own mind is unsure.

[139] William James (1842-1910), influential US philosopher, 'Father of American Psychology', and medical physician.

[140] Predominately but not exclusively 'Confederate'.

[141] Muath Safi Yousef Al-Kasasbeh (1988-2015), the Royal Jordanian Air Force pilot who was captured and burned to death by the so called 'Islam*ic* State' *Jihādists* after his F-16 fighter aircraft crashed over Syria in January 2015. His death became a rallying point for many moderate Sunni Arabs against ISIS, *Jihādists* and Islamism in general.

[142] Ruhul Amin (1989-2015) and Reyaad Khan (1994-2015), were British *jihādists* who were killed in Syria on 21 August 2015 by a RAF Reaper drone strike, using a Hellfire missile. The Attorney General's office formed the opinion that these extrajudicial killings were *opinio juris sive necessitates* (that the action was based on legal obligation and necessity), on the grounds of national security.

This perspective has utilitarian leanings, where the principle of deterrence can be translated into a clear and concise act that prevents further acts of violence in greater numbers, as exemplified by the US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki[143] (Mill, 1987; Takaki, 1996). It can be argued that in the case of the US nuclear bombings of Japan that the intended deterrent outcome was achieved; although, its status as a legitimate act of war is somewhat ambiguous and controversial, in relation to intentional targeting of civilians and the issue of proportionality. It has not, as yet, acquired the status of a 'terrorist' act, although it was perhaps, an intentional act of deterrent terror. It is also worthy of note that the 'balance of terror' (achieved through Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD[144])) used between the West and East[145] during the Cold War has been credited with maintaining the prolonged peace between the superpowers. Returning to terrorism, Schmidt (2011) criticises official definitions as being unable to capture the strategic use of emotions by terrorists, and indeed the nature of terrorism as a means of communication. Schmidt also refers to the Academic Consensus Definition of terrorism which resembles, more proximally, a definition that this present study is approaching:

> "A doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and non-combatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties" (Schmidt, 2011, p. 86).

This is an apt definition as it resists using terms of absolutes or standards of normativity. The language of criminality of the distinctive norms of a particular nation-state is absent, thus allowing for its universal applicability. For instance, rather than it simply defying the norms and laws of one particular jurisdiction, there are no legal or moral constraints that *inhibit* the actions, but may very well justify them. Consequently, the perpetrators may

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[143] The US dropped nuclear bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima (6 August 1945) and Nagasaki (9 August 1945) near the end of the Second World War, in accordance with the Quebec Agreement. This resulted in an estimated 129,000 fatalities.
[144] MAD is a deterrence theory and doctrine in which full-scale use of nuclear weapons by opposing sides would result in the annihilation of both. It was initially declared in the 1960s during the Kennedy administration (by Robert McNamara - US Secretary of Defense)), but the Reagan administration attempted to work towards Mutual Assured Security (MAS) instead of relying on MAD.
[145] USSR (CCCP in Cyrillic) and Warsaw Pact.

not feel restricted by any codified rules or ethical standards, but where they do proceed to engage in terrorist acts, it is because their internal moral compass permits such actions.

Pertinent is the language of 'propaganda' and psychology, in that an act of terrorism is 'grand' and hyperbolic, thereby amplifying the ideological agendas that underlie it (Lierberman, 2017). According, it can be argued that terrorism is distinct from freedom fighting on account of its indiscriminate use of violence against non-combatants to achieve a political end. Freedom fighting on the other hand can be described as a campaign of national or ethnic liberation. An interesting example of freedom fighting might be that of Draža Mihailović[146] who led the royalist and nationalist Yugoslav resistance movement in fighting the German occupation during World War II. Mihailović was initially supported logistically and financially by the British Special Operations Executive (SOE)[147]. However, when German reprisals became too punitive[148] and draconian, he altered his offensive strategy and was later accused by the Communist Partisans[149] of reaching a *modus vivendi*[150] with the Germans. Yet, Mihailović's Chetniks were also regarded by some ethnic communities, such as the Bosnian Muslims, as a terror group due to their attempts to achieve a Greater Serbia by creating ethnically homogeneous areas by 'ethnic cleansing'. Consequently, what appeared to the British as 'resistance fighters' and to Serbs as 'patriots', were viewed by Communist Partisans as 'collaborators', by Bosnian Muslims as a 'terror group' and by the post-war High Court of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as 'traitors and war criminals'. Therefore, the 'visual line' between freedom fighters and terror groups can be blurred, depending upon perspective and conduct.

Hough (2018, p. 65) emphasises the "oft quoted maxim" that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter". A contemporary Middle Eastern Arab example of this

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[146] Colonel Dragoljub "Draža" Mihailović (1893-1946), the Yugoslav nationalist Serb who based his resistance movement in the mountains near Belgrade following the German invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941. He organised groups of guerrillas known as the Chetnik Detachments of the Yugoslav Army. The organisation was commonly known as Chetniks.

[147] SOE was a British covert organisation formed, with Cabinet approval, during World War II. It was established on 22 July 1940. Its mission was to assist local resistance movements (in lands occupied by the Axis), conduct espionage, sabotage and reconnaissance. SOE also facilitated direct attacks on German military infrastructure and personnel.

[148] Execution of large numbers of the local Serbian population for every German soldier killed by the 'resistance'.

[149] Led by Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980), later known as Marshal Tito, who was an ideological rival of Mihailović.

[150] For which he was executed by the Communists on 17 July 1946. However, on 14 May 2015 Mihailović was rehabilitated *via* a ruling by the Supreme Court of Cassation (appellate court) in Serbia.

'blurred line' may be the Palestinian resistance groups who purport to fight the 'Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands'. To Palestinians and many Arabs, they are viewed as legitimate resistance groups, opposing an oppressive and overwhelmingly aggressive invader (Rogan, 2015). As Rogan states "Israel continues to occupy the Syrian Golan Heights and the Shebaa Farms in southern Lebanon, and Israel has yet to relinquish its control over the Palestinian territories of Gaza and the West Bank ……the roots of their conflict can be traced directly back to the fundamental contradictions of the Balfour Declaration" (2015, p. 405). Yet, to Israel, these 'freedom fighters' are regarded as 'terrorists'[151] (Dershowitz, 2003).

Since 9/11, the US National Intelligence Council (NIC)[152] has attempted to identify trends relating to contemporary terrorism and its drivers. The NIC outlines seven main drivers of terrorism. These are: demographic; natural resources; science and technology, global economy and globalisation; importance of governance for economic development; democracy and human rights; threat of future conflict, stemming from the resurgence of old grievances; and the role of the US as a global hegemonic power (Alahdad, *et al.,* 2011). In his analysis of contemporary terrorism, Marks (2006) adds two additional significant drivers: nationalism and religious fundamentalism. He views religious fundamentalism as an important phenomenon of contemporary politics. Marks (2006) argues that fundamentalist movements may not always be violent but tend to be militant within the framework of established religions.

The discussion thus far has been centred on the related questions of values and justification, respectively. However, religious fundamentalism is also interwoven with the aforementioned concepts, thus comprising absolute belief in the truth-values articulated by religious scripture, and at times moulded and shaped in accordance with ideological convictions. Emerson and Hartmann (2006) remark on the nature of fundamentalism as a push for a political system that is indexed to the dogmas of a religion. Religious fundamentalism appeals to supernatural entities and associated revelation, in order to

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[151] Many of these groups are listed and described at the Glossary of Arab Islam*ist* Groups and Organisations, at Appendix 4. Additionally, the meaning of Arab Islam*ist* terminology is adumbrated at Appendix 5.
[152] The NIC is the US intelligence center which produces mid and long term strategic assessments. Its primary functions are: production of intelligence estimates and reports, supporting the Director of National Intelligence; provides advice to policymakers' and communicating with academia and the private sector.

justify particular causes. What is key about religious fundamentalism is that the specific recourse to spiritual ideals offers hope and a sense of purpose for human existence (Emerson and Hartman, 2006). Thus, affiliation with scripture in an absolute sense generates a nobility of cause, whilst fundamentalism and radicalisation bolsters individual and group commitment (Nawaz, 2013). Accordingly, the following sections will consider the related phenomena of Islam*ic* and Islam*ist* fundamentalism and extremism, which are important variables in this thesis.

Islam*ic* and Islam*ist* Fundamentalism and Extremism

9/11 resulted in a particular form of fundamentalism becoming its archetypical representation, namely Islam*ic* or Islam*ist* fundamentalism (Nabers and Patman, 2008). Milton-Edwards' expansive study of *Islamic Fundamentalism since 1945*, demonstrates the extent to which the ideologies of revivalism and revanche were linked to social, cultural, political and economic changes that occurred throughout the Muslim World in the immediate post-war era (Milton-Edwards, 2014, pp. 11-19). In particular, she locates the genesis of contemporary forms of Islam*ic* fundamentalism within the context of the transition from colonial rule to post-colonialism in the MENA region (Milton-Edwards, 2014, pp. 49-56).

At this juncture, it is important to make the distinction between 'Islam*ic*' and 'Islam*ist*' fundamentalism, both of which can be viewed as a type of resurgent atavism or throwback. Since 9/11, there has occurred in the West the linkage between particular 'scriptural claims' of the Holy Qur'an and the cited motivations of the 9/11 attackers, generalised so as to encompass the religion of Islam (Ansari, 2016). This has led to xenophobia and the uncritical acceptance of this generalisation (Burke, 2016). The former concept refers to that which embodies the precepts of Islam and the latter the seizing of *particular* hermeneutical appropriations of Islam*ic* texts (in a manner that is 'fundamental') and utilised to legitimise acts of terror (Naylor, 2016). Although as Tibi (2013, pp. 57-60) attests, Islam*ic* fundamentalism leaves no room for ideological concession. This semantic distinction between Islam*ic* and Islam*ist* is of the utmost importance, given that the lines between Islam and particular terrorist acts have been blurred in the popular mind with concomitant sweeping demonisation (Naylor, 2016;

Periyasamy and Tai, 2016). This has ultimately resulted in a complex dynamic at a Western and global level (Periyasamy and Tai, 2016). Furthermore, there has been the emergence of commentators who brook no criticism[153] of any aspect of Muslim life and declare any objective scrutiny to be prejudicial, discriminatory and Islamophobic; and also right-wing xenophobes who attempt to reinforce the othering binaries already prevalent (Blumberg, 2017).

It would be a *non sequitur* to suggest that fundamentalism and fundamentalists are solely an Islam*ic* or Islam*ist* phenomenon, as this term can be applied to a range of religious and other beliefs across history. An early Christian example of a fundamentalist is Peter the Hermit[154], highlighted by Gibbon[155] in his *magnum opus*, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* Gibbon described Peter as an, "accomplished fanatic" (1850, p. 538). Peter was also a persuasive 'fundamentalist' orator who is credited for influencing the Pontiff, Pope Urban II to initiate the First Crusade and encourage Christians to 'take up the cross' for the deliverance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem and the Holy Land (Gibbon, 1850, p. 538), with cries of *"Deus Vult"* (God wills it) (Gibbon 1850, p. 543, footnote 17). Gibbon states about Peter, "Whatever he wished, he believed; whatever he believed, he saw …… he excelled in the popular madness of the times" (1850, p. 538). History also presents numerous other examples of non-Islam*ic* fundamentalists and fundamentalism. For example, Luther[156] could be regarded as a 'fundamentalist' as he wished to return to the 'fundamentals' of Christianity.

Possibly, a more recent example of non-Islam*ic* religious fundamentalism, in a Western context is that of Koresh[157] and the Branch Davidians[158] at Waco, Texas. Koresh created an 'end of times' atmosphere at the Mount Carmel compound and started

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[153] Where legitimate debate is interpreted as amounting to the 'persecution' of Muslims. This particular approach is often adopted by 'Mo' Ansar, the British freelance commentator on Islam*ic* and political affairs.
[154] Peter the Hermit - *Pierre l'Ermite* (1050-1115), also known as Peter of Amiens (in Picardie), was a priest of Amiens. Peter, preached, inspired and recruited many for the 'Peoples' Crusade' and reached Constantinople with a group headed by Walter Sans Avoir. He was present at the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 and is mentioned by the great Western chronicler of the Crusades, William of Tyre - *Willelmus Tyrensis* (1130 – 1186) in his work *Historia Lerosolimitana* (History of Jerusalem).
[155] Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), the acclaimed historian.
[156] Martin Luther (1483-1546), the German Professor of Theology who became a seminal figure in the Protestant Reformation movement. His famous 'Ninety-Five' Theses' of 1517 and unwillingness to recant, ultimately resulted in his excommunication. He advocated the translation of the Holy Bible from Latin into the vernacular and that the homes of Jews and synagogues be destroyed. He also advocated that the possessions of Jews be confiscated.
[157] Birth name – Vernon Wayne Howell (1959 –1993).
[158] Who often referred to themselves as the 'Students of the Seven Seals' or 'Koreshians'.

building an 'Army of God' whilst he and his followers awaited 'Armageddon'. Although he was a charismatic preacher, he was thought by many to have "twisted the Bible's teachings" (New York Times, 2007). He also preached that God had told him to procreate with married women in the group, in order to establish a 'House of David' (US Department of Justice, 1993). He went on to father 15 children with members' wives and conduct persistent child sexual abuse (US Department of Justice, 1993). Following an initial shootout with the ATF[159], a prolonged siege[160] ensued which culminated in an FBI final assault resulting in over 75 fatalities[161]. However, it is apposite to this thesis to stress that at no point did the US Department of Justice or any other government department suggest that this was a case of 'Christian Fundamentalism' or 'Christian Extremism'[162] (Reavis, 1998). Be that as it may, it is likely, in the balance of probability that this was because it was considered that such abhorrent acts and distorted understanding of the Holy Bible in no way represented wider Christian theology, beliefs, practices or the global Christian community[163]; which indeed many Muslims would say about Islam*ists*.

Some Arab *Sunnis* may argue that the same standard should be applied to unlawful acts carried out in the name of Islam. Although this appears sound in principle, there are issues of volume and frequency. A fair and reasonable counter argument could be put, that had this type of incident occurred in greater number and more frequently, it is quite possible that the terms 'Christian Fundamentalism' or 'Christian Extremism' may have obtained greater traction in the media, with law enforcement agencies and the government. However, it is acknowledged that this academic debate remains valid, especially in relation to non-violent Christian and Jewish groups such as the Mennonites, Amish, Hutterites[164] or Hasidic[165] Jews who all have, by any

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[159] ATF - Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives.

[160] Waco Siege - 28 February – 19 April 1993.

[161] The fatalities included: over 75 branch members, including David Koresh, men, women, and children. 25 of the fatalities were children under the age of 15. (US Department of Justice, 1993).

[162] Reavis referred to the group as "white fundamentalist Christian gun nuts" (Reavis, 1998).

[163] This could also be said of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) which is an armed insurgent group in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Some elements also exist within the Central African Republic. Its founder (Joseph Kony) has declared himself to be the 'spokesperson of God'. Kony's declared intention is to establish a theocratic state.

[164] All descended from the European Anabaptists.

[165] Hasidic Judaism (Hasidism) is a sub-group within ultra-orthodox *Haredi* Judaism. *Hasid* means piety. Hasidic men generally wear distinctive dark clothing, such as a *Bekishe* or *Rekel* (long black coat), *Shtreimel* or *Kolpik* (mink hat) and *Payot* or *Peyes* (uncut sidelocks as ringlets). Women tend to wear wigs (*Sheitel*), as they are prohibited from showing their hair in public (Brown, 2014).

reasonable standard, a fundamentalist *weltanschauung* (Brown, 2014). It is worth stressing that holding a fundamentalist worldview such as Islam*ic Salafists* is not synonymous with being extremist. The etymology of fundamentalism is worthy of consideration at this point. The term was first used by American Protestants in 1920 by way of publishing a series of books entitled *Fundamentals* (Sweeney, 2006). This was a way for the members of the movement to indicate their desire to return to the fundamental principles of Christianity, and to revolt against the progressive efforts of modernists (Sweeney, 2006).

Consequently, there appeared a consensus on what comprised the essential aspects of the faith, and from which any deviance was considered to be indicative of falsity or untrue faith. Zimmermann (2015) argues that any religious text can be subjected to a hermeneutic and interpreted in almost any manner. One key aspect of this interpretation is that fundamentalists understand the precepts of scripture as being axioms, from which any attendant ethical values bear an absolute character and serve as the inescapable lens of self. Antoun (2008) suggests that the believer is constrained by a set of ideals, such that anything that is not in accordance with these is considered false. This theme is further developed by Brandt and Van Tongeren (2017, p. 76) who emphasise that:

> "A long history of ideologically motivated violence suggests that meaning systems, such as fundamentalist religion, can serve as powerful justification for committing a wide range of atrocities. Research linking religion to prejudice suggests that highly religious individuals, especially those taking a fundamentalist approach to religion, may be particularly susceptible to demonstrating a prejudice towards dissimilar others".

This position of religion acting as a powerful justification for atrocities is for example, supported in literature by Dostoevsky in his acclaimed chapter The Grand Inquisitor in *The Brothers Karamazov* (Dostoevsky, 2004, pp. 246-264). Furthermore, the Nobel

laureate Solzhenitsyn[166] in his masterpiece, *The Gulag Archipelago* also arrives at this conclusion in relation to the justification for brutality and atrocity, motivated by political ideology, namely Bolshevik Communism (Solzhenitsyn, 1973).

The definition of religiosity can be broadly construed to include any absolute normative standards from where good is measured, be it religion, or any set of codified ideals (Whitehouse, 2004). For instance, it could be argued that a fundamental belief in the US Constitution is in opposition to, for example, a fundamental belief in *Sharia*. Thus, what results is a 'war of opposites', where both 'warring' factions are convinced of the rightness of their cause. This ultimately leads to "prejudice as adherents attempt to vigorously defend the validity and vitality of their religious beliefs" (Brandt and Van Tongeren, 2017, p. 76; Brandt and Reyna, 2010; Goplen and Plant, 2015).

What is relevant about the above position is that fundamentalism is also distinguished by way of its desire to inflict relative harm upon that which it perceives as a transgressor of its norms (Galen and Miller, 2011). It is acknowledged that an important body of academic work in fundamentalism is the group of studies conducted by the Fundamentalism Project at the University of Chicago (Ozzano, 2009). This comprised a five-volume collection on fundamentalism from 1991-1995, predating the 9/11 attacks by several years. The project concluded that fundamentalism centred upon a range of recurring features such as: reactivity to the marginalisation of religion; selectivity; absolutism; messianism; chosen membership; sharp boundaries between believers and the external world; and behavioural requirements. (Ozzano, 2009, pp. 341-342). Therefore, this thesis posits that fundamentalism appears in a variety of different guises, from a macro-level socio-cultural to a micro-level psychological phenomenon (Brandt and Reyna, 2010) and is not solely or predominately Islam*ist* or 'Islam*ic*' and therefore should not be viewed as such.

Having previously made the distinction between Islam*ic* and Islam*ist* fundamentalism, it is apposite at this point to provide clarity on the distinction between fundamentalism and extremism, as these terms are often conflated in the contemporary era. In terms of

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[166] Aleksandr Isayevich Solzhenitsyn (1918-2008) - Russian novelist, historian and critic of the Soviet system in general and Communism in particular. Solzhenitsyn suffered many years captivity in the brutal Gulag forced labour camp system. He won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1970.

religion, Jewish, Christian and Muslim groups such as the aforementioned Mennonites, Amish, Hutterites, Hasidic Jews and *Salafists* may be considered fundamentalist without being categorised extremist. However, Bin-Laden, Koresh, Al-Baghdadi[167] (Site Intelligence Group, 2014), and their respective groups can be deemed to have been, or are, *de facto* extremist. Spalek (2012b, pp. 52-56) posits that this is chiefly the reason why the UK CONTEST Strategy uses the term extremism, rather than fundamentalism within its *Prevent* element, which aims to address the root causes of extremism in Muslim communities. For example, the 2016 version is most careful to use the term 'extremism' (UK Home Department, 2016). Additionally, Silke (2010, pp. 4-9) argues, that *Prevent* demonstrates an increased awareness that extremism is a process of socialisation.

Therefore, Islam*ist* extremism is understood to be a phenomenon that selectively uses the religion of Islam in order to further specific political ends by using extreme measures or actions (Rabasa and Benard, 2014). Consequently, this thesis stresses that Islam*ist* extremism is not only wholly undesirable but unacceptable, as it advocates illegal, violent or extreme actions.

Arguably, at the *locus* of Islam*ist* extremism is the principle of *jihād*, a concept that legitimises antagonistic action directed against that which 'threatens' the ideals of the faith (Ahmad, 2017). This has been amongst the motivational factors that have been cited as reasons for 'terrorism' in the name of Islam (Nabers and Patman, 2008). Additionally, the blurred boundaries between Islam*ist* extremism and Islam*ic* fundamentalism, as concepts, have ultimately given rise to the aforementioned uncritical conflation of the two, and the rise of Islamophobia (Naylor, 2016), which is considered later in this chapter.

Both globalisation and modernisation can be viewed as agents of change in the emergence of Islam*ist* extremism (Lutz and Lutz, 2015). In the face of these two related phenomena, it is perhaps understandable how, to some, the restoration of selected 'ideas from antiquity' in an absolute sense, would be desirable (Wright, 2012). However, many Arab *Sunnis* may find this terminology problematic and possibly offensive. Wright

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[167] Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi – born, Ibrahim Awad Ibrahim al-Badri. He became a 'Specially Designated Global Terrorist' on 4 October 2011 (Site Intelligence Group, 2014).

(2012) stresses that for Muslims such as *Salafists*[168] and others, this is an unaltered continuation of belief. Furthermore, globalisation comprises the incremental amalgamation of various cultures into one, which, to some Arab *Sunnis*, may seem like a degeneration of a 'utopian' state (Council on Foreign Relations, 2016). Kepel (2002) further argues that this phenomenon has given rise to gradations of Islam*ic* or Islam*ist* parties respectively, and a spectrum along which shades of fundamentalism and extremism are demarcated. Consequently, there exist individuals who are simply adherents to the faith, and others who are rather more driven by the perceived losses of the above dynamics, but within a religious context.

According to Roy (2004), globalisation has also resulted in a scenario in which the very boundaries of Islam and the West are blurred. What results is a type of ungrounded state where values are no longer indexed to anything fundamental, thereby giving rise to a compensatory agency that reaches into the past in search of what some view as 'long-abandoned ideals'. Conversely, other Muslims may view these ideals as an 'anchor for their faith' against the 'shifting sands of time'. Analogous yet distinctive manifestations of this include the alienation felt by some young *Sunnis* within Western societies (Cohn, 2016; Periyasamy and Tai, 2016). Turning to the Middle East, for example, in the UAE, much is done to prevent Islam*ist* extremism from taking root. This is achieved in an unobtrusive but effective manner which has resulted in the Emirates becoming a bulwark against Islam*ist* extremism within the region, whilst remaining open, free and stable. Measures such as: blocking extremist websites and servers; promoting a moderate interpretation of Islam; careful selection and control of imams; regulation of *Al-Jumu'ah Khuṭbah* (Friday sermon); comprehensive security vetting of employees; effective border controls in relation to the movement of people and material; coordinated intelligence services which use the most modern systems and procedures; are all proving effective. Their leaders[169] are vocal in their condemnation of extremism and *jihādism* and stand as a Middle Eastern exemplar in this regard.

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[168] Salafism - the etymology of Salafism is from the term Salaf meaning "pious predecessors" referring to the earliest Muslims (Lacey, 2009, p. 9).
[169] His Highness Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan (UAE President), His Highness Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum (UAE Vice President, Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Ruler of Dubai) and His Highness General Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan (Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and Deputy Supreme Commander of the UAE Armed Forces).

Therefore, it is important to stress that because the Islam*ic* World is multifaceted, diverse and complex, it has within it, "contradictory interpretations and traditions that may offer a spectrum from progressive to conservative socio-political tendencies, some displaying dynamic, self-critical, and self-transformative attitudes, while others remain static, dogmatic, and unresponsive to new realities" (Tamdgidi, 2012, pp. 54-81). However, for many Arab *Sunnis*, such as those in the UAE and elsewhere, Islam can coexist with modernity, whilst maintaining its religious integrity of belief, teaching and observance of ritual, without being drawn into any form of Islam*ist* extremism. Further information on the belief and observance of Islam is at Appendix 1.

Radicalisation

A concept related to fundamentalism is radicalisation, which centres upon the degree to which an individual is socialised into becoming fundamentalist. Although a detailed study of radicalisation is beyond the scope of this study, it is worthy of consideration due to its relationship with fundamentalism and extremism. The concept of radicalisation has, similar to fundamentalism, come to be associated with that form of radicalisation that is born of Islam*ist* ideology (Armborst, 2014). Nowhere is this more evident than in domestic America, where radicalisation is synonymously associated with indoctrination into specifically Islam*ist* and, by way of uncritical rhetoric, Islam*ic* fundamentalism (Burke, 2016). This issue aside, it is considered fair and reasonable to state that radicalisation is a process-based phenomenon with progressive movement to a particular state of conviction that is proximally *fundamentalist*.

Ultimately, the individual believes in the inerrancy of certain 'truths', regardless of any harm that may be caused as a consequence. For instance, the conviction in a particular cause may displace the view that extreme violence is abhorrent, where absolute 'truths' override all. Again, radicalisation is indicative of a progressive phenomenon that moves from some stage of belief through to that which is absolute, and which serves as a prelude to some set of actions guided by the belief (Nawaz, 2013). Particular agents of radicalisation include religious scripture, propaganda,

cultural narratives, the internet and psychological disposition, all of which contribute to the emergence of a distinctive identity (Kundnani, 2012).

This has also led to counter-terrorist measures that seek to target instances of radicalisation in their embryonic stages, together with major surveillance initiatives that can operate in an inelegant and 'bludgeoning' manner. An example is Trump's Executive Order, entitled 'Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the US' (Trump, 2017). Whilst intended to prevent either the entry of so-called terrorists into America and instances of home-grown radicalisation, the Order was viewed by some as broad, irrational, and indicative of Islamophobic ends (Berman, 2017). Another example is the 2015 UK Counter-Terrorism and Security Act (HMSO, 2015), which allows intervention in educational institutions where a student is perceived as being potentially radicalised (National Archives, 2015). As Kundnani (2012, p. 3) remarks, "the concept of radicalisation has led to the construction of Muslim populations as 'suspect communities' [and] civil rights abuses". Therefore, radicalisation is marked by an identity that comprises a sense of affiliation, vocation, a sense of purpose and extreme action where required and an apposite example of this is Islam*ist* extremism (Baggini, 2014). The study will now turn to the analysis of Islamophobia.

Islamophobia

Having introduced the concepts of terrorism, Islam*ist* fundamentalism and extremism and radicalisation, the thesis will now consider the related concepts of Islamophobia, and anti-Americanism respectively. Islamophobia forms part of the diversity of terminology[170] within the contemporary lexicon which refers to hostility towards Muslims and is generally understood to mean a fear, prejudice, or even hatred of Islam, Muslims, or Islam*ic* culture. The term first appeared in print in Paris in 1910 as *Islamophobie* which related to the attitude, approach and manner of the French colonial administrators to Muslim ethno-religious groups within the French colonies (Quellien,

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[170] Such as: 'Muslimophobia', 'anti-Muslimism', 'anti-Islamism', 'anti-Muslim racism', 'anti-Muslim prejudice', 'anti-Muslim bigotry', 'demonisation of Islam' and anti-Arab racism.

1910). In contemporary France, the term *Islamophobie* continues to be utilised and supplemented with *racisme anti-Arabe* and *racisme anti-Maghrébin,* in order to highlight the aspect of racism. In Germany the term *Islamophobie* is also employed but the additional term of *Islamfeindlichkeit* is used to highlight hostility and denigration rather than fear. Whilst in Scandinavia the term *Muslimhat* is in common usage which translates as 'hatred of Muslims'.

The first recorded printed use of the term Islamophobia in English was in 1985 by Edward Said referring to the "'the connection … between Islamophobia and antisemitism" (Said, 1985, pp. 8-9). The term is accepted and used by the UN, Council of Europe, EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) and the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC). However, in 2015, Valls[171] said, "I refuse to use this term Islamophobia, because those who use this word are trying to invalidate any criticism at all of Islam*ist* ideology. The charge of 'Islamophobia' is used to silence people" (Goldberg, 2015). The implication of Valls' statement is that Islamophobia is used to put an end to legitimate criticism. This particular perspective has previously been highlighted by Malik (2005) and more recently by Taheri (2015) and Murray (2017).

Turning to the UK, Islamophobia was defined by the Runnymede Trust[172] in their 1997 Commission's Report[173] as, "an outlook or worldview involving an unfounded dread and dislike of Muslims, which results in practices of exclusion and discrimination" (Conway, 1997). Some, such as Halliday[174] were critical of this term and posited that as the hostility in question was not aimed at the tenets of Islam but rather at Muslims, that the term Anti-Muslimism might be more appropriate (Aldridge, 2000, p. 138).

However, the term has also come to represent uncritical generalisations which assume that 'terrorists' who act in the name of Islam are representative of the religion. Also there is a tendency to conflate and naturalise all Arabs as Muslims. This phenomenon has been prevalent in the form of racial profiling, hate crimes, and right-wing political rhetoric

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[171] Manuel Valls - Prime Minister of France (2014-16) and Minister of the Interior (2012-14).
[172] Runnymede Trust - Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia (CBMI). CBMI was established in 1996 and chaired by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sussex.
[173] 1997 – 'Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All'.
[174] Professor Fred Halliday FBA (1946-2010) of LSE.

(McCaskill, 2016). This is also indicative of a scapegoating that regards the 'other' as absorbing the blame for some set of ills such as isolated and unrelated cases, yet generalising so that an entire cohort is blamed and labelled as terrorist (Burke, 2017). In order to better understand the concept of Islamophobia as a current issue, it should be situated in the context of the 'war of opposites' discussed thus far. There are numerous agents that perpetuate this dynamic, from the media through to internet propaganda, and the uncritical rhetoric of politicians. Indeed, fallacious reasoning bolstered by high emotion or fear may contribute to undue generalisations (Periyasamy and Tai, 2016).

An article by Choma *et al* (2016, p. 50) refers to a social identity problem known as 'intergroup disgust sensitivity', *qua* a revulsion towards the 'other' by viewing them through the eyes of that which is familiar. This is indicative of the sort of Islamophobia that is expressed, for instance, in demographics in American conservative-leaning states, where quick condemnations of perceived Islam*ic* practices are uncritically deployed (Merica, 2017). The disgust at difference is such that it overrides rationality. For instance, Trump's aforementioned executive order specifically focused on perceived enemies of the homeland that were opposed to "American values", with an example cited in his campaign-era rhetoric being the oppression of women (Trump, 2017). Yet, whilst utilising this 'intergroup disgust sensitivity', Trump's own public remarks about women have been deemed by many to be misogynistic (Lavender, 2016). What therefore ensues is the demonisation of difference, schematised into a widespread 'ideology'. Burke (2016) suggests that within America, this results in Muslims living in fear of being attacked by Americans and Americans living in fear of being attacked by Muslims. Curiously, Burke's position seems to infer that Muslims are not somehow 'true Americans'.

During the present decade, this phenomenon has become institutionalised, appearing in media outlets such as Breitbart[175], various American ethno-nationalist organisations, for example the Ku Klux Klan[176] (KKK), used by white supremacists such

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[175] Breitbart News - American far-right news network which frequently publishes conspiracy theories and misleading stories, which are factually inaccurate, such as the ACORN case (California Department of Justice, 2010).
[176] Ku Klux Klan (KKK), also known as the 'Klan', is an umbrella term for a number of American extremist white supremacy groups that are renowned for being racist, anti-Catholic, and anti-Semitic (Anti-Defamation League, 2013).

as Spencer[177] and by 'conspiracy theorists' Bannon[178] and Jones[179] (Burghart, 2014; Coz, 2016; McManus, 2016; Roig-Franzia, 2016). However, Islamophobia is not simply limited to far-right ideologies, but rather a general and uncritical assumption on the relative evils of Islam*ic* and Islam*ist* agency (Naylor, 2016). As evidence of this, hate crimes towards Muslims have also been prevalent since the turn of the century, with a resurgence of violent attacks on individuals and mosques occurring in North America since the results of the 2016 presidential election (Periyasamy and Tai, 2016). Interestingly, although Trudeau[180] referred to the 2017 attack on the Quebec Islam*ic* Cultural Centre and Mosque[181] as "an act of terrorism" (Austen, and Smith, 2017), Bulman (2017) suggests that nowhere in Trump's rhetoric was the claim of 'terrorism' used where a white individual was the perpetrator and non-white Muslims were killed.

Islamophobia also appears within the domain of civil rights, where sets of ideals can often collide in the arena of cultural relativism. For instance, the French ban[182] of the *Niqāb*[183] and *Bushiyya*[184], which is often referred to incorrectly as the '*Ḥijāb*[185] Ban', can be viewed as the rule of particular feminist norms over different ideals surrounding womanhood (Sanghani, 2016). Terman (2016, p. 77) poses an important question: "How do we name and publicise acts of violence against women without providing ideological fuel for Orientalism and Islamophobia?" This question became particularly pertinent during the New Year's Eve multiple sexual assaults in German cities in 2015 / 2016[186]. The German Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA) subsequently reported that

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[177] Richard Bertrand Spencer (born 1978) is an American white supremacist. He heads the National Policy Institute (a white nationalist think tank) and campaigns for a white homeland in the US (Burghart, 2014).

[178] Stephen Kevin Bannon (born 1953), the former White House Chief Strategist to the Trump administration.

[179] Alexander Jones (born 1974) is an American filmmaker, radio show host and popular conspiracy theorist.

[180] Justin Pierre Trudeau - 23rd Prime Minister of Canada since 2015 and leader of the Liberal Party since 2013.

[181] The Quebec Islamic Cultural Centre and Mosque was attacked on 30 January 2017 by a gunman (Alexandre Bissonnette). The attack resulted in 6 fatalities and several wounded (O'Toole, 2017).

[182] The French ban on concealment of the face was passed as an act of parliament by the Senate of France on 14 September 2010 (Law of 2010-1192: Act Prohibiting Concealment of the Face in Public Space). It resulted in a ban on the wearing of face-covering, headgear, including the *Niqāb, Bushiyya, Burqa*, masks and helmets covering the face in a public place.

[183] Niqāb - A niqāb is a cloth 'head veil' which covers the head and most of the face. It generally only leaves the eyes exposed and is worn by conservative Muslim women in public areas. The niqāb is worn throughout the MENA region and especially in Arab countries of the Arabian Peninsula such as Saudi Arabia, Oman, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen. However, it is believed to originate from KSA. The niqāb is also worn in countries such as Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Somalia, and other areas with sizeable Muslim populations. See Arab *Sunni* Related Dress Guide at Appendix 6.

[184] Bushiyya (Bushiyyah, Ghatwa or Ghashwa). A bushiyya is a Middle Eastern and predominantly Gulf Arab style of full black face veil which covers the wearer's entire face. The bushiyya leaves no openings for the eyes and is traditionally worn with an abaya. The wearers of this garment tend to be from conservative Muslim families. See Arab - Islamic Related Dress Guide at Appendix 6.

[185] Ḥijāb – The Ḥijāb is a large headscarf which is used by Muslim women to veil the hair and head, less the face, for the purposes of modesty and dignity. See Arab *Sunni* Related Dress Guide at Appendix 6.

[186] Berlin, Bielefeld, Cologne, Dortmund, Düsseldorf, Hamburg, Koln and Stuttgart.

the perpetrators had been "Arab or North African[187]" and that the *modus operandi* was known in some Arab countries (especially Egypt[188]) as *Taharrush Jamai* or *Taharrush Gamea* (transliterated as 'group sexual harassment') (BBC, 2016). Dahlgreen (2016) claims that the attacks caused a heated debate in Europe about: womens' rights and safety; the cultural difference between the Arab 'Muslim World' and Western European liberal values; and Germany's migrant policy. Dahlgreen (2016) also stresses that these incidents resulted in a hardening of attitudes against immigration and contributed to Islamophobia. Furthermore, the incidents caused a robust debate over the lack of reporting of these incidents by the *Polizei* and German press, in case it caused an anti-immigrant 'backlash' (Terman, 2016, p. 77). However, for some, initiating such a debate simply results in a response of uncritical Islamophilia[189].

Serving as an antonym for Islamophobia, Islamophilia may be split into both a pejorative concept that approaches Islam uncritically by way of reaction to Islamophobia (Taheri, 2015), or it may comprise a genuine fascination with, or love of, Islam and its culture. Guerrasio (2015) cites the example of Michael Moore who has requested his audiences to declare "We are all Muslim", as an expression of solidarity. Although this position may be no more than an empathetic mirror image of 'We are all Charlie[190]', it is worth stressing that unrestrained Islamophilia risks alienating the 'middle ground' of Western societies, with its inherent risk of making far-right politics of demonisation more acceptable or appealing to the centre. Taheri (2015) even suggests that Islamophilia does a disservice to Western democracies and Islam by inviting Westerners to sacrifice part of their own freedom of speech in atonement of largely imaginary sins against Muslims during the colonial era.

The issue of the possible predisposition of many Westerners to the more subtle aspects of Islamophobia is worthy of deliberation. Although serious academic and

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[187] Of the 19 suspects, 14 men were from Morocco and Algeria (BBC, 2016).

[188] Such as the 80 sexual assaults against women which occurred in Taḥrīr Square, Cairo on 3 July 2013.

[189] Islamophilia is a controversial neologism that describes an uncritical admiration of the values of Islam and admiration of Islam*ic* culture and civilisation. Many proponents of the term argue that it has existed historically, in instances such as the wave of Orientalism that followed Disraeli's premiership and his support for the Ottoman Caliphate of the time.

[190] Charlie Hebdo - is a French satirical magazine, featuring cartoons, polemics and humour. The magazine's Paris office was firebombed in 2011 and the subject of a mass shooting in 2015. These were thought to be in retaliation for its controversial cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The 2015 attack, which caused 12 fatalities, 'sparked' the 'We are all Charlie' campaign.

lengthy consideration of this matter is beyond the specific scope of this thesis, it is worth touching upon briefly in relation to the coverage of Islamophobia within this section. Although, there are about 1.8 Billion[191] Muslims in the world (Lipka, 2017), it can be argued that some and perhaps many Westerners consider Islam to be predominately Middle Eastern and to some degree an Arab and 'alien' religion, rather than being one of the Abrahamic religions[192], all of which originated in the Middle East. Historically, this is partly due to: Christianity having been embraced by the Roman Empire; Rome having been its centre of gravity and theological base for the Latin Church[193]; Latin having been adopted as its theological language;[194] and the depiction of its personalities and symbology having been gradually Westernised over millennia. Meanwhile, Islam retained Arabic as its singular language and Makkah as its centre of gravity. In addition, teaching and education in the West originated within early Christian monastic institutions and before, during and long after the Crusades it became expedient to portray Islam in an Eastern and adversarial manner[195] (Rao, 1992) and Muslims as infidels[196] but not heathens[197]. Additionally, it can be argued that the portrayal by Church scholars, chroniclers and others of historical events such as the *Reconquista*[198], Battle of Tours[199], the Fall of Constantinople[200], Siege of Malta[201] and the Battle of Vienna[202] to name but a few, helped underpin this adversarial dimension within the Western psyche. Although, Gibbon did not support this wholly critical view of Muslims:

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[191] Source – Pew Research Center - 1.8 Billion Muslims, 24% of global population (Lipka, 2017).

[192] Abrahamic religions - Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

[193] Whilst noting the Great Schism of 1054 when the Eastern Church became the Greek Orthodox Church by severing all ties with Rome and Latin Church; and the later schism of the Protestant Reformation which was begun by Luther in 1517.

[194] In Roman Catholicism the Latin mass was only abandoned after the 2nd Vatican Council in 1962. Yet, Latin is still retained as an academic language of theological study within Vatican City State, selected Roman Catholic religious orders and seminaries.

[195] Rao stresses "The accounts of Mohammed and Islam which were published in Europe before the beginning of the 19th century are now to be regarded as literary curiosities" (1992, p.4).

[196] Infidel – A Christian ecclesiastical term to refer to those who were not baptised and therefore outside of 'the faith'. It was also used as a pejorative term for the enemies of Christianity.

[197] Heathen – A person who does not acknowledge the 'God of the Holy Bible', therefore all those other than followers of the monotheistic and prophetic religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

[198] Reconquista (718-1492) – The reconquest of medieval Spain and parts of the Iberian Peninsula by Christian armies from the Muslim Moors, who had occupied the territory since the 8th Century (711 - Islam*ic* conquest of Iberia by the Umayyads).

[199] Battle of Tours (732) – fought near Poitiers, between the Christian Frankish and Burgundian armies commanded by Charles Martel against an army of the Muslim Umayyad Caliphate commanded by 'Abdul Rahman Al Ghafiqi. It was regarded as a landmark battle that prevented the further 'March of Islam' into Europe and assisted the survival of Christendom.

[200] The Fall of Constantinople (1453) – Siege and capture of the capital of the Eastern Christian Byzantine Empire by the Muslim Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman army was commanded by Sultan Mehmed and the Byzantine army was commanded by Emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos. The 'Fall' sent a psychological 'shock wave' through Christendom.

[201] Siege of Malta (1565) when Christian Knights fought and defeated thousands of Ottoman Muslims and prevented an invasion of Europe and what historians and churchmen of that period portrayed as an Ottoman Muslim domination of southern Europe.

[202] Battle of Vienna (1683) - viewed by many Christians as the 'last stand' of Christian Europe; headed by the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy League. It was fought to prevent an invasion by the Muslim army of Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa of the Ottoman Empire.

"A pernicious tenet has been imputed to the Mohammededans, the duty of extirpating all other religions by the sword. This charge of ignorance and bigotry is refuted by the Koran, by the history of the Musssulman conquers, and by their public and legal tolerance of Christian worship" (Gibbon, 1850, p. 545).

However, his comments on the Jewish faith were less conciliatory, when he referred to, "Jews, the murderers of the Son of God" (Gibbon, 1850, p. 554), and described the massacre of European Jews by the 'faithful' *en route* to the Crusades. Gibbon's aforementioned statement in the contemporary era could be seen as grossly anti-Semitic but at the time, this formed part of Christian dogma. In the contemporary era, such historical events are likely to be absent from the Western conscious mind but elements may still lurk deep in the subconscious only to be roused by, for example, negative Hollywood depictions of Arabs (Shaheen, 2014). When dealing with this historical dimension, Said adds that "hostility to Islam in the modern Christian West has historically gone hand in hand with anti-Semitism and has stemmed from the same source and been nourished at the same stream" (1985: pp. 8-9). Said was to add later that the naturalisation of Arabs as terrorists has reached "a startling prominence at a time when racial or religious misrepresentations of every other cultural group are no longer circulated with such impunity" (1997, xii).

Although the perception of a West *versus* East divide is perhaps understandable from theological, historical and cultural perspectives, it would be disingenuous to suggest that there is an enduring adversarial 'clash' along cultural, theological, linguistic, doctrinal and geopolitical lines, in the manner of Huntington's hypothesis of a 'Clash of Civilisations' (Huntington, 1997, pp. 2-9). The reality of the modern world is much more complicated and nuanced; with changing demographics, migration, a globalised workforce, intermarriage, Western conversion to Islam and the impact of globalisation, to name but a few. However, for the purposes of this thesis, it is argued that there is merit in being cognisant of this historical antagonistic narrative, in relation to a possible Western predisposition to Islamophobia and Western attitudes towards Arab *Sunnis*. Additionally, the *quid pro quo* is that there may well be a predisposition by

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This was seen as a pivotal point in the defence of Christendom in Europe. There had been an earlier invasion attempt by the Ottomans in 1529 led by Suleiman the Magnificent, which had been repulsed.

some and possibly many Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* to view the West in general and America in particular in a negative manner so as to constitute anti-Americanism.

The next section will consider briefly the concept of anti-Americanism, in relation to the conceptual framework. Anti-Americanism is considered at much greater length, later in the thesis.

Anti-Americanism

The phenomenon of anti-Americanism has been defined by various scholars in differing ways and there is no widely agreed definition of the term (Markovits, 2016). Rubinstein and Smith (1988, p. 36) cited in Blaydes and Linzer (2012, p. 225) describe it as, "any hostile act or expression that becomes part and parcel of an undifferentiated attack on the foreign policy, society, culture and values of the United States". A broader definition is offered by Katzenstein and Keohane (2007, p. 12) also cited in Blaydes and Linzer (2012, p. 225), that being, "A psychological tendency to hold negative views of the US and American society in general". Relating to the post-9/11 status of anti-Americanism in the Arab world, Rubin (2002, p. 73) remarks that:

> "Arab and Muslim hatred of the United States is not just, or even mainly, a response to actual US policies; policies that, if anything, have been remarkably pro-Arab and pro-Muslim over the years. Rather, such animus is largely the product of self-interested manipulation by various groups within Arab society, groups that use anti-Americanism as a foil to distract public attention from other, far more serious problems within those societies".

Rubin's position in relation to America's mainly pro-Arab, pro-Muslim stance, is supported by Taheri (2015). However, it worth noting that a number of Arab authors take issue with this position such as Al-Soudi (2007) and Atwan (2015).

In order to consider fully what anti-Americanism is, it is also necessary to understand what 'Americanism' is (Markovits, 2016). However, it is particularly problematic to attempt to form a universal appraisal of this phenomenon, given that it probably is an amalgam of multiple factors and perspectives (Markovits, 2016). In addition, given its unique history and transition from colonialism, through slavery and segregation to its current status as a highly diverse society; there exist numerous definitions within the American nation that may define what Americanism is (Chiozza, 2009). Therefore, the concept of Americanism remains amorphous and somewhat opaque. Additionally, through the eyes of foreign powers and other cultures, this perception is coloured by several impressions (Prendergast, 1993).

These are: its self-appointed status as leader of the 'Free World' and harbinger of liberal democracy; its position as global superpower; and its drive of dominance of world entertainment[203] and popular culture; although this is often seen as exporting cultural imperialism (Prendergast, 1993). This is evidenced in the neologisms 'Americanisation' and 'Coca-Colonisation' respectively, both of which indicate the perceived envelopment of the world's values and ideals by those of America (Prendergast, 1993). On this latter point, the distinctively pejorative conceptualisations of Americanism centre upon a converse phenomenon to Islamophobia, as a sense of revulsion towards the 'other' (Stokes, 2014). Particular reasons cited for this revulsion include US Foreign Policy and its wish to serve as the 'police force of the world'; and establishing its customs and values as being normative (Markovits, 2016; Gentzkow and Shapiro, 2004).

However, these prejudices are levelled at a set of subjective phantoms, as with the case of Islamophobia, which are *perceptions* based upon the weaving together of distinctive events and filtered through the lens of resentment (Gentzkow and Shapiro, 2004).

A relevant study by Nisbet and Myers (2011, p. 684) considers the role of the media as a generator of particular representations that have propagandist effects upon Arab audiences. The study in question is valuable on account of it collecting survey data over a period of five years across six Arab countries. This revealed 'significant

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[203] Predominately the English-speaking world, rather than for example the Chinese internal market.

associations between transnational Arab TV exposure and anti-American sentiment'. In the study, channels such as *Al-Jazeera* and *Al-Arabiya* categorically deny that their representations of Western entities are biased (Nisbet and Myers, 2011). They assert, that they are simply viewing them through an Arabic lens (Nisbet and Myers, 2011). "America has an image problem" write Gentzkow and Shapiro (2004, p. 117), referring to favourability ratings in the Middle East. Gentzkow and Shapiro continue to elaborate that this "reflects radically different, and often distorted, perceptions of the facts" (2004, p. 117). Finally, some argue that anti-Americanism is emerging within America and that this is being exacerbated by Trump's apparent hostility towards existing immigration regulations with the potential consequence of fostering a culture of division, and disunity (Gopnik, 2017). A more substantive examination of anti-Americanism from its origins to the present day and its nature in the Arab world is provided at Chapter 3.

Conclusion

This chapter considered several concepts that are central and germane to the thesis, namely terrorism, fundamentalism, Islam*ist* extremism, radicalisation, Islamophobia, and anti-Americanism. Terrorism has been understood by way of multiple perspectives, being a special category of violent actions that are justified in accordance with particular ideological ends. It also bears an exceptional status, depending upon the legislating party. It is also acknowledged that achieving a universal or wholly objective definition of terrorism is problematic. Whilst the concept of fundamentalism has seemingly innocuous origins in Protestant absolutism, it has come to be associated with any absolute conviction, and particularly in the context of Islam*ist* fundamentalism. The latter concept is largely a Western construct, comprising the uncritical generalisation of particular acts and their attribution to the religion of Islam.

Radicalisation has been understood as a process that is indicative of a movement along a spectrum of belief which is bolstered by a sense of conviction and affiliation. In the contemporary era, radicalisation has become synonymous in Western discourses with Islam*ist* extremism, which has contributed to the phenomenon of Islamophobia, or the uncritical fear of and revulsion towards Islam and Muslims. The

correlate of this phenomenon is anti-Americanism which in broad terms is understood to mean holding particularly negative views about America in general. The origins and rise of anti-Americanism and its nature and growth in the Arab world will be considered at length in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

Origins and Rise of Anti-Americanism

Introduction

This chapter provides an examination of anti-Americanism from its origins to the present day and its nature and growth in the Arab world. It examines the most dominant types of criticism of America in order to provide background, context and focus for this research. However, specific regional or localised forms of anti-Americanism, such as Korean or Latin American, will not be considered, as they fall beyond the scope of this thesis. This examination will be based upon what scholars and commentators have labelled 'anti-Americanism', as there is no widely agreed definition of the term. In so doing, well established academic sources and emerging scholarship will be utilised, where relevant. This examination is considered pivotal to this thesis. Additionally, it is pertinent to this thesis that in 2007 when the Jordanian academic Al-Soudi[204], gave the Global Awareness Lecture at the BYU Kennedy Center on the Causes of Anti-Americanism in the Arab World, he stressed that the link between anti-Americanism and Middle Eastern Arab extremism is important yet rarely studied (Al-Soudi, 2007).

It will be argued that anti-Americanism is not a comprehensive or coherent belief system or ideology, but rather a series of criticisms and prejudices regarding America that have for convenience been labelled anti-Americanism. Because there is no widely agreed definition of the term, what differentiates anti-Americanism from reasonable criticism of America is often confused or sometimes deliberately distorted and is therefore a legitimate matter of academic inquiry.

Prior to considering Middle Eastern Arab Muslim anti-Americanism, it is important to chart the conceptual and chronological origins of anti-Americanism in order to lay the appropriate foundations for the study. Chronologically, the term was first associated with

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[204] Prof Abdelmahdi Al-Soudi - Professor of Political Sociology and Middle East Studies, Jordan University and Professor of Middle East Studies Denver University (in 2007).

European cultural criticism of Americans, which later developed into economic and political based criticism, as America became a global power (Markovits, 2016). More recently, post 9/11, "anti-American terrorism" has entered the modern lexicon (Rubin and Rubin, 2002). In the present period, cries in Middle Eastern lands of 'Death to America' (Taheri, 2017) are often associated with Islam*ist* anti-Americanism or more commonly in the popular mind, 'Arab Islam*ic* anti-Americanism'. This is notwithstanding the cry being particularly popular with ideologues in non-Arab Iran (Taheri, 2017) or Pakistan.

The Iterative Appearances of Anti-American Prejudice

Hollander's detailed early study of anti-Americanism is arguably a 'one-sided attack' on anti-Americanism as an irrational position largely adopted by the 'misguided' (Hollander, 1992). Similarly, Haseler's treatment of the subject could also be regarded as lacking balance, in that it counsels Americans to largely ignore the criticisms of foreigners, whom Haseler principally views as being envious of America's global power, (1985).

Since 9/11, some defenders of America have been viewed as particularly prone to label any criticisms of America as 'anti-American' in order to silence legitimate debate. However, increasing numbers of people are expressing their frustrations with America in a manner that could be labelled 'anti-American'. Another conceptual problem is that an aversion to America often coexists, within a nation or an individual, whilst concurrently embracing certain specific aspects of America, such as popular culture. Markovits (2016) suggests that this ambivalence, the coexistence of attraction and disdain, has long existed and that whilst some object to 'what America is', others object to 'what America does'. For example, Markovits (2016) proposes that whilst European elites have historically been, and continue to be anti-American, the European masses have not had this antipathy. He stresses that many Europeans have traditionally viewed America as meritocratic and a 'new beginning' and that large numbers of Europeans emigrated to what they viewed as the 'Land of Opportunity' (Markovits, 2016). Diner (1996, pp. 3-4) emphasises that this optimism was reflected in early place names such

as Eden, New Hope and New Jerusalem. However, this New World had its disparagers from its beginnings, especially as it became a rival and later a cultural and political threat. Cornelius de Pauw[205], in the late eighteenth century, complained that the discovery and conquest of the New World was "the greatest tragedy ever to befall humanity" (Diner, 1996, pp. 3-4).

To give order to these longstanding critical opinions, it is possible to identify four phases. These are:

> **Phase One**. From the inception of America as a European settlement to the end of World War Two. During this period, anti-Americanism was largely culturally oriented criticism premised on European perceived superiority and American cultural inferiority (Markovits, 2016; Judt, 1992).

> **Phase Two**. During the Cold War[206], anti-Americanism was more politically and ideologically oriented criticism (Markovits, 2016; Judt, 1992). This tended to be 'leftist', ranging across a broad spectrum, from Soviet propaganda to anti-Vietnam War protest movements (Markovits, 2016; Judt, 1992). American interventionism in the Middle East and specifically America's involvement in the 1953 overthrow of the Iranian democratically elected Mosaddegh[207] became a special and enduring focus of criticism within the region.

> **Phase Three**. From the end of the Cold War to 9/11. This period saw a greater emphasis on the ill effects of 'Americanisation'. It continues today as anti-Americanism and is linked to the anti-globalisation movement (Markovits, 2016).

> **Phase Four**. From 9/11, with the arrival of 'terrorist anti-Americanism' as a significant and widely acknowledged force (Markovits, 2016).

It is important to stress that these phases are not 'hermetically sealed'. For example, the criticism of European elites continued across time, reinforcing new forms of anti-

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[205] Cornelius Franciscus de Pauw (1739 -1799), Dutch philosopher, diplomat and regarded as an expert on the Americas.
[206] Cold War (1945/47-1989), a state of heightened geopolitical tension between the Western Bloc (US and NATO allies) and Eastern Bloc (USSR and Warsaw Pact allies). There remains an academic debate about the precise timeframe.
[207] The democratically elected Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh was overthrown in the 1953 Iranian *coup d'état* which was orchestrated by the UK and US in order to maintain control of oil through the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC).

Americanism (Markovits, 2016). Consequently, a combination of these forms can be merged (Black, 2001).

Criticism of America started to form into a set of proto anti-American ideas and stereotypes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as America became more than a colonial or religious outpost. The earliest forms anti-American cultural criticism tended to focus upon the lack of taste, grace and civility in American life (Markovits, 2016). European writers such as Dickens and Trollope portrayed Americans as rude and indifferent to manners or polite conversation (Markovits, 2016; Schama, 2003). Reflecting on this, Schama observes that, "[b]y the end of the nineteenth century, the stereo-type of the ugly American, voracious, preachy, mercenary, and bombastically chauvinist, was firmly in place in Europe" (Schama, 2003).

The assertion of European superiority has long been a theme of trans-Atlantic relations, with America being depicted as the antithesis of Europe (Markovits, 2016). Diner[208] describes America as, "[t]he counter-world to Europe" (1996, p. 5). These early forms of anti-Americanism pitted an idealised version of European culture against a stereotype of an uncultured America (Judt, 1992, pp. 188-189). This 'battle' between so called 'high' and 'low' cultures, and the later more nationalistic 'battle' over the Americanisation of other cultures, have remained central themes of anti-American discourse[209] (Markovits, 2016). In these critiques, Europe is depicted as the aesthetic bulwark against rampant American materialism (Judt, 1992, pp. 188-189). Meunier (2000) argues that this nineteenth century critique of a cultured Europe and a 'philistine' America, is to some extent, still visible today in the anti-globalisation movement.

Markovits (2016) emphasises that during the twentieth century, anti-Americanism became more politically oriented as the US emerged as a global power after World War One. Meanwhile, Judt suggests that anti-Americanism developed from a general critique into a recognised 'ism' in the 1930s. He argues that anti-Americanism of this period was largely conservative in origin and that US materialism and industrialism were

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[208] Dan Diner (born 1946), German-Israeli historian and author, Professor at Ben-Gurion University and Director of the Simon Dubnow Institute for Jewish History and Culture at Leipzig University.
[209] Such as in the Arab world which will be discussed later in this chapter.

viewed as a real threat to Western culture (Judt, 1992, pp. 190-191). Although many critics viewed Europe as the soul of Western civilisation, others saw a romanticised Orient[210] as the antidote to the 'American Way' (Judt, 1992). Criticisms of American materialism, corporatisation[211], and conformity tended to be marginalised after 1945, with the discrediting of the European 'right' and the rise of what was perceived as the Communist 'threat' (Judt, 1992). Furthermore, during this period, a particular strand of anti-Americanism was seen as an extension of anti-Semitism (Markovits, 2016; Judt, 1992, p. 194).

Following World War Two, as America became fully engaged in international politics and involved in a global Cold War with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics[212] (USSR), political anti-Americanism became more significant. This tended to be 'leftist', with Communism being in many ways the opposite of the 'American creed'. Reflecting on this ideological conflict, Lipset (1996) stresses that America is more than a country, it is a creed or 'ism'. During the Cold War, America, like the USSR, symbolised an ideological approach to economic and political life. Thus, to be pro-Soviet was considered anti-American, or in American domestic parlance 'un-American'. Although this is a reductionist approach, it is one largely adopted by Hollander (1992).

Recruitment to the pro-Soviet cause was, to some degree, hindered by the behaviour of the Soviet system (Sheenan, 1980) and the later revelations of Solzhenitsyn. Nonetheless, Communist parties in Europe, particularly in France, had some success arguing that America was intent on global military and economic domination and needed to be opposed. Not all Cold War criticism of America was leftist and Markovits (2016) argues that the European 'right' have been traditionally anti-American. For example, De Gaulle[213] challenged American policy especially the US drive to rearm the Federal Republic of Germany[214] (FRG) under a European Defence

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[210] Orient - traditionally the Eastern world (Asia) as viewed from a European perspective.
[211] Corporatisation - the process of transforming state assets into corporations and using corporate management techniques.
[212] USSR (1922-1991).
[213] General Charles André de Gaulle (1890-1970), leader of the Gaullist Party and President of France (1959–1969).
[214] Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) (1949-1990).

Community[215] (EDC) proposal during the 1950s.

De Gaulle's[216] decision to recognise Communist China in 1964, his opposition to American policy in Vietnam, and his criticism of Israel in the 1967 War also put him at odds with America (Markovits, 2016). These conflicts represented both a difference of outlook and interests (Crockatt, 2003, p. 58). It is relevant to this study that Dionne remarks about the American anti-Vietnam War movement that, "Critics of American foreign policy have nearly always been labelled 'anti-American' by their foes" (1992 p. 52). As Kane (2003) adumbrates persuasively, the Vietnam War was a time when the image of a virtuous America lost much credibility both internally and amongst friends and allies. Kane (2003) stresses that Australian anti-Americanism of the 2003 anti-Iraq War movement had much in common with the anti-Vietnam War movement. Elshtain (2003, p. 72) also notes these parallels. However, one difference was that many of the anti-Vietnam War protesters were sympathetic towards Hồ Chí Minh[217], whereas in 2003, Saddam had few supporters.

Despite the significance of the Vietnam War, the most detailed early work on anti-Americanism (Hollander's text) barely discusses the anti-Vietnam War movement. This could be viewed as a gap in the scholarship on anti-Americanism. Instead of Vietnam, Hollander pays attention to objections to American policy in Nicaragua[218] in the 1980s, and UN criticisms of America (Hollander, 1992, pp. 259-355). Additionally, Hollander's account can be viewed as a polemic against leftist sympathisers whom he depicts as anti-American. This dimension can also be viewed as a limitation of the scholarship in this case.

Arguably, world opinion softened towards America during the late 1970s, particularly in France where the French intelligentsia moved towards a more pro-

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[215] European Defence Community (EDC) posited by French Prime Minister René Pleven in 1950 to form a pan-European defence force as an alternative to the proposed US rearmament of FRG, in order to counter the USSR.
[216] Gaullism in post-war Western Europe was almost unique beyond rather marginalised groups or individuals such as the British Conservative MP John Enoch Powell (1912–1998) - politician and classical scholar.
[217] Hồ Chí Minh (1890-1969), Vietnamese Communist revolutionary leader, Prime Minister (1945–55) and President (1945–69) of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV).
[218] 1979 - Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) overthrew Nicaraguan President Somoza (US ally), which led to the Contra War (1981-1990).

American stance (Judt, 1992). The French left was shaken by Solzhenitsyn's texts[219], which "severely undermined residual sympathies for the USSR, just as the later revelations about communist behaviour in Cambodia shook liberal sympathies for Third World Socialism" (Sheenan, 1980). It was in this milieu that Lévy[220] emerged as a leading French 'anti-anti-American' (Gopnik, 2003). French Socialists led by Mitterrand[221], supported US and NATO policy of installing Cruise and Pershing[222] missiles in Western Europe. This sympathetic outlook towards American strategic policy in Europe stood in stark contrast to the political policies of the FRG Social Democratic Party (SPD)[223] and the British Labour Party, both of which opposed these weapons being placed in their respective countries (Gopnik, 2003).

Although the presence of American nuclear bases in UK and FRG during the 1980s became an issue of considerable public antipathy and protest, such as at Greenham Common[224]; Thatcher and Kohl staunchly defended their alliance with America throughout this period. However, a 'backlash' against American bases spread to countries such as Japan, Philippines, and Republic of Korea (Sheenan, 1980). Johnson (2002) writes ominously about the potential consequences of anti-Americanism in his book *Blowback*. The term 'blowback' has become synonymous with anti-Americanism and "shorthand for the unintended consequences of covert operations" (Johnson, 2002, p. xii). Interestingly, it was first used in a political sense and a Middle Eastern context by the CIA in relation to America's involvement in the aforementioned overthrow of Mosaddegh. Johnson (2002, pp. xii-xvii) has suggested, that the CIA's support of the Afghan *Mujahedeen*[225] and Bin-Laden resulted in the most stunning incident of anti-American 'blowback', the attacks of 9/11.

As this example suggests, criticism of America's continued use of its power remains a major source of anti-Americanism. Yet interestingly, Hollander posited that

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[219] Such as: *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (1962), *Cancer Ward* (1968) and *The Gulag Archipelago* (1973).
[220] Bernard-Henri Lévy (born 1948), French intellectual, author; a member of the 'Nouveaux Philosophes' movement in the 1970s.
[221] François Mitterrand (1916 –1996), President of France (1981-1995).
[222] The Pershing systems were eliminated following the ratification of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty in 1988.
[223] SDP - Social Democratic Party of Germany (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*).
[224] RAF Greenham Common, – site of Women's Peace Camp (1981-2000); centre of protest against US nuclear cruise missiles.
[225] Such as Ahmad Shah Massoud (1953-2001), *Mujahedeen* leader known as the 'Lion of Panjshir', the Tajik, *Sunni* leader of the Northern Alliance. Following the Soviet withdrawal he fought to defend Kabul from militias led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, General Dostum and the Taliban. He was assassinated 2 days before 9/11, probably by AQ.

the culmination of the Cold War, collapse of the USSR, Warsaw Pact and end of a bipolar world, would usher in a new era of ideological harmony and a reduction of anti-capitalist and anti-American sentiment (1995, p. 445). These pronouncements transpired to be premature, overly optimistic and somewhat inaccurate. Events actually led to unparalleled disagreements between former NATO allies such as over the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq.

In general terms, the end of the Cold War was followed by an era of globalisation. Anti-Americanism during this period is frequently associated with anti-globalisation movements and fears about a world dominated by American capitalism and culture (Barber, 2010). Anti-globalisation concerns often single out American multinational corporations, alleged US influence over the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and US failure to ratify the Kyoto Protocol[226]. Markovits (2016) argues that America has become a symbol for the various ills of the world, which is reminiscent of its reputation in mid-nineteenth century France.

Reflecting upon the noted insularity of American post-Cold War society, Markovits (2016) highlights the seismic impact of 9/11 on the US psyche. In the wake of 9/11 the administration and US society were to ask - 'Why do they hate us?' in relation to Middle Eastern Islam*ist* terrorists and their supporters (Taheri, 2015), or uncritically, Middle Eastern Arab Muslims.

'Death to America' - Anti-Americanism Sentiments: **Global Prejudices**

Antipathy towards 'America' is an identifiable and influential global phenomenon. In 2002 and 2003 mass protests against American foreign policy towards Iraq were staged in a range of countries[227]. Public and private discussions on whether and how to resist America's military, economic and cultural dominance occurred across disparate continents (Sardar and Davies, 2002). Furthermore, critical essays and polemics about America achieved bestseller status (Markovits, 2016; Hertsgaard, 2002; Crister, 2003). Consequently, the US State Department convened a symposium on anti-Americanism

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[226] Kyoto Protocol (Adopted 1997, Enacted 2005) – that committed signed parties to the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.
[227] Such as Argentina, Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, UK and US.

in 2002 and engaged public relations consultants to improve America's international image. Anti-Americanism had reached the highest counsels of government and become worthy of renewed academic scrutiny (Sardar and Davies, 2002).

Despite, or because of, its 'special relationship' and status as America's 'closest ally', the British case is especially instructive in examining changes in perceptions of America. In the immediate aftermath of 9/11, Bush declared to a joint session of Congress that his nation had "no truer friend than Great Britain", while Blair asserted that the UK would stand "shoulder to shoulder" with America (Glover, 2002). By 2002, Blair was sufficiently moved to publicly attack growing anti-Americanism across Europe. He declared, "[t]here's no way Britain is ever going to be anything less than a full friend and partner of America, in Europe, out of Europe, whatever" (Glover, 2002). Similarly, Straw[228] expressed his concern about how "trite anti-Americanism" had "become fashionable" in the UK (Glover, 2002). Whether the aforementioned is indicative of the rise of an identifiable and coherent phenomenon is perhaps less obvious than critics and proponents of anti-American sentiments typically concede. Furthermore, the scale of anti-Americanism in Europe, is suggestive of a more multifaceted phenomenon than mere power projection alone (Judt, 2003, pp. 24-27).

One illustration of the difficulty of analysing anti-Americanism can be gleaned by considering Posner's comment on Huxley's novel, *Brave New World*: "The society of happy, thoughtless philistines depicted by Huxley seems merely an exaggeration of today's America" (Posner, 2001, p. 260). Uttered by a Middle Eastern Arab or European, this statement might justifiably be regarded as anti-Americanism. It is interesting to note that Markovits (2016) stresses that even Americans can be anti-American. From an academic perspective, it is fair and reasonable to pose the question - Is Posner[229] anti-American, un-American, elitist or merely critical? If the latter, then a follow-on question can be posed - When does the expression of negative views about America by non-Americans legitimately merit the designation anti-American? This is particularly pertinent to this thesis in relation to criticisms of America by Middle Eastern

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[228] The Right Honourable Jack Straw - (born 1946), MP for Blackburn (1979-2015), Home Secretary (1997-2001), Foreign Secretary (2001-2006) and Lord Chancellor & Secretary of State for Justice (2007-2010).
[229] Posner – a former American conservative federal court judge and prolific scholar.

Arab *Sunnis*. While anti-Americanism as a term can appear to some to be precise, to others it may also appear vague. Hitchens[230] observes "We do seem to need a word" for what it represents and "[t]here are those in the Islamic world for whom the slogan "Death to America" is a real and meaningful invocation" (2003, p. 27).

Three main problems impede analysis of anti-Americanism. First, regarding content, anti-Americanism can encompass opposition to: American foreign or domestic policy; strategies and tactics; America's singular global influence[231]; market democracy, a form of political economy of which America is held to be the ideological exemplar; 'American values'[232]; and or antipathy to Americans as a people (Sadar and Davies, 2002).

Second, to attach the '-*ism*' suffix to a markedly heterogeneous range of attitudes, beliefs and values, implies a systematic coherence in both 'Americanism' as well as non-American worldviews that is *prima facie* implausible when ascribed to hundreds of millions of people within and outside America. For example, many Europeans who opposed the invasion of Iraq rejected the charge of anti-Americanism, as did many anti-war Americans (Judt, 2003). At this juncture, it is helpful to recall that Markovits (2016) argues that for some, anti-Americanism consists of 'what America is', for others, 'what America does' and variations thereof.

Within the Middle East, many Arab nations whose masses appear to loathe US foreign policy, embrace American popular culture, whilst their ruling elites remain close allies, albeit *sotto voce*, of America[233] (Al-Soudi, 2007). Moreover, individual affirmations or denials of anti-Americanism may be poor guides to 'objective' evaluations. That is, an avowed 'anti-American' may nonetheless wear American clothing, articulate American slang, listen to American popular music and consume American food (Markovits, 2016). Conversely, a more 'selective' anti-American may be 'in denial' about his or her cognitive dissonance: an antipathy to American cultural products may well complement or fuel more expressly political attitudes that cause all things American to be greeted by

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[230] Christopher Eric Hitchens (1949-2011), author, essayist and journalist.
[231] Military, diplomatic, economic and cultural.
[232] Individualism, democracy, pluralism, equality of opportunity, ownership of private property, the rule of law, and populism.
[233] Such as Egypt, KSA and Kuwait.

a combination of resignation, ridicule and anger (Markovits, 2016).

Third, mass publics' 'idea' of America is neither uniform nor always well informed (Markovits, 2016; Judt, 2003). If nations are 'imagined communities' then America is, arguably, especially imaginary to many outside the US (Elshtain, 2003). The vivid images conveyed by American cultural products, especially television, film and music, represent to non-Americans – 'American reality', rather than the more complex and mundane actual realities experienced daily by many Americans (Markovits, 2016). Basic facts about American life rarely ever intrude on many non-American perceptions of the nation which is often seen as rapaciously individualistic, violent, selfish, ignorant and 'philistine' (Markovits, 2016). America's marked diversity abets, inadvertently, such selective evaluation, whether in the Middle East or elsewhere.

It is therefore essential that informed, dispassionate and reasoned criticisms of government policies are distinguished from a deeper, broader and more settled hostility to America. The difficult question, where reasonable persons may disagree, is where that dividing line is most appropriately located. Anti-Americanism is conventionally represented as a more or less systematic and coherent entity, a worldview with core beliefs, values and lenses by which America is judged as 'wanting', on a continuum ranging from mildly deficient to 'utterly depraved'. It generally entails strong disapproval, enmity or animosity for America, its government, policies, people, values and or 'way of life' (Markovits, 2016; Al-Soudi, 2007; Gopnik, 2003). As such, it comprises a multi-dimensional set of attitudes that are at once: political (anti-imperial); economic (anti-capitalist, anti-Anglo-Saxon, free markets and or anti-globalisation); religious (anti-religiosity and or anti- secularism); cultural (anti-Hollywood, popular TV and music and or 'mass' culture); and ethical (anti-decadent, yet anti-Puritanical) (Power, 2003). The capaciousness of these sources of critical commentary provides anti- Americanism with remarkable elasticity.

Power (2003) suggests that the extent to which America is admired, feared or loathed hinges substantially on the host nation or region's particular encounters with America. Secular Europeans, for example, invariably combine a mixture of bafflement,

derision and offence regarding American religiosity and the extent to which policies such as capital punishment separate America from its so-called 'advanced' democratic peers (Judt, 2003). America's cultural products, such as, popular entertainment and casual dress, rarely register as a major cause of ire[234], in the West. By contrast, within some Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* communities, it is not only US Foreign Policy but also the perceived lack of religious underpinning of American public life, secular constitution, 'decadence and unrestrained individualism' that compound these antagonisms (Al-Soudi, 2007). Equally, whereas many Europeans may look poorly upon America's refusal to ratify the Kyoto Accords, this hardly 'registers' in the Middle East with Arab Muslims (Judt, 2003).

As the sources and expressions of anti-Americanism have received increasing academic attention, two principal sources of division are identifiable within the scholarly and popular literature concerning its anatomy and origins (Markovits, 2016; Al-Soudi, 2007; Hollander, 1992). The first concerns whether anti-Americanism represents a 'rational' worldview or whether the phenomenon is simply too inchoate and ambivalent to meet a minimal test of intellectual coherence. For example, Roy (2002) warns that conservatives are morphing anti-Americanism into an ideology, in order to condemn all critics of US foreign policy of blind hatred of America. Yet, Hollander characterises anti-Americanism as: "An unfocused and largely irrational, often visceral aversion toward the United States, its government, domestic institutions, foreign policies, prevailing values, culture, and people" (1992, pp. 334-335).

Such marked divergences over coherence and motivation are suggestive of the multiple meanings that underpin anti-Americanism as a construct. The notion of anti-Americanism as something more sweeping and socially embedded than opposition to specific government policies, demands the types of comprehensive definitions offered above. But these typically risk failing to adequately explain the particularistic nature of many forms of antipathy towards America. Equally, while individuals can combine vitriolic criticism of US policies with avowed warmth towards Americans; a loathing of

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[234] Except with some ultra-orthodox who may view them as 'colonial' symbols of Americanisation and some social elites who may view them as symbols of a lack of sophistication or even boorishness.

America as a culture can also be logically combined with pragmatic *realpolitik*[235], particularly in the Middle East.

It may be, that some Middle Eastern Arabs declare 'hatred' of America, not because it is and of itself 'evil', but because they cannot escape from its pervasive presence in their daily lives. Furthermore, they may also merely be articulating an inherited *doxa* that provides comfort in commonality and conformity of belief. Interestingly, Mehat (2001) argues that Arab resistance has become even more virulent because it has become less effective. The sources of anti-Americanism are complicated further by its status as an inherently dualistic phenomenon. On the one hand there is American history, as the republic has evolved from slavery through the Civil War and segregation, to the present day in which policies from abortion regulation to environmental protection regularly excite non-American criticism (Judt, 1992). On the other hand, there exist developments that are predominantly internal to nations, regions and hemispheres that encounter American political, economic and cultural influences. For example, in the case of European states such as UK and France, these developments might include the end of colonial empires, mass migration from former colonies, and the gradual development of the EU. By contrast, for many Middle Eastern states, these developments might include: the end of colonialism; rise of authoritarian regimes; waxing and waning of Arab pan-nationalism; the growth of political Islam; and wars both within and between secular, Arab, nationalist, and Islam*ic* regimes (Kane, 2003).

If the specific forms and diverse roots of anti-Americanism around the globe could in principle coalesce, it is rare that they actually do, with any meaningful unifying coherence beyond ambivalence (Markovits, 2016). Following Tolstoy's observation that unhappy families each exhibit their own particular form of unhappiness (Tolstoy, 2014), it therefore seems reasonable to frame the remainder of the analysis in terms of a plurality of anti-Americanisms, a set of 'unhappy families' comprising distinct grievances rather than a single, coherent worldview (Markovits, 2016; Kane, 2003). Arguably, this equates to a shared ambivalence about America, the sources and expressions of which

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[235] *Realpolitik* – pursuing a realistic or pragmatic approach in politics. Coined by the German writer Ludwig von Rochau in 1853.

differ according to time and location (Markovits, 2016).

It is argued by some, that in resolving international difficulties, America remains for now, the 'indispensable nation'[236], one whose global commitments are maintained despite its people's resilient insularity (Zenko, 2014; King, 2000). Yet interestingly, where US reluctance to intervene in international crises[237] elicits charges of vacillation and timidity, American intervention invariably prompts accusations of 'Yankee imperialism'[238]. As Markovits (2016) stresses "America is damned if does and damned if it does not". Power (2003) adds that America's long-term dominance has left it open to criticisms, of action and inaction and sins of commission and omission. However, what is often missing in critiques of US policy is a feasible, rather than a utopian alternative. In reality, the withdrawal of US military forces from around the world and the abandonment of its security guarantees may present unpalatable alternatives and unintended consequences, such as in the volatile Arabian Gulf. In the wider Middle East, this argument becomes much more opaque and complex, but no less important. For example, there is often a dichotomy between the pragmatic *realpolitik* approach taken by Middle Eastern leaders to US foreign policy and the almost visceral hatred of American interventionism in the region by the Arab masses (Al-Soudi, 2007); yet, this is whilst Arab youth continue to embrace and consume popular American culture (Arab Youth Survey, 2018; Arab Youth Survey, 2017; Arab Youth Survey, 2016).

King (2000) suggests that a stratum in America has rejected the notion of 'American exceptionalism' and has sought to recast American civic nationalism as a self-serving myth, an ideological facade masking the ethno-racial, religious nationalism that has been America's truly dominant narrative. Mass American conviction in America's essential 'morality' reflects and reinforces the historical fact that the nation remains, the only nation state founded on a set of aspirational political values (Markovits, 2016). However discordant it sounds to non-American ears, habitual reference by US political leaders to 'American values' resonates with many American citizens, be they Republican or Democrat (Kane, 2003), not least because it helps unite

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[236] Originated by Sidney Blumenthal and later much used by US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, 1997-2001 (Zenko, 2014).
[237] Such as Somalia, Libya and Syria.
[238] Such as Afghanistan and Iraq.

a multi-racial nation (Markovits, 2016). This latter point is reinforced by McCartney who argues that America, out of necessity, rejects ethnic forms of national identity, instead opting for: "An ideological construction of the nation that insists on the global relevance of the American project" (2004, p. 400), notwithstanding some still regarding its elite as White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP).

Despite its highly nationalistic character, American policy makers have rarely appreciated the resilient power of nationalism abroad, because of the sincerely held belief that the values upon which America is based are 'self-evident' universal truths of eternal veracity (Kane, 2003). Moreover, American nationalism exhibits features that typically aggravate rather than ameliorate international antipathies, especially in the Middle East. 'Americanism' is triumphant, deriving from successive victories (notwithstanding Vietnam) and is therefore focused upon future glories (Judt, 1992). As Posner (2003, p. 54) notes, many Americans live in happy ignorance of the apparent contradiction of being more pragmatic and pietistic than other nations, yet: "Would find total realism deflating and in a sense misleading". America's self-conception also has the aspect of American bafflement at non-aligned, neutral or weaker nations during periods when US globalism is characterised by what McCartney (2004, pp. 400-401) terms "vindicationism"[239]. What appears self-evident to many Americans, - 'you are either with us or against us' in confronting Communism and 'Islam*ic'* (Islam*ist*) terrorism, simultaneously appears too simplistic to many non-Americans (McCartney, 2004, p. 423).

The cumulative result is a demonstrable tension between American ideals and practice that applies both inside America and abroad. Mass publics outside America not only see a US whose foreign policies and actions they oppose, but experience these interventions being presented in an idealistic and moralistic manner that is mostly alien to their own traditions and cultural perceptions. Simultaneously, Americans accustomed to moralistic public rhetoric regarding domestic and geopolitical concerns find it difficult, even when they oppose US policy, to do so in amoral terms. As McCartney argues (2004, p. 423), America's "national interest will not, cannot, change unless and until the

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[239] Vindicationism - the urge to change the world to act or be more like America or Americans.

national identity upon which it rests also changes". Ironically, in an era of singular American power, the American 'Other' therefore provides a rich reference point by which rival foreign nationalisms can recast their particular historical narratives and national identities, such as in the Middle East.

Anti-Americanisms can also be divided into a three-fold typology: first, leftist criticisms based on the persistence and growth in socio-economic inequalities, within America and globally; second, rival nationalisms that abhor the idealistic basis of American identity, heterogeneity of American society and the pretensions to universal truth of America's civic 'creed'; third, 'cultural concerns' associated with the 'supposed' threat posed to indigenous ways of life by 'Americanisation'. Therefore, the rise of anti-Americanism has rested heavily on the negative representation of America accompanied by the projection of American military power outside its own 'hemi-sphere' and the remarkable popularity of and resentment towards American cultural exports.

Examined in this manner, it is possible to discern patterns of resemblance with prior phenomena, not least Anglophobia and Anti-Semitism. A core feature of each has been the externalising of domestic problems; the projection onto the 'Other' of the main responsibility for these problems. This is not to deny the enormous influence of America, benign and negative[240], but rather to qualify its status and to bring agency back into the frame for other actors. With the structure of the international system since 1991, so manifestly exhibiting unipolarity, the 'victory' of market capitalism over its ideological opponents has ensured that the only 'ideology of discontent' for those resistant to the *status quo* is arguably, anti-Americanism. In addition, with the removal of the USSR as a bipolar counterbalance in 'superpower terms', America has been freer to mount extensive military expeditionary operations, unchallenged, particularly within the predominately Muslim Middle East. However, this situation may be changing, as will be discussed later in the thesis.

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[240] Especially interventionism in the Middle East and the Muslim world.

Anti-Americanism and Related Terrorism in the Arab World

Violent Middle Eastern Arab Muslim anti-Americanism symbolised by 9/11 undoubtedly brought a greater degree of focus to anti-Americanism. Although 9/11 marked a new phase of anti-Americanism, the undercurrents of pre-existing causes continued largely unabated. The beginnings of violent Middle Eastern anti-Americanism in the modern era can be traced to events such as, politically motivated attacks on Americans in Beirut from the 1970s, 1979-1981 Iran Hostage Crisis[241], 1993 World Trade Centre bombing[242], 1998 bombings of US embassies[243], and the 2000 attack on the USS Cole[244] (Power, 2003). The Rubins argue in *Anti-American Terrorism and the Middle East* that the aforementioned attacks had consistent Middle Eastern anti-American motivations but that they were considered almost random events prior to 9/11. Also, Kennedy-Pipe, (2015, pp. 153-159) suggests that 9/11 heralded the advent of a new kind of political violence. Interestingly, the term 'anti-American terrorism' was barely mentioned in pre-9/11 literature resulting in some authors animating their earlier history as a result of 9/11 (Rubin and Rubin, 2002).

Following 9/11, there was a proliferation of theories about the reasons for the attacks (Booth and Dunne, 2002). Elshtain (2003) notes a tendency to not take Bin-Laden and AQ at their word and instead look for more complicated reasons for the attacks. For Elshtain (2003), this tendency is largely due to the inability of many commentators to take 'religious' messages seriously, such as AQ's declared *jihād* against America. Rather, they appear to believe that the "the heart of the matter lies elsewhere, in leftover colonial ire or anti-globalist chagrin" (Elshtain, 2003, p. 86). In analysing 9/11, one of the crucial issues involves cause and effect. This begs the question - What American actions and political positions, if any, precipitated the terrorist attacks? One could argue that Western official assessments cast the net rather too wide. Bush, Blair and Howard stated that those responsible for the 9/11 hated America

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[241] Iran Hostage Crisis (1979-1981), 52 US citizens at the US Embassy in Tehran were held hostage for 444 days by Iranian Muslim Student Followers of the Imam's Line, in support of the Iranian Revolution.
[242] World Trade Centre Bombing (1993), an AQ truck-bomb detonated beneath the North Tower resulting in 6 fatalities.
[243] US Embassy Bombings (7 August 1998) in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi which resulted in over 200 fatalities. The attacks were thought to have been carried out by the AQ linked Egyptian Islamic Jihād (EIJ) and related to the 1998 Osama Bin-Laden fatwā (Source – National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the US (2004) and '9/11 Commission Report', p.69.
[244] USS Cole Attack (2000), an AQ 'boat bombing' of the ship in Aden harbour (Yemen), resulted in 17 fatalities.

(and like-minded nations) because of their freedoms and liberties and way of life. Scholars have also cited colonialism, poverty, globalisation, and particularly twentieth century American foreign policy as possible causes of the attacks (Al-Soudi, 2007; Atwan, 2013; Milton-Edwards, 2014). Although many or indeed all of the above may have formed contributory factors to the attack, there may be other factors that were more significant in the minds of the extremist Islam*ists*, which are articulated below.

Although, for inclusion in this thesis, Bin-Laden may appear rather dated to the Western mind, it is important to stress that he was and remains pivotal to some Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* in the strength of his anti-Americanism, rationale and influence on part of the Arab psyche (Al-Soudi, 2007; Atwan, 2013). Therefore, he is directly relevant to this thesis. Also, to some in the West, it may appear that the Bin-Laden 'chapter' has been closed due to his killing[245] by the Americans, but this view is not shared by all Middle Eastern Arab Muslims (Atwan, 2013). For example, in 2015 *Al-Jabhat al-Nusra* Al-Nusra Front (JaN)) released a propaganda video celebrating the 9/11 attacks (Joscelyn, 2015). Meanwhile Islam*ist* media outlets continue to celebrate Bin-Laden's key messages (Global Islamic Media Front, 2015). A series of speeches, interviews and video comments by Bin-Laden and other AQ figures reveal seemingly more specific reasons for targeting America than much of the standard commentary acknowledges (Elshtain, 2003). These speeches state their grievances directly and with considerable repetition. They condemn America for its 'occupation' of the country of the Two Holy Mosques[246] (KSA), its alliance with Israel in oppressing Palestinians and occupying the sacred *Al-Aqṣā* Mosque[247] and the Dome of the Rock[248] in *Al-Quds* (Jerusalem), and for its invasion of Iraq which Bin-Laden asserted caused the death of '600,000 children' (Elshtain, 2003). It is these policies that AQ alleges justify the killing of Americans, with the clear aim being America's withdrawal from the Muslim World (Global Islamic Media Front, 2015).

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[245] Extrajudicial killing of Bin-Laden in Abbottabad, Pakistan, 2 May 2011 by US Navy SEAL Team Six, in a CIA led operation.
[246] The 'Two Holy Mosques' are the *Masjid Al-Ḥaram* in *Makkah* and *Masjid Al-Madīnah in Al*-Madinah. The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques (*Ḥādim al-Ḥaramayn aš-Šarīfayn*) is the monarch of KSA, King Salman bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud.
[247] *Al-Masjid Al-Aqṣā* (*Al-Aqṣā* Mosque) – 'The Farthest Mosque' is located in the Old City of *Al-Quds* (Jerusalem) and is the third holiest site in Islam. Muslims believe that it is this location where the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) ascended to heaven. *Al-Aqṣā* Mosque is situated on *Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* (The Noble Sanctuary) or Second Temple, destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE.
[248] *Qubbat al-Sakhrah* (The Dome of the Rock) is the Islamic shrine situated on the Temple Mount in the Old City of *Al-Quds* (Jerusalem). It was originally built in 691 CE on the site of the temple of King Herod but destroyed in 70 CE by the Romans.

For the purposes of academic objectivity, it is worth highlighting that in relation to Bin-Laden's death toll claims, John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health calculated that 655,000 Iraqis died[249] as a consequence of the 2003 Iraq War (Burnham, *et al,* 2006); WHO estimated that 151,000 violent deaths[250] in Iraq occurred from 2003 to 2006 (Iraq Family Health Survey (IFHS) Group, 2008); classified Pentagon files released by WikiLeaks recorded in excess of 66,000 civilians killed in the Iraq War between 2004 and 2009; and revealed 15,000 previously unlisted civilian Iraqi deaths (Leigh, 2010). Therefore, although Bin-Laden's claim of '600,000 dead children' is factually incorrect, the civilian death toll in Iraq, resulting from the American led invasion can be considered excessive by any reasonable standard. Consequently, Bin-Laden's point continues to have resonance with some contemporary Arabs (Atwan, 2013; Al-Soudi, 2007), not least because of the Iraqi civilian death toll that continued to grow long after the invasion (Amnesty International, 2017).

In relation to 9/11, Bin-Laden stated candidly that, "[w]hat happened on September 11 is nothing but a reaction to the continuing injustice being done to our children in Palestine, Iraq, Somalia, southern Sudan, and elsewhere, as well as Kashmir and Asia" (Elshtain, 2003, p. 86). While this statement refers to a wide variety of conflicts, the underlying message is consistent, let Muslims govern their societies without outside interference. The Islam*ist* ideologue Al-Mawdudi stresses this in his Islam*ist* work, *Let Us Be Muslims,* meaning leave us to be Muslims without Western interference (Al-Mawdudi, 2016). Additionally, Brown (2011, pp. 95-99) also suggests that the most important development in the evolution of Islam*ist* fundamentalism and Middle Eastern Arab anti-Americanism was the 2003 invasion of Iraq, which enabled *jihādi* terror organisations to frame America as the embodiment of the *Dar Al-Harb*[251].

Bin-Laden seemed to believe that America could be forced to withdraw from Muslim lands and that it had far less commitment to war than, for example, the Soviets in Afghanistan. In his 1996 statement entitled 'Declaration of War', Bin-Laden portrays the Americans as cowards:

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[249] 655,000 Iraqi fatalities - reported in *The Lancet* medical journal (Burnham, *et al*, 2006)
[250] 151,000 violent deaths in Iraq from March 2003 to June 2006 (Iraq Family Health Survey (IFHS) Group, 2008).
[251] *Dar Al-Harb* – 'House of War' meaning those lands where Muslim law is not predominant and Islam is not the ruling religion.

"When the explosion in Beirut took place [in] 1983, you were turned into scattered bits and pieces at that time; 241 mainly Marines [and] soldiers were killed. And where was this courage of yours when two explosions made you to leave Aden [after the attack on the USS Cole] in less than twenty-four hours! But your most disgraceful case was in Somalia, where, after vigorous propaganda about the power of the United States and its post-Cold War leadership of the new world order, you moved tens of thousands of international force[s], including 28,000 American soldiers, into Somalia. However, when tens of your soldiers were killed in minor battles and one pilot was dragged in the streets of Mogadishu, you left the area carrying disappointment, humiliation, defeat, and your dead with you" (Bin-Laden cited in Elshtain, 2003, p. 140).

This claim that America can be forced to retreat is repeated by Bin-Laden elsewhere and is similar to the belief systems of other Islam*ist* organisations, such as *Hamas*[252]. The belief is that their enemies will retreat if extreme violence is used against them. As Hegghammer (2006, pp. 12-13), notes anti-Americanism also became the hallmark of the global *jihādi* movement and that this de-territorial, anti-American manifestation of militant Islam*ism* was embodied most profoundly in AQ. Rajan (2015, p. 44) corroborates this and notes that AQ, "Promoted itself as an international *jihādist* organisation capable of establishing a pan-Islamic, global caliphate based on its version of *Sharia* that would cater to the interests and security of all Muslims globally".

Bin-Laden's criticisms of America, similar to some earlier forms of anti-Americanism, also propound conspiracy theories regarding the 'Jewish influence over America'. In a variety of speeches, he talked of the Jewish-Crusader or Zionist-American alliance, and in a 2000 video he went further, describing America as a puppet of Israel:

"The American government is independent in name only. We believe that it represents and is controlled by Israel. If we take a look at the most important

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[252] *Hamas – Harakat Al Muqwamah Al Islamiyyah* - Palestinian Islamic 'resistance'/ 'terrorist' movement with a military wing - *Izz ad Din Al Qassam* Brigades within the occupied territories and elsewhere. The *Hamas* Charter declares it to be the MB in Palestine. Some states such as USA, Israel and Canada have designated it a terrorist organisation, whilst others such as UK and Australia have only designated the military wing, yet other states such as Switzerland, Turkey Brazil, Russia, Iran and China do not regard any element of it as being terrorist. Many Arab states and *Sunnis* regard it as a resistance movement.

ministries in the current government [the Clinton administration], such as the Defence Department and the State Department, and the sensitive intelligence services and others, we find that the Jews have the final say in the American government. The Jews manipulate America and use it to execute their designs in the world, particularly in the Muslim world" (Bin-Laden cited in Rubin and Rubin, 2002, p. 178).

Although the above statement may seem to a reasonable person to be greatly exaggerated and blatantly anti-Semitic, Mearsheimer and Walt in their work *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*, found evidence of overwhelming and disproportionate support being provided to Israel by the US (Mearsheimer and Walt, 2008). Therefore, similar to Bin-Laden's exaggerated claims about the number of dead Iraqi children, these claims appear to have a sufficient basis that provide continued resonance and traction with some and possibly many Middle Eastern Arab Muslims. Indeed, other AQ members went on to reiterate views similar to those of Bin-Laden as did other extreme Islam*ist* organisations such as Palestinian Islamic *Jihād* (PIJ)[253] (Rubin and Rubin, 2002, pp. 149-261). Along with Jewish conspiracy theories, these organisations share with Bin-Laden a central aim of forcing Western powers and America in particular out of the Middle East and Arab Muslim lands. Ali Muhammad, an Islamic *Jihād* member, describes the organisation's objective as being, "[j]ust to attack any Western target in the Middle East, to force the governments of the Western countries just to pull out" (Muhammad cited in Rubin and Rubin, 2002, p. 210).

The 9/11 Commission Report referred to this as "*Jihād* against 'occupation' of Islamic lands" (9/11 Commission Report, p. 59, 2004). Interestingly, in the 567 pages of the 9/11 Commission Report there is not a single heading or sub-heading that deals with Middle Eastern Arab anti-Americanism in general or its possible links to Islam*ist* extremism or AQ in particular. This is worthy of note for the purposes of this thesis. Al-As will be recalled, Soudi, (2007) stresses that the link between anti-Americanism and Middle Eastern Arab extremism is important yet rarely studied. Bin-Laden's speeches

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[253] Palestinian Islamic *Jihād* (PIJ) - *Harakat al- Jihād al-Islami Fi Filastin* (Islamic *Jihād* Movement in Palestine), known in the West as Islamic *Jihād* or PIJ. It is an Iranian backed organisation which, founded in 1981 to fight for 'freedom from Israel' through *Jihād*.

and testimony from AQ and other Islam*ist* organisations comment little on American society and its freedoms and liberties. Instead, their central tenet is the removal of America from the Middle East. Yet the Bush administration maintained, perhaps for understandable domestic reasons, that the terrorist attacks were, an attack on the American way of life, rather than an extreme means of forcing changes in American foreign policy. It is also significant that Markovits (2016, p. 1) stresses that, "Bush and his administrators' policies have made America into the most hated country of all time".

Therefore, the legacy of Bin-Laden and his pernicious message may still have resonance with some and possibly many, Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis*, as is evident in the plethora of current AQ affiliate organisations as outlined at Appendix 4. It will be recalled that the recent 2018 Arab Youth Survey revealed that anti-American views in Arab youth across eight Arab nations is growing and that 57% of Arab youth considered America to be their enemy (Arab Youth Survey, 2018). Within the Levant (*Al-Mashriq*) this figure rose further to 65% (Arab Youth Survey, 2018). Therefore, from this data, it is safe to assume that not only is Middle Eastern Arab anti-Americanism still present but a growing and significant trend.

It is important to stress that this analysis in no way intends to justify, validate or excuse the rationale or actions of Islam*ist* extremists such as AQ. Rather, it highlights the weaknesses of: some of the academic coverage of the causes of the 9/11 attacks; the perception of 'America as persecuted'; distorted narratives of anti-Americanism. In many regards the 9/11 attacks were quintessential anti-American acts, which satisfy the competing definitions of anti-Americanism. In targeting the Pentagon and the World Trade Centre, the terrorists deliberately attacked two famous symbols of American power as well as indiscriminately killing civilians who were predominantly Americans. When asked by interviewers to justify the 9/11 attacks, Bin-Laden claimed that the evils committed by America justified a suspension of *Sharia* regarding murder. Furthermore, he argued that American civilians were legitimate targets because they voted for their leaders, their taxes funded American forces, and helped to fund Israel's military

forces[254], that were used to 'massacre Palestinians' (Rubin and Rubin, 2002, p. 261). Beyond Bin-Laden, the continued privations of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Territories at the 'hands' of the Israelis (OCHA, 2018; MSF, 2018; WHO, 2018) remains a visible 'canker' in the consciousness of many Middle Eastern Arab Muslims (Krähenbühl, 2018; Piper, 2018).

The theme of America's bias in favour of Israel is enduring, as a 2018 poll of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip discovered (Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey, 2018). The poll revealed that, "the overwhelming majority of Palestinians view the American role in the peace process as biased in favour of Israel" (Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey, 2018). Regarding ISIS, Lister (2015) asserts, that unlike AQ which promulgated a transnational conception of *jihādism*, ISIS has undertaken strategic operations solely within the territorial borders of Muslim countries within the MENA region, which stands in stark contrast to AQ doctrine. This is true not only of ISIS but also of other Arab *Sunni* extremist groups that have emerged in the MENA region and especially within Syria and Iraq (Sedgewick, 2015). These extremist groups often slaughter civilians, violate International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and fight other Islam*ist* groups (Amnesty International, 2018; Battu, 2018; European Council, 2018).

Conclusion

From its historical origins to denouncements for the supposed occupation of Muslim lands in the Middle East, criticism of America has a varied and broad history. The cultural criticisms with which this examination was begun have remained constant in anti-American discourse, particularly as the spectre of 'Americanisation' is increasingly resisted. Historically, once America was acknowledged as a 'great power' by the rest of the world, political and economic concerns also became a core element of anti-American thinking; and finally, most recently, there has been the emergence of 'anti-American terrorism'. However, beyond the historical or thematic classifications of anti-Americanism that have been offered, much work is still required to differentiate real

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[254] Israeli Defence Force (IDF).

anti-Americanism from what would be better described as diverse criticism.

A narrow definition of anti-Americanism that defines it as an indiscriminate attack on America is probably the most useful conceptually. Most discussion on anti-Americanism lacks a precise definition and as a result, the history of anti-Americanism has been recorded and retold in a largely impressionistic fashion. This has contributed to the incoherent nature of much so-called 'anti-American' commentary, with the term being used too broadly and thus too regularly. As these broad categories of anti-Americanism suggest, disliking certain aspects of the US is perhaps understandable, but to hate the nation and its people as a whole is irrational. Such blanket hatred generally relies on a series of stereotypes or caricatures that often reveal more about the individual or group passing judgement than it does about America (Markovits, 2016). However, this is not to suggest that America is always moral, just, ethical, honourable, or indeed lawful, but rather that the slide from criticism into anti-Americanism lacks credibility.

To a fair and reasonable mind, prejudiced, discriminatory or exaggerated rhetoric only weakens otherwise justifiable critiques of America's many perceived faults. It is important to acknowledge that within the Middle East and elsewhere, such prejudiced and oversimplified arguments can prove persuasive and enduring to some Arab *Sunnis*, as the anti-American messages of Bin-Laden and Al-Baghdadi have demonstrated. However, it is axiomatic that: American human rights violations in *Abu Ghraib* detention facility; extrajudicial killings; extraordinary rendition; excessive civilian fatalities during the assault on *Fallujah;* the procedures used at Guantanamo Bay (Camp Delta)[255] detention facility (US Department of Defense, 2003); which are well documented facts, have almost certainly raised levels of anti-Americanism and acted as propaganda weapons and recruiting aids for *jihādists* (Pedler, 2015, p. 100). Furthermore, the US-led invasion of Iraq reinforced in the Arab *Sunni* psyche a general sense of injustice 'at foreign hands' resulting in greatly increased levels of anti-Americanism (Al-Soudi, 2007; Atwan, 2013). This has only added to a prevailing 'conspiracy mindset' dating back to

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[255] Camp Delta – Joint Task Force Guantanamo (JTF-GTMO), located at Guantanamo Bay Cuba, established in 2002 to interrogate *jihādists* in order to collect intelligence (Joscelyn, 2012, p. 177).

events such as Sykes-Picot[256], Balfour Declaration[257], 1948 Arab-Israeli War[258], Suez Crisis[259], 1967 Arab–Israeli War[260] and 1973 Arab–Israeli War[261].

Additionally, the asymmetric nature of conflicts between industrialised powers and Arab *Sunni jihādi* groups further fuels the sense of injustice that has become embedded in many Arab *Sunni* communities. Arguably, this is exacerbated by the use of air and drone strikes delivered with impunity and great force against, what are seen as, poorly armed opponents. Although these events are sometimes viewed through a distorted lens, they can create a vivid, continuing and believable 'landscape' of anti-Americanism in the Middle East. Finally, the US Committee on Foreign Relations (2012, pp. 10-11) conceded that the US-led invasion of Iraq increased the scope for *Sunni / Shi'a* sectarian violence within the Middle East by removing the central authority of Saddam's regime. Understood in this way, it is fair and reasonable to suggest that US direct military action in Middle Eastern Muslim lands has exacerbated levels of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis.*

Anti-Americanism is therefore a heterogeneous construct of starkly competing interpretations. Furthermore, it is neither a new nor an ideologically consistent discourse. There is considerable variation in its intensity, coherence, and expressions across the non-American world in general and Middle East in particular. Although international crises and war cause it to emerge with particular force, an enduring factor is 'what America does' (foreign policy) in Arab Muslim lands, and for some, 'what America is' (Americanisation and catalyst of globalisation) and its perceived impact on

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[256] 1916 Sykes–Picot Agreement (Asia Minor Agreement), the UK/French secret agreement defining spheres of influence in South Western Asia.

[257] 1917 Balfour Declaration – by UK Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour to Lord Walter Rothschild (leader of the British Jewish community) and Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland. It read: "*His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country*".

[258] 1948 Arab-Israeli War (*Al-Nakbah* ('the catastrophe')) between Israel and Egypt, Jordan, Syria and some elements from Iraq. Arabs refer to it as *Al-Nakbah* due to the expulsion of Palestinians from their land, when more than 700,000 Palestinian Arabs were either expelled or fled as refugees from their homes and up to 600 Palestinian villages were destroyed in the fighting which followed the Israeli Declaration of Independence in May 1948. The 1948 war had been preceded by the 1936–1939 Arab Revolt (Palestine), the 1944–1947 Jewish Insurgency, 1947 UN Partition Plan for Palestine and 1947 Civil War.

[259] Suez Crisis 1956 (known to Arabs as 'Tripartite Aggression') was the invasion of Egypt by Israel, followed by the UK and France in order to regain Western control of the Suez Canal and to remove Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser from power.

[260] 1967 Arab–Israeli War (*An-Naksah* ('The Setback')),or Six Day War in which Israel launched preemptive attacks against Egyptian airfields and fought - Egyptian, Jordanian and Syrian Armed Forces. Israel captured Sinai, East Jerusalem, Gaza Strip, West Bank (from Jordan) and Golan Heights (from Syria).

[261] 1973 Arab–Israeli War (*Ḥarb Tišrīn*), known by some in the West by the Israeli name *Yom Kippur* War.

Arab Muslim lives (be it wholly accurate, overstated, exaggerated, fabricated or imagined). For some Arab *Sunnis*, the issue is not what America is but 'what America has become', with the concomitant disappointment that it appears to have moved away from its liberal roots. For others, the unifying and main animating feature of anti-Americanism is ambivalence: admiration co-existing with disapproval and disappointment. To the extent that US foreign policy represents the central focus for discontent, particularly in the Middle East, it follows that it is reasonable to view the phenomenon of anti-Americanism as a reaction to the dominant power of the contemporary era in general, and the specific actions of America in particular.

One could posit a view that, history and the fluidity in international relations, might suggest that if the conditions were suitable, anti-Americanism could actually recede as rapidly as it has advanced. Were America to adopt a less globally dominant nationalist 'grand strategy' and instead embrace a more collaborative internationalist approach, featuring multilateral (rather than unilateral) engagement, economic development, and an alliance based security strategy executed with a greater degree of cultural and religious sensitivity; then anti-American sentiment in the Middle East and elsewhere[262] might plausibly decline. However, critics of this school of thought accuse it of being rather utopian in nature and somewhat unrealistic in the face of the reality of 'hard' power and national interest, within the international system. Furthermore, it ignores two of the most significant and contentious issues, the US/Israeli alliance and Palestinian issue. Although anti-Americanism is chiefly a response US foreign policy, interventionism and international influences, it is also sustained by factors that are unrelated to matters of 'hard' American power. These include the clash between American nationalism and that of other countries, resentment towards American insularity and the global dominance and pervasive spread of American popular culture.

The phenomenon of anti-Americanism has developed another facet with the inception of the Trump presidency that has been espousing an isolationist and protectionist ethno-nationalism without due regard for the semantic complexities of international relations, as exemplified by America's withdrawal from the UN Human

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[262] Such as the Republic of Korea.

Rights Council in 2018 (Harris, 2018; Piccone, 2018), which was praised by Israel (Staff, 2018). Interestingly, much of this angst has occurred in the Global North, where Trump is viewed by some and possibly many, as an archetypical example of the 'worst of America's ills': grandiosity, racism, anti-intellectualism, a lack of due regard for environmental matters and a good deal of empty rhetoric about America's greatness (and its restoration). Meanwhile, little attention has been given to the shift at 'ground level' within the Arab *Sunni* Middle East in the advent of the Trump presidency. In his lack of distinction between 'Islam*ist*' and 'Islam*ic*', the failed attempt at a 'Muslim ban', his scapegoating of select violent incidences over recent years and decision to relocate the US Embassy in Israel to *Al-Quds* (Independent, 2018); he has arguably damaged, attempts at American reconciliation with Arabs in general and more specifically, Islam. Furthermore, it is perhaps no coincidence that there has been an upsurge in related hate crimes and unfiltered anti-Islam*ic* and anti-Arab prejudice emerging from the 'heart of America'. Turning to how Trump's presidency is viewed by Middle Eastern Arab youth, "Three-quarters of young Arabs view the impact of Trump's presidency on the region as negative" (Arab Youth Survey, 2018).

The secondary research of established literature and emerging scholarship relating to anti-Americanism, has underscored the need for direct and organic empirical research that inductively appraises the current state of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* and how it may be woven into the narrative of Islam*ist* extremism. The study will achieve this by engaging directly with Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men about this matter, in the Middle East. This type of empirical research and the presentation of credible findings, which can be generalised and applied across Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis*, will, it is argued, not only makes an original contribution to knowledge but ascertain a more accurate picture of the present state of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men and what role it plays in attracting some of them to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era. The next chapter will consider the origins and development of Middle Eastern Arab Islam*ism* from the Assassins to ISIS.

CHAPTER 4

Origins and Development of Middle Eastern Arab Islam*ism*

Introduction

This chapter will review the origins and development of Middle Eastern Arab Islam*ism* with a focus upon specific groups and significant ideologues during certain historical periods. This is considered important so as to provide a greater understanding of current Arab Islam*ist* extremism and anti-Americanism within the Middle East; as their roots are deep, complex and historical (Arab Youth Survey White Paper, 2017, p. 21; Arab Youth Survey, 2018; Stump and Dixat, 2012, pp. 3-4). The chapter will begin by touching briefly upon the great Islam*ic* schism between *Sunni* and *Shi'a* in order to provide context to the origin of some of the early Islam*ist* extremist groups. If this seems rather erroneous in the research for a greater understanding of contemporary Middle Eastern Arab Islam*ist* extremism, it is worth noting the words of Gorka:

> "Today our multi-disciplinary analysis of the enemy and his doctrine just as much requires, if not more so, the expertise of the regional historian, and the theologian, the specialist who knows when and how *Sunni* Islam split from *Shi'a* Islam and what the difference is between the Meccan and Medinan verses of the Qur'an. We should ask ourselves honestly, how many National Security advisors know the answers to these questions, or at least have somewhere to turn within government to provide such essential expertise" (Gorka, 2012, pp. 187-188).

As Middle Eastern Arab Islam*ist* extremism is a multifaceted phenomenon, it is imperative to evaluate its structural causes within the context of ideational frameworks; in particular, how and why the extremist message becomes appealing to contemporary Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis.*

The chapter will therefore consider the origins of selected Islam*ist* groups and key concepts of certain ideologues. This will include touching briefly upon the *Hashshāshīn*, Al-Banna, Al-Mawdudi, Qutb and MB. It will then touch upon *Salafism*, *Wahhabism* and the role of Western colonialism in the Middle East and address the Iranian Revolution and its legacy to contemporary Middle Eastern Islam*ist* movements.

This will be followed by a discussion of how US interventionism may have helped shape the conditions for the creation of contemporary Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* Islam*ist jihādist* groups, before reflecting upon Bin-Laden, AQ, Al-Baghdadi and ISIS as the newer generation of extreme Islam*ist* groups. The chapter will conclude with an assessment of the enduring factors that contribute to contemporary Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* Islam*ist* extremism. It is acknowledged that there have been other ideologues and groups that have to a greater or lesser extent, contributed to or shaped Arab Islam*ist* thinking. However, those selected in this chapter represent what are considered to be the most influential, for the purposes of this thesis.

It will be recalled from Chapter 2 that Islam*ist* extremism is understood to be a phenomenon that selectively uses the religion of Islam in order to further specific political ends by using extreme measures or actions (Rabasa and Benard, 2014). At an academic level, the distinction between Islam*ic* and Islam*ist* will be stressed and the popular term 'Islam*ic* terrorism' will not be used (Nesser, 2016). In the interests of academic objectivity, it is worth acknowledging that some contemporary academics such as Sookhdeo identify a much closer connection between Islam*ism* and the religion of Islam (Sookhdeo, 2014). Sookhdeo states:

> "The Islamist version of Islam which has recently become dominant in most Muslim societies further strengthens and radicalises ………Islamism (revivalist Islam, political Islam, Islamic fundamentalism) is an integral part of Islam and its influence is growing rapidly across the Muslim world" (2014, p. 46).

It is also helpful, at this juncture, to recall Heywood's aforementioned definition of Islam*ism*, "The belief that political structures and social conduct should come into line with the religious principles and ideals set out within Islam" (2007, p. 297). Additionally, Gorka (2012, p. 188) states that, "You cannot separate politically motivated Islam from *jihādi* ideology. They feed upon each other and are based upon each other".

From an historical perspective, it can be argued that since the Crusades and the gradual decline of the Islam*ic Khilaafah* (caliphates[263]), Western influence on the Muslim Middle East, has expanded, through the period of colonialism to modern American led interventionism. Consequently, this has been viewed by many Middle Eastern Arabs as undesirable and by others as a *raison d'être* for militant Islam*ist* opposition and extremism. This and other related factors will be discussed later in this chapter. The next section will examine the Islam*ic* schism and early extremism.

Islam*ic* Schism

It is worth touching briefly upon the great Islam*ic* schism in this chapter, as it provides context to the origins of some early Islam*ist* extremist groups and indeed insight to ongoing contemporary sectarian tensions between *Sunni* and *Shi'a* within the Middle East (Al-Suwaidi, 2016). Long before the Crusades, an Islam*ic* schism occurred which led to early forms of violent extremism. Following the death of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in 632, a schism occurred (Great *Fitna*[264]) which was to 'tear the *Ummah*[265] asunder'. Muslims eventually separated into *Sunni* and *Shi'a*[266] as a result of this split (Corbin, 2014; Sookhdeo, 2014, p. 270). At the core of this complex schism lay a dispute over who was to be the rightful leader of the *Ummah* and who could interpret the Holy Qur'an (Gray, 2010). In essence, *Shi'a* believed that only direct descendants of the Prophet's (PBUH) cousin Ali could become the 'Rightful Imam' and that only the 'Rightful Imam' and his descendants could exercise supreme political and spiritual authority over the *Ummah* and interpret the Holy Qur'an (Gray, 2010).

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[263] *Khilaafah* - Such as the *Rashidun*, *Umayyad*, *Abbasid*, *Fatimid* and Ottoman caliphates.
[264] Great Fitna (656-661) when *Shi'a* and *Kharijis* separated from the *Sunnis* (Sookhdeo, 2014 p. 270).
[265] *Ummah* – Muslim community. For further information see Meaning of Islam*ic* Terms at Appendix 2.
[266] With *Shi'a* Islam also separating into its two main branches of 'Twelver' and 'Sevener' (Corbin, 2014).

In contrast, *Sunni* believed that the Holy Qur'an could be understood through the guidance of Islam*ic* scholars and accepted the leadership of caliphs who were not descendants of Ali (Gray, 2010). Sookhdeo stresses (Sookhdeo, 2014, p. 270) that it was the *Shi'a* and *Kharijis* that separated from *Sunni* and not *vice versa*, as indicated by Gorka above (Gorka, 2012, pp. 187-188). However, this thesis will not take a position on this occasionally adversarial debate, as it is beyond the scope of the study. Throughout time, the *Shi'a* community became further divided into groups, such as the *Ithna Ashari Shi'a* known as the Twelvers (Arastu, 2015). These further divisions primarily resulted from disagreements relating to which of Ali's living descendants was the 'Divinely Guided Imam' (Gray, 2010).

Among the *Shi'a* groups, was the *Ismāʿīlī*[267] that became marginalised (Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2016). This was chiefly because they chose to follow *Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar al-Mubārak*[268], who was not accepted as the spiritual leader by most *Shi'a* (Jones, 2016). In addition, the majority *Sunni* and some *Shi'a* sects considered the *Ismāʿīlī*[269] interpretation of Islam to be *Bid'ah*[270] or heretical doctrine (Ala Hazrat International Islamic, 2017). Consequently, the *Ismāʿīlī* turned into a clandestine group that operated through secret missionaries known as *Da'is* (Kjeilen, 2016). This chronology is pertinent to this thesis as it charts the origins of perhaps the earliest Middle Eastern extremist group, the *Hashshāshīn.*

Early Extremism - *Hashshāshīn*

From the *Ismāʿīlī*, a separate sect evolved named the *Hashshāshīn,* also known as *Fida'is*[271], which was formed by Al-Sabbāh[272] (Kjeilen, 2016). They became known

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[267] The *Ismāʿīlī* (or *Ismailis*) derive their name from their acceptance of Imam Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar al-Mubārak as the appointed spiritual successor (Sixth Imām) to Jaʿfar al-Sadiq; whereas the Twelvers Shi'a accepted Musa al-Kadhim, the younger brother of Isma'il, as the true Imām. Following Ja'far al-Sadiq's death, the *Shi'a* community split between the element s that became the Twelver *Shi'a* and *Ismāʿīlī Shi'a*.
[268] Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar al-Mubārak (719-755), eldest son of Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq. According to both the *Nizārī* and *Mustaali Shi'a* sects, he is the Sixth Imam (Jones, 2016).
[269] The largest element of the contemporary Ismāʿīlī global community is the Nizārī who accept Prince Karim Aga Khan IV as their 49th Imām (Sookhdeo, 2014, p. 275).
[270] For further information see Meaning of Islamic Terms at Appendix 2.
[271] *Fida'is* - those within the group who conducted the actual assassinations.

in the West as the Order of the Assassins[273] (Daftary, 2001) and their fame grew due to their high profile targeted killings and asymmetric warfare during the Crusades (Kjeilen, 2016). Examples are the assassination of Conrad the Marquis De Montferrat[274], Crusader leader and *de facto* King of Jerusalem (as King Conrad I)[275] and attempted assassination of *Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb* (Saladin) in 1175 (Kjeilen, 2016). The 'archaic' *Hashshāshīn* are worthy of mention in this thesis as they reveal an early example of a pre-colonial extremist group that had a radical interpretation of Islam and used extreme political violence. Additionally, they resembled a modern 'terrorist' organisation in the selection of their targets, especially in public settings to maximise publicity, fear and instill terror. They used highly motivated suicidal attackers willing to sacrifice their own lives in *istishhād* (martyrdom), in order to kill the 'enemies of their faith' (Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2016). Arguably, there is continuity which flows from this ancient period until the contemporary era and modern Islam*ist* extremist groups such as AQ (*Sunni*), ISIS (*Sunni*), *Hezbollah* (*Shi'a*), *Shabiha* (*Shi'a*) and MB (*Sunni*). Additionally, the *Hashshāshīn* were thought to have used a sensual 'paradise legend' as a 'means to an end', which has been prevalent in ISIS.

Unlike ISIS, that have slaughtered civilians (Amnesty International, 2018; Battu, 2018; European Council, 2018), as far as can be established from academic texts, the *Hashshāshīn* did not kill indiscriminately (Lewis, 1980). They generally selected their targets from the political and military elite (Gray, 2010). Although the *Hashshāshīn* did not have an enduring ideology, they remain worthy of academic note. In one sense, the *Hashshāshīn* is one of the earliest examples of religious inspired 'terrorism' and possibly as Lewis suggests, the "first terrorists" (1980, pp. 129-130); although Hough (2018, p. 67) makes an interesting point about an earlier non-state group waging a campaign of violence against a ruling government, stating: "Probably the world's first organised campaign of violence by a non-state group against a government was waged by the

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[272] Hassan al-Sabbāh (1050s-1124) was a *Nizārī Ismā'īlī* Islamic *Dā'ī* (missionary) leader who was based in the Alborz Mountains of northern Persia. He founded the *Hashshāshīn*, or Assassins (sometimes referred to as *Fedayin* or *Fedayeen*).
[273] The etymology of the word Assassin is derived from the Arabic word *Hashīshīn* or 'users of hashish' (Lewis, 1980) and was used as a pejorative term by their medieval enemies such as Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir in 1122 (Daftary, 2001).
[274] Conrad De Montferrat (killed 1192) Italian nobleman, Crusader leader and *de facto* King of Jerusalem (as King Conrad I) was one of the major participants in the Third Crusade. He was also Marquis of Montferrat from 1191.
[275] By virtue of his marriage on 24 November 1190.

Zealots of Israel against Roman rule". However, Hough does not state that this was terrorism or that the Zealots were a terrorist group (Hough, 2018). Therefore, one could argue that the Lewis' assertion remains valid for now, assuming that one accepts the parameters of and context for the use of the word "terrorists", in this case. A more detailed overview of the *Hashshāshīn* is at Appendix 12. The next section will consider the impact of Western colonialism on Middle Eastern Arabs and its relationship with Islam*ism*.

Western Colonialism and Islam*ism*

With Western imperialism and colonisation of Arab lands, the imperial process of "subjugation, domination and exploitation" accelerated and deepened (UN Special Committee on Decolonisation, 2018, cited in UN Watch, 2018). Consequently, when Western dominance was viewed by some Middle Eastern Arab Muslims, an Islam*ist* vision crystallised that posited an aggressive and resentful worldview against Western colonial culture (Rogan, 2018; Osman, 2012, pp.103-104). As Springer *et al* (2009, pp. 19-31) detail, the removal of European empires post-1945 created the ideal opportunity for a more authentic and indigenous response to the demands of modernity in the MENA region. However, in contrast to deterministic accounts of the genesis of Middle Eastern Islam*ist* extremism, which assume that authoritarian demagogues stepped seamlessly into the power bases vacated by the European Empires, the academic literature underlines the progressive nature of the political movements and actors that emerged in the MENA region during the late 1940s and 1950s (Rogan, 2018; Springer *et al*, 2009, pp. 19-25; Fawcett, 2011, pp. 162-174; Milton-Edwards, 2014, pp. 51-61).

For instance, Sater (2009, pp. 6-13) describes the institutionalisation of a proto-democratic model of government in post-colonial Morocco following the 1956 French withdrawal, with King Mohammed V as a constitutional monarch. Likewise, as Willis (2012, pp. 40-44) suggests, the consolidation of the *Neo-Destour*[276] regime in 1957 Tunisia resulted in the establishment of a secular administration underwritten by legal

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[276] *Neo-Destour* - New Constitutional Liberal Party (*Al-Ḥizb al-Ḥurr ad-Dustūrī al-Jadīd*).

conventions such as the Family Code, which gave political, legal and economic rights to women while establishing an educational system that freed schools from a reliance upon Islam*ic* orthodoxy.

Interestingly, Al-Suwaidi, a leading contemporary Arab academic, stresses that Middle Eastern Arab Islam*ist* groups have used and continue to use the religion of Islam as a "Trojan Horse" (2016, p. 39) in order to disguise their narrow political objectives and "ask themselves the wrong question: "who did this to us?" in an effort to find external causes for our problems" (2016, p. 41). Al-Suwaidi also emphasises that "political religious groups evade the requirements of reality in search of an external cause for the problems of the Arab and Muslim worlds" (2016, p.40). He stresses that using the mask of religion is not a new phenomenon and cites Ibn Khaldūn who states, "Sedition that hides behind the mask of religion is a highly popular trade in societies experiencing an era of intellectual decline" (Ibn Khaldūn cited in Al-Suwaidi, 2016, p. 38).

Milton-Edwards (2014, pp. 43-64) notes, however, that although progressive modernising regimes in the Middle East did emerge in the aftermath of European colonialism, these pockets of secularism and constitutionalism represented aberrations rather than the norm. For the majority of Middle Eastern Arab Muslim societies, the experience of colonialism was manifest in terms of the dilution of Islam*ic* identity and the corruption of indigenous political, economic and legal systems through the imposition of secular and market-based doctrines. Building upon *Al-Wahhab's*[277] virulent and xenophobic ideology, modern Islam*ist* thinkers sought to: re-establish the primacy of Islam as the central tenet of Muslim societies and reverse the process of secularisation and modernisation that had accompanied the experience of colonisation (Tibi, 2013, pp. 56-61).

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[277] Sayyid Abd Al-Wahhab (1703-1792) founded Wahhabism "in the Arabian Peninsula and linked his movement to the House of Saud. Al-Wahhab considered Muslim society at that time to be little better than paganism and he revived the *Kharijis* practice of *takfir.* "Wahhabism remains today the predominant Islamic movement in Saudi Arabia" (Sookhdeo, 2014, pp. 276-277).

Anti-Colonial Islam*ist* Ideologues

Sayyid Abu Al-Mawdudi

Writing prior to the post-colonial partition of India in 1947, the influential 'Pakistani' Islam*ist* Al-Mawdudi advocated a political theology that sought to establish "Allāh's law in Allāh's land" (Zaman, 2012, pp. 100-101). Promulgating the idea of *Al-Hakimeyah Al-Ilaheya* (Allāh's sovereignty), Al-Mawdudi argued that Western democratic states were illegitimate because, only a state that had been established in accordance with the rule of Allāh could be considered just and equitable (Milton-Edwards, 2014, pp. 27-38; Brown, 2014, p. 125). For example, in his book *Let Us Be Muslims*, Al-Mawdudi states:

> "Corrupt rule is the root of all the evils you find in the world. Governments have access to power and resources; they frame laws; they control administration, they possess the instruments of coercion like the police and army...The keys of power are in the wrong hands. So long as power is wielded by wicked and evil hands, human society cannot be set on the right course" (Al-Mawdudi, 2016, pp. 286-287).

In order to address the perceived deficiencies of the Western state system, Al-Mawdudi proposed the establishment of a pan-Islamic state in which the legislature and the judiciary would advise the executive branch of government (Milton-Edwards, 2014, pp. 27-32). As Nasr (1997, p. 90) observes, in Al-Mawdudi's political theology, "The state would become the supreme authority and the sole political actor as well as the embodiment of the popular will". The individual would thus be bound to the *Ummah* and rule of Allāh (Nasr, 1997, pp. 90-91). Furthermore, as Milton-Edwards (2014, pp. 27-31) underscores, that according to Al-Mawdudi, pan-Islam*ic* statehood would be achieved by *jihād*: a continuous struggle in which the *tali'a* (vanguard) of the revolution would exhaust all available forces in order to purge Muslim territories from non-Muslim (especially Western) influences. Sookhdeo (2014, p. 281) clarifies that Al-Mawdudi defined *jihād* as primarily individual exertion "In the way of Allāh" to alter the ideology and social order. Al-Mawdudi also considered *jihād* to cover non-violent means such as

campaigning by speech and writing". He declares, "Let us come forward and fight in Allāh's cause with whatever we possess" (Al-Mawdudi, 2016, p. 303).

Zaman (2014, p. 64) also stresses the single-minded focus of Al-Mawdudi's political discourse. Al-Mawdudi's political philosophy thus presented political decisions in religious terms (Roy, 2015, p. 256). However, as Calvert (2010, pp. 170-171) suggests early manifestations of Islam*ism* were not conceived solely as a reactionary response to the European modernising project, which had subjected Islam to global capitalism. Rather, Islam*ist* ideology was also a backlash against what were perceived to be endemic weaknesses in Islam*ic* politics in the postcolonial era. Sookhdeo (2014, p. 281) appears to support Calvert's position and states "Following independence, most Muslim-majority nations did not deliver the promised improvements in social conditions. Their political, social, and economic failures contributed to the rise of radical Islam". This is worthy of note.

Sayyid Qutb

Qutb was probably the most influential member of the MB in Egypt during the 1950s and 1960s (Brown, 2014). According to Shepard (2003, pp. 521–545), Qutb was a great influence on the 'Islam*ist* resurgence', and his ideas became an inspiration for many Muslims who wished to create social and economic justice in society. He spent much time writing about the decay of Islam*ic* political, economic and social structures in Muslim states (Brown, 2014, pp. 124-129). As Osman (2012, pp. 103-104) details, Qutb was a vitriolic writer and a 'pure' rejectionist who posited an aggressive worldview that was rooted in hostility, intolerance and resentment of 'ignorant' Western culture. Yet, while Qutb was vehement in his denunciation of Western civilisation, he was equally so in his condemnation of Muslim leaders and scholars (*Ulama)* who had played an integral role in perpetuating what he regarded as colonial systems of rule (Choueiri, 2008, pp. 92-95).

According to Qutb, Islam*ic* leaders who followed Western models of government had divorced themselves from Islam and their *ummah* (Osman, 2012, pp.103-105). Khatab (2006, pp.16-21) highlights Qutb's suggestion that the Muslim World had

regressed into *jahiliyyah*[278], the likes of which had flourished in Arabia prior to the dawn of Islam. For instance, in his book *Milestones*[279], Qutb declares Muslims who fail to implement *Sharia* law to be *takfir*[280] (Qutb cited in Khatab, 2006, pp. 163-169). Al-Suwaidi (2016) considers '*Milestones*' to be "one of the most prominent intellectual products of the Muslim Brotherhood" (2016, p. 287). He is highly critical of it, not least because the book "not only rejects governance systems in the Arab and Muslim worlds, but also calls upon political religious groups to challenge the legitimacy of those systems" (Al-Suwaidi, 2016, p. 285). He also posits that, "The book is considered to be a manifesto for militant religious groups in the Arab and Muslim worlds" (Al-Suwaidi, 2016, p. 287). Therefore, Qutb extended Al-Mawdudi's *jihādist* doctrine from Western governments to Muslim rulers who follow a secular and modernising path (Halverson *et al*, 2011, p. 44; Brown, 2014, pp. 124-128).

Consequently, where ideologues such as Abdou[281] had created a clear dividing line between Western imperialism and the Muslim World, neo-fundamentalist ideologues such as Qutb blurred the boundaries segregating Muslim *jahili* (the ignorant) from Western infidels (Choueiri, 2008, pp. 92-95). Qutb fixated upon *jahiliyyah* as both the 'means' and the 'ends' of his political philosophy: the antithesis to Allāh's sovereignty (Khatab, 2006, pp. 32-37). Viewed from this perspective, Qutb promulgated a 'universal law' of confrontation between Islam and all other systems of thought and social organisation, regardless of religious or political affiliation (Choueiri, 2008, p. 92). The next section deals with the legacy that Al-Mawdudi and Qutb bequeathed to Middle Eastern Islam*ism*.

The Legacy of Al-Mawdudi and Qutb

As Khatab (2006, pp.1-6) details, Al-Mawdudi's concept of 'Allāh's sovereignty' and Qutb's rejectionist ideology rapidly expanded across the Arab and Muslim World during the late 1960s/1970s in tandem with the ascendance of radical Islam*ism*. The

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[278] *Jahiliyyah* – In general Islamic terms this means 'a state of ignorance of the guidance of Allāh' or for any period in history prior to the coming of Islam. It is also referred to as the 'Period of Ignorance'. However, Qutb intentionally includes within this term, secular Muslim systems because they operate outside Islamic law or divine instructions. Qutb's justification of violence against secular governments was widely accepted by extremist Islam*ist* groups.
[279] *Ma'alim fi Al-Tareeq* (Signposts on the Road) known in the West as *Milestones* – a banned publication in many Arab states.
[280] *Takfir* – in *Sharia* refers to the declaration by one Muslim that another Muslim is an apostate or *kafir* (Brown, 2010, p. 89).
[281] Mohammed Abdou (1849-1905) was a Middle Eastern (Egyptian) scholar, ideologue and a liberal reformer.

popular appeal of these political philosophies was inexorably bound to high levels of socioeconomic deprivation, one-party regimes and endemic corruption prevalent in MENA countries at the time, which created a popular will for political change (Dalacoura, 2009, pp. 124-126). As Roy notes (2015, pp. 2-6), unlike contemporary forms of global *jihādism*, early neo-fundamentalist doctrine was a militant form of opposition against state oppression in the Middle East and Global South. Understood in this way, the rise of Middle Eastern Islam*ist* extremism can be placed within the socio-cultural context of a global civil rights movement in which repressed and hitherto subjugated minorities sought to attain political and social emancipation (Smith, 2013, pp. 159-165). For instance, the literature suggests that the Iranian Revolution (1978-79) was not a 'theological revolution' imposed 'from above' by the *Ayatollah* but, rather, a revolt fuelled 'from below' by a population that had become disenchanted and disenfranchised as a result of the *Shah's* politics of exclusion, and was then seized upon by religious extremists as a means to attain power (Boroumand and Boroumand, 2002). The impact of the Iranian Revolution will be discussed more fully, later in this chapter.

Similarly, Broning (2011, pp. 13-18) argues that the rise of *Hamas*[282] during the First *Intifada*[283] was due as much to the neo-colonial policies implemented by the Israelis in the occupied territories as it was to the orthodox Islam*ist* doctrine promulgated by *Hamas*. Thus, neo-fundamentalist ideology represented a new way of organising politics and society around traditional religious doctrine (Westbrook, 2007). However, although it is valid to underscore the ties that bind Islam*ist* extremism to the rise of identity politics in the post-colonial Middle East, it is also important to underline the nihilistic nature of Islam*ist* extremism and the thin, sometimes barely perceptible boundary segregating orthodoxy from radicalism. As Ben-Dor and Pedahzur (2004, pp. 71-75) note in an analysis of the 'Fourth Wave' of international terrorism, where early neo-fundamentalists were radicals looking to reorganise society and politics according

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[282] *Hamas – Harakat Al Muqwamah Al Islamiyyah* - Palestinian Islamic 'resistance'/ 'terrorist' movement with a military wing - *Izz ad Din Al Qassam* Brigades within the occupied territories and elsewhere. The *Hamas* Charter declares it to be the MB in Palestine. Some states such as USA, Israel and Canada have designated it a terrorist organisation, whilst others such as UK and Australia have only designated the military wing. Many Arab states regard it as a resistance movement.
[283] First *Intifada* – 1987-1991.

to religious doctrine; contemporary *jihādists* are inspired by the ultra-orthodox ideology of *Wahhabism* and *Salafism*.

Wahhabism and *Salafism*

The etymology of *Wahhabism* is derived from the name of the school of thought originated by Al-Wahhab. Some academics refer to the contemporary movement as, Neo-*Wahhabism*. As Sookhdeo (2014, pp. 276-277) highlights, Al-Wahhab founded *Wahhabism*, "In the Arabian Peninsula and linked his movement to the House of Saud. Al-Wahhab considered Muslim society at that time to be little better than paganism and he revived the *Kharijis* practice of *takfir*". Interestingly, many *Wahhabis* prefer to be known as *Salafi*. The etymology of *Salafism* is from the term *Salaf* meaning "pious predecessors" referring to the first three generations of Muslims (Lacey, 2009, p. 9). It was founded by Rida[284] (Sookhdeo, 2014, p. 277). In its strictest form, it is a religious methodology aspiring to practice Islam through *Dawa*[285], *Hisba*[286] and *Jihād*. Sookhdeo, (2014, p. 277) stresses that, "Like *Wahhabism* it looks back for inspiration" to the early days of Islam. He adds that they draw inspiration from the writings of Taymiyya[287].

Although Milton-Edwards, (2014, pp. 27-31) considers *Wahhabism* and *Salafism* to be inward-looking, de-politicised and revivalist, seeking to renew Islam*ic* society from within; Tibi (2013, p. 56) emphasises that some Islam*ists* fought (and continue to fight) against the perceived 'corrosive' influence of the West and advocate the "return of religion to the public space". Thomson (2012, pp. 48-51) posits that the phenomena of Islam*ist* extremism, radicalisation and related 'terrorism' are a consequence of complex factors including structural weaknesses in many Middle Eastern Muslim societies, the radicalisation of religious doctrine by ideologues, and the ill effects of Western (neo) imperialist strategies. Furthermore, Choueiri (2008, pp. 92-95) underscores that

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[284] Rashid Rida (1865-1935).
[285] *Dawa* - missionary work.
[286] *Hisba* - practices to enforce religious ethics, often through the use of force.
[287] Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) a Hanbali scholar who lived in Damascus and was imprisoned for his extremism. He participated in several campaigns against 'heretics' and his work on *jihād* (*Al-Siyasa al-Shar'iyya fi Islah al-Ra'iwa-al-Ra'iyya* (Governance According to Allāh's Law in Reforming both the Ruler and His Flock) emphasises the justification for war against rebellious Muslims (Sookhdeo, 2014, pp. 76-77).

Islam*ists* also reject the legitimacy of their own Arab governments, which they interpret as being subservient to the West and perpetuating colonial systems of rule. Therefore, not just the removal of colonial domination but the overthrow of Arab regimes was and remains an important part of the Middle Eastern Islam*ist* mindset and agenda. Furthermore, although *Wahhabism* and *Salafism* can trace their origins back to the middle of the eighteenth century (Milton-Edwards, 2014, pp. 27-32), this thesis has already been shown that there exists a history of Islam*ist* extremism that precedes colonialism.

Traits of Middle Eastern Arab Islam*ism*

As a result of the analysis of the data in the academic sources highlighted in this chapter, up to this point, and earlier in the thesis, it is apposite to deduce that Middle Eastern Arab Islam*ism*, as a basis for *jihādist* terrorism, is characterised by the following traits:

- It is essentialist, totalitarian and deterministic (Hegghammer, 2009, pp. 244-250; Milton-Edwards, 2014, pp. 27-36). As a result, - history, society, culture, politics and a skewed interpretation of Islam are assigned permanent characteristics regardless of time, place or circumstance (Choueiri, 2008, pp. 119-122).

- It expounds a hydra-type conspiracy theory that embellishes the notion that attack is the only form of defence (Ben-Dor and Pedahzur, 2004, pp. 71-80). Consequently, its ideology not only sanctions the use of militarism and force but perceives it to be an integral means of translating theory into practice (Brachman, 2008, pp. 57-67; Choueiri, 2008, pp. 119-122).

- It is built upon the idea that sovereignty is bound to an unyielding divine order which is diametrically opposed to all forms of pluralist government (Halverson *et al*, 2011, pp. 44-46; Brown, 2014, pp. 124-125). Consequently, Western democracy and all those who support it (Muslims or non-Muslims) are enemies of Islam*ists* (Hegghammer, 2009, pp. 244-250).

These core ideas remain prevalent and highly influential in contemporary Middle Eastern Arab Islam*ist* organisations whether they be localised or adhere to a global *jihādist* ideology (Milton-Edwards, 2014, pp. 18-98). Thus, viewed through the prism of instrumentalism, one could argue that Middle Eastern Arab Islam*ist* extremism is a deliberate choice taken by well-defined political actors: a political movement that is underwritten by clearly articulated and religiously inspired (albeit skewed) goals. The next section will discuss the MB, its origins and its impact on contemporary Islam*ist* movements.

The MB and its Impact on Contemporary Islam*ist* Movements

The MB is a *Sunni* Islam*ist* organisation which was founded in Egypt by Islam*ic* scholar Al-Banna in 1928 (Al-Mahdy, 2005). Although other organisations predated it[288], it was the MB that was to have a significant impact on the Arab Muslim World (Al-Suwaidi, 2016). The MB as a transnational Islam*ist* organisation, gained supporters from across the Muslim World and influenced specific Islam*ist* organisations such as *Hamas* (US Department of State, 2008). The contemporary MB combines religion with Islam*ist* political activism and attempts to fill the vacuum which some Arab governments create in social services and the economy by conducting Islam*ic* '*charity*' work and sponsoring businesses (BBC World Middle East, 2013; HMSO House of Commons, 2015).

In order to better understand its impact on contemporary Islam*ist* movements, it is worth touching upon its origins, ideology and development, particularly within the Middle East. Sookhdeo (2014, p. 280) states explicitly that the MB emerged directly from the *Salafi* movement. Be that as it may, Al-Suwaidi stresses that the MB intended to provide an Islam*ic* alternative to increasing Westernisation and what were considered the adverse religious and societal consequences of colonisation, in the face of the "unprecedented decline" in the Arab Middle East (2016, pp. 265-267). Examples of this

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[288] Such as the Principal Sharia Society in 1912 and Ansar Al-Sunnah Society in 1926 (the first *Salafi* association).

perceived decline during the early decades of the 20th Century are: the unfulfilled aspirations of the Great Arab Revolt[289] (Lawrence, 2007, pp. 15-21); Sykes–Picot Agreement[290]; Balfour Declaration[291]; the abolition[292] of the Muslim Ottoman *Khilaafah*[293] (caliphate) and the eventual 'separation and redistribution' of Arab lands by Western colonial powers.

Al-Suwaidi (2016, pp. 268-273) notes that this decline also resulted from the Ottoman Caliphate's prolonged colonial neglect of Arab lands using them only "as sources of military recruitment and taxes", which had resulted in their underdevelopment and lack of modernisation. However, notwithstanding this, Al-Suwaidi stresses that the, "fall of the Islamic Caliphate shook the consciousness of many people", who viewed it as "the protector of Muslims" (2016, p. 268). It was therefore within this historical context that the MB was formed. The MB's goal was to make the Holy Qur'an and *Sharia* the main reference points for Muslims and Muslim states (Helbawy, 2009). In order to achieve this, the motto of the MB was created, "Allāh is our objective; the Qur'an is the Constitution; the Prophet is our leader; *jihād* is our way; death for the sake of Allāh is our wish" (Helbawy, 2009, p. 65). Al-Banna defined the MB mission to be the reform of souls and enlightenment of minds (Al-Banna, 1990). To promulgate his ideas, Al-Banna used mosques as the "dynamic domain for the preparation of Muslims" (Al-Banna cited in Abu-Rabi, 1996, p. 78). According to Abu-Rabi (1996, p. 90), the MB's primary focus became the social and political realms, through their use of religion.

Mitchell (1969) suggests that the emergence of the MB reflected a reaction of the ordinary people against colonisation of Muslim lands, abolition of the *Khilaafah* and

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[289] 1916 Great Arab Revolt launched by Grand Sharif Hussein bin Ali, the Emir of Makkah, assisted by his sons Ali and Faisal. (Lawrence, 2007, pp. 15-21).
[290] 1916 Sykes–Picot Agreement (The Asia Minor Agreement) was a secret 1916 agreement between the Great Britain and France with Russian assent (Triple *Entente*) that agreed 'spheres of influence' in the Middle East and Asia following the intended defeat of the Ottomans in World War I. This was and continues to be perceived by many Middle Eastern Arabs as imperial deceit, betrayed of the implicit agreement between the British and the Arabs prior to and during the Great Arab Revolt and clear evidence of '*Perfidious Albion*' (*La Perfide Albion*, attributed to the Marquis de Ximenès (1726–1817)). The secret agreement was exposed by the Bolsheviks in 1917 and became a turning point in Western / Arab relations and indeed trust.
[291] 1917 Balfour Declaration (9 November 1917) - British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour's (and *de facto* British Government's) public declaration stating support for the establishment of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine, which at that time belonged to Ottoman Empire and in which Jews were a minority.
[292] The 'fall of the *Khilaafah*' was triggered by the Mudros Armistice on 31 October 1918, which ended the Ottoman Empire's involvement in World War I. This was followed by abolition of the Ottoman dynasty on 1 November 1922 and finally the abolition of the *Khilaafah* on 3 March 1924.
[293] Which left the Muslims without a Caliph for the first time in their history.

penetration of Muslim culture by the West. In this regard, Al-Banna developed the concept of 'mental colonisation' to criticise perceived adverse consequences of Western education in the Muslim World. According to Al-Banna, in the Egyptian field of education, harmful Western ideas were exported by colonial powers to create an "indigenous mercenary intellectual class" made up of the Egyptian upper middle class (Al-Banna cited in Abu-Rabi, 1996, p. 80). Al-Banna's concept of 'mental colonisation' was further promoted by Qutb (Abu-Rabi, 1996).

During Al-Banna's leadership, the MB provided social services and engaged in political resistance against the British colonial 'regime' and what were viewed as 'Zionist[294] colonising agents'. Al-Banna advocated the implementation of *Sharia* and the need to place Islam at the epicentre of Muslim public and private life (Cleveland and Bunton, 2016). By so doing, he sought to offset the adverse effects of Westernisation and halt the decline of Islam*ic* civilisation (Cleveland and Bunton, 2016). Thus, the MB's programme recognised *Sharia* as being key to the social, economic, and political aspirations of the Egyptian people (Cleveland and Bunton, 2016). Additionally, during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the MB fought against 'Zionist' armed groups in Palestine (Rogan, 2018). They also participated in attacks against British and indeed Egyptian targets in Egypt (Rogan, 2018). An example is the assassination of the Al-Nuqrāshī[295], who was assassinated by a MB member after Al-Nuqrāshī issued a governmental decree to formally dissolve the brotherhood. Following the assassination, Al-Banna was killed by Egyptian secret police (Al-Suwaidi, 2016, p. 664; Rogan, 2018). Despite this, the MB continued to grow and was influenced by extremist MB ideologues such as Qutb.

Egypt remained under British 'hegemony' until the 1952 *coup d'état* led by Al-Nasser[296] using *Ḥarakat aḍ-Ḍubbāṭ al-ʾAḥrār*[297]. During the initial stages of the *coup d'état,* the MB supported Al-Nasser and fought the British. However, when King

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[294] Zionist – a "Jewish nationalist movement to establish a homeland and state" (Hough, 2018, p. 68).
[295] Maḥmūd Fahmī Al-Nuqrāshī (1888-1948), Prime Minister (1945-1946 and 1946-1948) and Military Governor of Egypt 1948. He was assassinated by a member of the MB on 8th December 1948.
[296] Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-1970), President of Egypt 1956-1970.
[297] Free Officers Movement (*Ḥarakat aḍ-Ḍubbāṭ al-ʾAḥrār*) – an Egyptian nationalist military group that initiated the 1952 coup d'état. Originally, it had connections with the MB, which were later severed.

Fārūq[298] was sent into exile, the constitution was abolished, parliament dissolved, and all parties banned. Mitchell (1969) stresses that the military government had serious concerns about the MB's activities and aspirations, which led to 'bloody confrontation' and the MB being proscribed, following the attempted assassination[299] of Al-Nasser in 1954 (Bergensen, 2008).

Radicalisation of the MB

Esposito (1998) emphasises that Qutb was instrumental in the radicalisation of the organisation. As a consequence of Nasser's repression, Qutb's radical stance appealed to its more extreme elements and he became a formative influence on numerous Islam*ist* organisations in Arab states (Esposito, 1998). Bergensen, (2008) stresses that Qutb's written works[300] contributed significantly to the ideology of future generations of Islam*ists.* He achieved this by adumbrating his controversial views (on *Jahiliyyah* and *Jihād*) in an accessible style (Esposito, 1998, p. 140).

It will be recalled that Qutb: extended the meaning of *jahiliyyah* to include modern Muslim states that were not ruled by Islam*ic* governance; declared such governments to be non-Islamic; encouraged Muslims living in such societies to oppose their ruling governments and advocated the formation of a *tali'a* (vanguard) to fight against the *jahiliyyah* through an active *jihād* (Bergensen, 2008). According to Qutb, neither Communism nor Western capitalism were proper ideological systems for Muslim societies and proposed an Islam*ic* alternative (Haddad, 1983, pp. 167-171). Whilst Qutb[301] was advocating *jihād* to establish an 'Islamic state' in Egypt, he explicitly used the term '*takfir*' to condemn the rulers of Egypt.

The defeat of the Arabs in the 1967 Six Day War was portrayed by Islam*ists* as Allāh's punishment for the secularism of Nasser's regime. In contrast to Nasser who

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[298] King Fārūq al-Awwal (1920-1965) reigned as King of Egypt (1937-1952). He was from the Muhammad Ali dynasty.
[299] The MB has always argued that the assassination was staged by the government to liquidate the organisation.
[300] Such as his commentary on the Holy Qur'an, *Fi Zilal Al Qur'an* (In the Shade of the Qur'an) and *Ma'alim fi Al-Tareeq* (*Signposts on the Road*, known in the West as *Milestones*). These works are banned in many Arab states.
[301] Qutb had a complex view of the West. For Qutb, the West was a reflection of Christianity and its history (Abu-Rabi, 1996).

repressed the Islam*ists*, El-Sādāt[302] empowered the Islam*ists* to counter the nationalists and leftists. El-Sādāt's policy was to support moderate elements of the MB, whilst retaining its general ban. Yet, El-Sādāt was to be assassinated by Egyptian Islam*ist* army officers[303] in 1981 partly due to reaching agreement at the 1978 Camp David Accords and signing the 1979 Egypt–Israel Treaty. Since the 1980s, the Egyptian MB has been trying to become involved in the political mainstream in order to gain power[304]. Mubārak[305] considered the MB to be a latent threat, launched a 'crackdown' and altered the constitution to prevent MB members from participating in elections (BBC, 2013).

Following the 'Egyptian Revolution' in 2011, as part of the 'Arab Spring'[306] or what Ramadan refers to as the 'Arab Awakening', the MB successfully sponsored Morsi[307] as their preferred presidential candidate (Ramadan, 2012; Al-Soudi, 2015). However, due to widespread demonstrations demanding his resignation in relation to discrimination, disenfranchisement, economic instability and pursuing an Islam*ist* agenda, Morsi was subsequently removed from power (Ibish, 2013) by Al-Sisi (BBC, 2016). Within the Arabian Gulf, the MB is considered as a terrorist threat (Bahrain News Agency, 2014) and has been designated a terrorist organisation by states such as Bahrain (Anadolu, 2014), KSA (BBC World Middle East, 2014) and UAE (Bloomberg, 2014). Al-Soudi (2015) and many Arab states consider the MB to be an enduring 'incubator' of Islam*ist* ideology and indirectly, extremist Islam*ist* groups.

The MB remains a transnational organisation with numerous bases and headquarters across the Arab World, such as Gaza, Qatar, Syria and Yemen (Ashour, 2014). In 2014 the British Prime Minister commissioned a review of the MB by Jenkins[308] and Farr[309] and in December 2015, the House of Commons published the '*Muslim Brotherhood Review*' (HMSO, House of Commons, 2015). A summary of its

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[302] Muhammad Anwar el-Sādāt (1918-1981), President of Egypt (1970-1981), assassinated by Islam*ist* army officers in 1981.
[303] Egyptian Islamic *Jihād* group.
[304] In 2000, the MB won 17 x seats in the People's Assembly and in 2005 with they won 20 % of the seats.
[305] Muhammad Hosni El Sayed Mubārak – (born 1928), fourth President of Egypt (1981 – 2011).
[306] The term 'Arab Spring' is disliked in much of the Middle East and tends to be used by Western commentators and authors.
[307] Mohamed Morsi (born 1951), President of Egypt (2012 – 2013), removed from office by General Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi.
[308] Sir John Jenkins – a career diplomat and Arabist (SOAS); former HM Ambassador to the KSA (2012-2015), Consul General in Jerusalem and UK Special Representative to the Libyan National Transitional Council.
[309] Charles Farr – Former Director General of the Office for Security and Counter Terrorism (OSCT) and current Chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) and Professional Head of Intelligence Analysis at the Cabinet Office (from December 2015).

overarching conclusions is at Appendix 9. The MB's non-Arab locations such as Europe, are often used for: fund raising, recruitment, influence building, promulgation of propaganda, supporting other Islam*ist* organisations and propagating *Sharia* (HMSO, House of Commons, 2015). An important extract is:

> "The Muslim Brotherhood continue to have an influence here which is disproportionate to their size……the Muslim Brotherhood support for a proscribed terrorist group and its views about terrorism, in reality were quite different from our own; aspects of Muslim Brotherhood ideology and tactics, in this country and overseas, are contrary to our values and have been contrary to our interests and our national security" (HMSO, House of Commons, 2015).

Therefore, Qutb's ideational legacy as the MB's leading ideologue has become an inspiration to many Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* who have often felt 'lost' in the face of globalisation (or 'Americanisation'), systemic state corruption, lack of opportunity[310] and rapid cultural change. The MB ideational framework and Qutb's writings continue to motivate many contemporary radical Islam*ist* groups such as *Hamas*, AQ and others (Al-Soudi, 2015). Additional information on the MB is at Appendix 4. The next section will discuss the origins of the Iranian Revolution and its legacy to contemporary Islam*ist* movements.

The Iranian Revolution and its Legacy to Contemporary Islam*ist* Movements

It is worth touching upon how the MB's ideology influenced the Iranian Islam*ist* 'dimension' which ultimately led to the 1979 Iranian Revolution. Mitchell, (1969) highlights Al-Banna's inclusive vision for the different schools[311] of Islam: "Each of the four schools … is respectable, … Let us cooperate in those things on which we can agree and be lenient in those on which we cannot" (Al-Banna cited in Mitchell, 1969, p.

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[310] Whilst being constrained within oppressive autocratic states.
[311] *Hanbali, Hanafi, Maliki* or *Shafie.*

217). In 1953, Safavi[312] founded the *Fada'iyan-e Islam* 'terrorist' group and proceeded to assassinate secular Iranian intellectuals and politicians who supported the Shah. Following a failed assassination attempt on the Prime Minister in 1955, the group was neutralised and Safavi executed. However, many of its MB linked members became active again during the 1979 Islam*ic* Revolution and greatly assisted Khomeini,[313] (Boroumand and Boroumand, 2002).

In 1962, Khomeini, inspired by Qutb and Al-Mawdudi, joined the other ayatollahs to oppose the Shah's modernisation and reform plans whilst defending the privileges of his clerical caste (Boroumand and Boroumand, 2002). By 1970 Khomeini had called for a revolution to create an Islam*ic* state and condemned all non-theocratic regimes as infidels. Taheri (2018) stresses that Khomeini claimed that the Shah had offered Iranians paradise in this world only to deprive them of it in the next. Qutb's ideology in particular was used by Khomeini's followers in the revival of the Islam*ist* movement in Iran and the conversion of Khomeini's Islam*ist* totalitarianism into religious respectability (Boroumand and Boroumand, 2002).

Taheri (2017) stresses that following the revolution, Khomeini could not obtain the complete loyalty of existing state structures yet was unable to destroy them altogether and therefore developed the strategy known as 'Parallelism'. For example, he created the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) as a parallel to the national army and Islam*ic* courts as a parallel to state courts (Taheri, 2017). Khomeini also formed propaganda organs to influence *Sunni* religious organisations and authorities (Taheri, 2017). For this purpose, the World Congress of Friday Sermons, Imams and Prayer Leaders[314] was established in order to shape Friday sermons across the Islam*ic* world and influence the "Islam of the people" (Xavier Rauffer cited in Boroumand and Boroumand, 2002, p. 10).

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[312] Sayyid Navvab Safavi (1924-1955) a Shi'a cleric, linked to the Egyptian MB, who founded the *Fada'iyan-e Islam* group which carried out the assassination of several leading Iranian politicians who supported the government of the Shah.
[313] Sayyid Ruhollah Mūsavi Khomeini (1902-1989) - Grand Ayatollah and 1st Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran (1979-1989) and a *marja* ('source of emulation') in Twelver *Shi'a* Islam.
[314] Sometimes referred to as the World Congress of Friday Sermons for Imams.

Khomeini's theological based ideology and success of the Iranian Revolution in challenging America proved to be an inspiration for many contemporary Arab radical Islam*ist* groups. Furthermore, this tapped into a well-established negative stereotype of the 'uncultured American' (Schama, 2003, p. 1). It can also be argued that this exportation of theological based extreme ideology was the 'taproot' which inspired so many *Sunni* Islam*ist* extremists, not least AQ. For example, the Iranian Islam*ic* revolutionary model inspired the Egyptian Islamic *Jihād* (EIJ) to assassinate El-Sādāt (Kepel, 2000). However, the expected mass uprisings in Egypt, which had occurred in Tehran two years previously, did not transpire (Kepel, 2000). Al-Ẓawāhirī[315] was among the imprisoned members of EIJ and in the early 1990s joined Bin-Laden and became AQ's senior operational planner and finally AQ leader in 2011.

According to Kepel (2000), Khomeini was also influential in the development of the PIJ. It is worthy of note that Shaqaqi[316], titled his 1979 *encomium[317]* as '*Khomeini: The Islamic Alternative'* and dedicated it to Khomeini and Al-Banna. Shaqaqi even travelled to Tehran to attend Khamenei's[318] *Khuṭbah Al-Jummah* (Friday Sermon), in which, Khamenei accused Arafat[319] of treason for participating in the Middle East Peace Process[320] (Boroumand and Boroumand 2002).

What 'shines through' the Iranian Islam*ic* Revolution, is Khomeini's ambition that it should be the catalyst for an Islam*ic* revolutionary 'wave' that would spread across the Muslim World. One could argue that, in its broadest terms, this Iranian theocratic revolutionary vision, had similarities with that of the Communist movement espoused by Marx[321] and Engels[322] in their saying "Workers of the world unite[323]" in the *Manifesto of*

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[315] Ayman Muḥammad Rabīʿ Al-Ẓawāhirī, (born 1951). He became leader of AQ on 16 June 2011, following the death of Bin-Laden. Al-Zawahiri was the author of 'Knights under the Prophet's Banner' (AQ Manifesto) and is a former Medical Professor at Cairo University. He also supported many of the ideas of Sayyid Qutb and considered him to be a prominent theoretician and fundamentalist.

[316] Fathi Shaqaqi (1951-1995) founder and Secretary-General of PIJ. He was influenced by the MB and became a follower of Qutb and Al-Banna. Shaqaqi was assassinated in 1995 in Malta by *Mossad* gunmen.

[317] Encomium – A piece of writing or speech that praises an individual. Etymology, Latin from Ancient Greek (*en komos).*

[318] Sayyid Ali Hosseini Khamenei - Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He replaced Khomeini following his death.

[319] Mohammed Yasser Arafat al-Qudwa (1929-2004) Yasser Arafat; PLO Chairman, President of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) and leader of the *Fatah* political party, which he founded in 1959.

[320] Arafat participated in the1993 Oslo Accords, 2000 Camp David Agreement and won the Nobel Peace Prize.

[321] Karl Marx (1818-1883) 'German' (Prussian) intellectual, philosopher, political theorist, sociologist and writer. Author of works such as *Das Kapital* – 1867 and co-author of *Manifesto of the Communist Party* - 1848.

the Communist Party[324], (Marx and Engels, 1973). Although *Sunni* Islam*ist* extremists may have been inspired by the Iranian Revolution, they did not however acknowledge the authority of the Iranian ayatollahs. For example, as the *Tālibān*[325] continued to evolve in Afghanistan during the 1990s, they became not only anti-Western (especially anti-American) but also anti-*Shi'a* and anti-Iranian (Katz, 2017). To compete ideologically with *Shi'a* Iran, the *Tālibān*, and later AQ and ISIS claimed their own Islam*ic* revolutionary ideology. Therefore, the spread of extreme *Sunni* Islam*ic* revolutionary ideology has challenged Iran's earlier implicit claim to lead the global transnational Islam*ic* revolutionary movement. The next section will consider AQ and ISIS as the new generation of leading extremist Islam*ist* groups.

AQ & ISIS as the New Generation of Leading Extremist Islam*ist* Groups

In *Seven Pillars of Wisdom,* Lawrence wrote:

"All men dream: but not equally. Those who dream by night in the dusty recesses of their minds wake in the day to find that it was vanity: but the dreamers of the day are dangerous men, for they may act their dreams with open eyes, to make it possible" (Lawrence, 1939, p. 27; Lawrence, 2010, p. xlviii).

It can be said that men such as King[326] and Mandela[327] were 'dreamers of the day' who arguably made the world a better place for making their dreams possible. It can also be argued that men such as Bin-Laden and Al-Baghdadi were and are, also 'dreamers of the day', and to that extent, perhaps Lawrence was correct in that they are truly "dangerous men" (Lawrence, 2010, p. xlviii) because they too were and are, trying to make their 'dreams of the day' possible.

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[322] Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) German philosopher, political theorist, author of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* – 1845 and co-author of *Manifesto of the Communist Party* - 1848.
[323] "Workers of the world unite" – often translated as "Workers of all countries unite" from Russian to English.
[324] 1848 Original German text, 1888 version of the Samuel Moore translation of the 1848 German text.
[325] *Tālibān* - meaning 'students' in Pashto.
[326] Dr Martin Luther King Jr (1929-1968) American minister and leader of the Civil Rights Movement which utilised nonviolence and organised civil disobedience. He was assassinated by James Earl Ray on 4 April 1968 in Memphis, Tennessee.
[327] Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (1918-2013) South African anti-apartheid revolutionary, long term politician prisoner and ultimately President of South Africa (1994- 1999).

AQ

AQ was founded in 1988 by Bin-Laden and Azzam[328] (Moyers, 2007), initially with Arab fighters from KSA and Yemen, to combat the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (Cassidy, 2006) and is designated as a terrorist organisation by a range of countries[329] (US Department of State, 2016). Using *Jihād* and *Mujahideen* AQ fought as insurgent forces and supplemented preexisting Afghan *Mujahideen* groups and leaders such as Massoud[330] (Cassidy, 2006). Ben-Dor and Pedahzur stress (2004, pp. 72-77) that following the Soviet-Afghan conflict,[331] the major change that occurred in Islam*ist* extremism was a shift from regionalism to globalism. As Tibi (2012, p. ix) details, Islam*ist* terrorism evolved from a rudimentary means of waging asymmetrical war towards global terrorism based upon the principles of a politicised and dogmatic form of Islam*ism*. Where, in the 1980s, Islam*ist* extremism was primarily situated in MENA states (*Hamas* and *Hezbollah*), in the 1990s and the early twenty-first century, Islam*ist* extremist 'went global' (Hegghammer, 2006, pp. 12-13). While some researchers have cited the Soviet-Afghan conflict as the starting point for global *jihādism*, this, according to Brown (2011, pp. 92-93) was not an international conflict between the *Dar Al-Islam*[332] and *Dar Al-Harb*[333] but, rather, a territorial conflict.

Roy (2015) argues that this shift was due, in part, to the transformation of the International Political Economy (IPE) over the last forty years. Roy (2015, pp. 6-9) stresses that Islam*ism* evolved from a political ideology that sought to establish a state based upon *Sharia,* to a transnational ideology. However, as Brown (2011, pp. 95-99) discusses, arguably the most important development in the evolution of modern Islam*ism* from local to global was the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq which enabled *jihādi* terror organisations to frame America as the embodiment of the *Dar Al-Harb*. Brown's

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[328] Sheikh Abdullah Azzam.
[329] AQ has been designated as a terrorist organisation by the UN Security Council (UNSC), NATO, EU, US, Russian Federation (RU) and numerous other states (US Department of State, 2016).
[330] Ahmad Shah Massoud (1953-2001), *Mujahedeen* leader of the Northern Alliance, known by the *sobriquet* ('Lion of Panjshir'), a Tajik, *Sunni* (educated at University of Kabul). Following the withdrawal of the Soviets he fought to defend Kabul from militias led by Islam*ist* Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, General Dostum and the Taliban. He was assassinated 2 days before 9/11, probably by AQ.
[331] USSR - Afghanistan Conflict (1979-1989).
[332]*Dar Al-Islam* – literally 'House of Islam' or *Dar As Salam* – 'House of Peace'. Muslim scholars use these terms to denote countries where Muslims can practice Islam as the ruling religion.
[333]*Dar Al-Harb* – literally 'House of War' meaning those lands where Muslim law is not predominant and Islam is not the ruling religion, or the lands of disbelief.

point is well made. It is important at this juncture to reemphasize that the well documented US human rights violations at *Abu Ghraib* and *Fallujah* (Pedler, 2015, p. 100), and the procedures used at Camp Delta (US Department of Defense, 2003), also acted as particularly useful propaganda and recruiting aids for *jihādists*. As Hegghammer (2006, pp. 12-13) corroborates, anti-Americanism became the hallmark of the global *jihādi* movement, which is important to note for the purposes of this thesis.

This de-territorial, anti-American manifestation of militant Islam*ism* was embodied most profoundly in AQ. As Rajan (2015, p. 44) notes, AQ "promoted itself as an international *jihādist* organisation capable of establishing a pan-Islamic, global caliphate based on its version of *Sharia* that would cater to the interests and security of all Muslims globally". The primary obstacles to AQ were deemed to be America and 'apostate Muslim governments in the Global South' that had allied themselves to Washington (Rajan, 2015, pp. 44-47). Thus, where the ultimate goal of *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* was the annihilation of Israel, the political objective underpinning AQ's manifesto was the destruction of America and the removal of 'Muslim conspirators' (Cozzens and Ranstorp, 2012, pp. 94-96). As a result, unlike fundamentalist-inspired extremist groups such as *Hamas* whose ambitions were contained within a fixed territorial space, AQ embellished a *jihādi* network underpinned by a *weltanschauung* that, according to Wright (2007, p. 302), was based on three objectives:

- Establishing the rule of Allāh on earth.

- Attaining *Istishhād*[334] (martyrdom) in the cause of Allāh.

- Purification of the ranks of Islam from the elements of depravity through *jihād.*

Gray (2007) highlights that these Islam*ist* objectives were inspired by the ideas of Al-Banna and Qutb. Furthermore, AQ was founded as a *Sunni* Islam*ist* transnational

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[334] *Istishhād* (or *Shahīd* - martyrdom) is closely linked to the Islam*ic* term *Shahīd* which can mean 'witness', but almost always means 'martyr'. Islam*ists* often apply the terms *Istishhād* and *Shahīd* to Islamist fighters who have been killed whilst fighting in a *jihād* or '*jihād fī sabīl Allāh*' (*Jihād* for the sake of Allāh).

organisation which: operates as a network, composed of Islam*ist jihādists;* with a loose decentralised organisation; where leadership is centralised while lower structures and operational delivery are under local control (Gray, 2007). In essence, AQ became a transnational 'branded Islam*ist* franchise' that sought to maximise political violence (Gray, 2007, pp. 81-89). Cassidy (2006) stresses that as AQ also operated through its direct and indirect affiliates across the Muslim world. Examples include: Afghanistan, Bosnia, Chechnya, Iraq and Somalia (Gartenstein-Ross and Dabruzzi, 2007) and more recently, Libya, Syria and Yemen.

The Development of Martyrdom (*Istishhād)* within Islam*ist* Extremism

Further examination of the aforementioned AQ objectives reveal the ideological ties that bind contemporary forms of Islam*ist* extremism to the neo-fundamentalist ideologues in the post-colonial era. For instance, establishing the rule of Allāh on earth is clearly influenced by *Al-Mawdudi's* concept of *Al-Hakimeyah Al-Ilaheya* (Rajan, 2015, pp. 45-52). Furthermore, the idea of purification of the ranks of Islam is consistent with *Qutb's* theory of *jahiliyyah* (Lynch, 2011, pp. 63-164). However, the emphasis upon *Istishhād* represents a break with fundamentalist tradition. Neither *Qutb* nor *Al-Mawdudi*, made reference to the primacy of suicide as a means of carrying out Allāh's will (Hafez, 2011, pp. 26-29). Rather, as Moghadam (2006, pp. 707-711) details, the 'globalisation of martyrdom' is a contemporary phenomenon, one that is grounded in a globalised pattern of political violence. Hafez also argues that a significant change in Islam*ist* extremism has been the growth of *jihādi Istishhād* (2007, pp. 7-16). For example, there have been numerous examples of ISIS fighters who have carried out suicide attacks during the recent conflicts in Iraq and especially in Syria, during 2017 and to a lesser extent in 2018.

Earlier research into suicide terrorism appeared to undermine the assumption that religious fanaticism is the reason why suicide terrorism has become associated with Arab Islam*ist* extremism. This aspect is pertinent to this thesis and therefore worthy of examination. Quantitative research undertaken by Pape (2006, pp. 3-10) suggests that religious fanaticism is a negligible factor influencing the growth of martyrdom in Islam*ist*

terrorism[335]. According to Pape half of the suicide attackers in his research (1980-2003) had belonged to secular organisations such as the Tamil Tigers (Pape, 2006, pp. 15-19). For example, the Tamil Tigers carried out more terrorist attacks than *Hamas* and the PIJ[336] between the 1980s-2000 (Pape, 2006, pp. 18-21). Moreover, in predominantly Muslim countries, over a third of the suicide attacks committed from 1980-2003 were committed by groups whose aims were not religious[337] (Pape, 2006, p. 18). Furthermore, Atran adds that suicide terrorists are generally not directed by a central organisation (2006, pp. 127-133), although Crenshaw adds that the fatal nature of suicide attacks renders serious analysis of the motivation of perpetrators almost an impossible task (2007, pp. 153-155). Sedgewick (2015) notes, that *jihādism,* like terrorism, is a 'means to an end' and that research into it cannot account for the existential motivations of individual actors.

Hegghammer (2006, pp. 15-19) makes the important point that suicide terrorism has grown dramatically in the wake of the US-led invasion of Iraq. Thomson (2012, pp. 54-56) supports this position and stresses the importance of considering the integral part played by military occupation, as a determinant of Islam*ist* extremist activities. Pape (2012, pp. 7-10) also notes this dramatic increase[338] and emphasises that over 90 % of the attacks were anti-American acts committed by indigenous terrorists against American bases in the Middle East (Pape, 2012, p. 10). This is an important point for the purposes of this thesis. Thus, it is worthwhile reviewing suicide attack data for Iraq and Syria up to late 2016. The detail of Pape's recent data (University of Chicago, 2016) has been extracted, assessed and is at Appendix 13.

This Iraq data reveals that as the boundaries of the 'Islamic State' in Iraq were dramatically reduced (by military defeat), so too were the incidents of suicide attacks. In Syria, there have been many fewer suicide attacks from 2011 to 2016, in comparison to Iraq. There are likely to be numerous reasons for this including: Syria being a different campaign from Iraq; a proliferation of Islam*ist* groups in Syria using different terrorist

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[335] Between 1980 and 2003 there were 345 suicide terrorist attacks carried out by 524 suicide terrorists (Pape, 2006, pp. 3-4).

[336] PIJ – consists of the *Al-Quds* Brigades in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. For further information, please see Appendix 4.

[337] Such as the Kurdistan Workers' Party in Turkey - commonly referred to as PKK (*Partiya Karkeren Kurdistane*).

[338] From 345 (for the period - 1980-2003) to 1,800 (for the period - 2004-2009), (Pape, 2012, pp. 7-9).

tactics[339]; different terrain; and different government tactics[340] employed by Syrian, Russian and Iranian paramilitary forces than were used in Iraq. Notwithstanding the collapse of the 'Islamic State', these and other related factors continue to be researched in 2019 by a range of institutes and organisations, such as, University of Chicago (CPOST), CIA, Pentagon G2, Carnegie Middle East Center, and Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), to name but a few.

Viewed from this perspective, one could posit that some Islam*ist* extremist groups, especially ISIS, have formed specialist volunteer elements into a nihilistic 'death cult', through a distortion of Islam*ic* doctrine, a pragmatic need and a desperate attempt, to 'hold back' overwhelming enemy forces[341]. Therefore, it can be argued that the increased use of martyrdom is testimony to the instrumental nature of some Middle Eastern Islam*ist* extremist groups such as ISIS. Arguably, such groups are seeking to realise a tactical, operational or strategic goal *via* this method. On one hand, suicidal attacks, such as those used by ISIS, may appear to represent a new and significant leap in the development of Middle Eastern Islam*ist* extremism. On the other hand, this is not a new development within the Middle East and there is perhaps a 'black thread' of continuity connecting ISIS suicide attackers to the suicidal attacks of the *Hashshāshīn,* during the Crusades.

It can be argued that the appeal of transnational terrorist groups such as AQ is due less to the global appeal of Islam*ist* extremism and more to the preponderance of American military power in the post-Cold War era. Examples are the active intervention of America within the Middle East and their identification with regimes or regime changes that allow a set of economic, social, political and religious grievances to be attributed to them. However, in the interests of academic objectivity, it is prudent to underline the limitations of Pape's theory. As Moghadam (2006, pp. 709-713) suggests, Pape's emphasis upon suicide terrorism in occupied countries in the MENA region does not account for the rise of martyrdom in those parts of the world where occupation is not a political or military reality.

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[339] Many of which did not and do not use suicide tactics. See the Guide to Islam*ist* Groups at Appendix 4.
[340] The Russian General Staff 'Stalingrad Model' - find, fix, surround, starve, destroy from afar (air/artillery/tanks/mortars) finally concentrate overwhelming force in a ground assault.
[341] Similar to the use by Japan of *Kamikaze* suicide pilots during World War II.

America continues to carry out airstrikes against selected AQ senior leaders such as Al-Masri[342] (Cook, 2016). Despite this 'decapitation tactic' remaining a preferred method of America and other Western allies, Jordan (2014, pp. 7-38) sounds a note of caution and articulates why terrorist groups can and do survive decapitation strikes. Jordan draws particular attention to the killing of Bin-Laden and states:

"Despite the success of this operation and subsequent attacks on al-Qaida leaders, decapitation is unlikely to diminish the ability of al-Qaida to continue its activities in the long run. Rather, it may have counterproductive consequences, emboldening or strengthening the organisation" (2014, p.7).

Despite AQ having been inspired by Qutb; it is important to emphasise that AQ leadership did not actually envision the establishment of a new Islam*ic* caliphate or a new Islam*ic* state. Consequently, nationalist ideas and ethnic identity were and are not its main motivations (Moghadam, 2006). Consequently, AQ as a transnational Islam*ist* organisation defines its existence and goals around a 'global cause'. The struggle of AQ is a war against Western ideas and ideologies as well as the *umma* who have adopted Western 'ideologies and infidelities'. As Bin-Laden stated in 2001, "… [t]his enmity between us and the infidels, … is based on creed" (Bin-Laden cited in Moghadam, 2006, p. 717).

9/11 had a profound effect upon the concept of security throughout much of the world, particularly in the West. Most notably, the attacks against America highlighted a global form of terrorism, whose aims and objectives deviated from other terrorist organisations (Owens and Pelizzo, 2012, pp. 2-10; Holloway, 2008, pp. 59-65). Where, for example, the Basque ETA[343] and Irish PIRA[344] both used political violence as a means of furthering ideological (especially territorial) goals, AQ appeared to have no tangible political agenda except the destruction of the economic and cultural bases of America and

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[342] Abu al-Farai al-Masri aka Ahmad Salamah Mabruk.
[343] ETA - *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna.*
[344] PIRA - Provisional Irish Republican Army.

Western civilisation (Martin, 2015, pp. 107-115). Furthermore, 9/11 which followed attacks against the US Embassy in Nairobi in 1998 and USS Cole in 2000, heralded the advent of a new kind of political violence (Kennedy-Pipe, 2015, pp. 153-159). Most notably, in AQ's destructive form of terrorism, the terrorists were willing to use themselves as weapons with suicide terrorism becoming the *modus operandi* of emergent Islam*ist* terrorism (Zafra-Davies, 2015, pp. 43-48).

There is little doubt that the image of aircraft striking the Twin Towers has become one of the defining images of the early twenty-first century (Gray, 2007, pp. 85-87). Ultimately, the shock to American public opinion fed by the media coverage, only served to increase the pressure that was placed upon policy-makers to 'do something' to address a problem whose genesis and evolution few people fully understood (Entman, 2003, pp. 416-422; Levi and Wall, 2004, pp. 196-201). Furthermore, the very nature of such a strike on continental America contributed to a mindset which viewed a full-scale American response as justifiable.

From what has been revealed and discussed thus far, it is safe to suggest that AQ was and remains an ideological movement, which distinguishes it from some other Islam*ist* extremist movements. While many of its members were and remain Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis*, AQ continues to attract non-Arabs (Gartenstein-Ross and Dabruzzi, 2007; Al-Suwaidi, 2016). Although ideology may not appear to have a broad appeal to ordinary Arabs, Cox (2003) highlights:

> "The secret to Osama Bin-Laden's message rests not with its appeal to Islamic extremists, but with its appeal to ordinary Arabs and Muslims. Indeed … following the terrorism of September 11, 2001 ... hundreds of thousands of Muslims, from Baghdad to Basilan, drew quiet but unmistakable satisfaction at seeing the American infidel finally put in his place".

It is useful for this thesis to gain an insight into Bin-Laden's mindset and therefore consider Payne's analysis of Bin-Laden's twenty-four public statements from 1994 to 2004 (Payne, 2008). Payne's study reveals that the main themes in Bin-Laden's statements were: criticism of America; 'Western and Jewish aggression'; oppression and exploitation of Muslim lands and the perceived need to take action against such 'aggression' (Payne, 2008). Criticism of America dominates as a theme and appears in 72% of the content. This is followed by criticism of Saudi leadership for allying with the US and permitting American troops to be based within KSA[345] (21%). Interestingly, religious comments and exhortations to *istishhād* are found in less than 1% of the contents (Payne, 2008, pp. 22-39). For the purposes of this thesis, it is interesting to note that opposition to America, perceived American aggression and opposition to US troops based in KSA features highly in Bin-Laden's statements, amounting to what is, by any standard, anti-Americanism.

In 2012, the US Department of Defense (DoD) considered that the WoT had arrived at a 'tipping point' as many of the AQ leaders and operatives had been killed or captured[346], chiefly due to AQ no longer being able to conduct strategic attacks against America (Brinkley, 2013). Thus, the DoD transferred the responsibility of countering such attacks to intelligence agencies and police departments. Yet Brinkley, (2013) argued that AQ still posed a major threat due to its decentralisation and terrorist activities conducted by local franchises such as Boko Haram[347]. The killing of Bin-Laden[348] dealt a blow to AQ and arguably it had already started to decline due to the emergence and popularity of ISIS. However, it can be argued cogently that the ideology and tactics of AQ altered the nature of contemporary Islam*ist* extremism and created a legacy. Prior to AQ, suicide bombing was almost unknown amongst Arab *Sunni* Islam*ist* groups, yet following the creation of AQ it became a more common tactic of some Islam*ist* extremists. Additionally, prior to AQ, Islam*ist* extremist groups tended to focus upon fighting local regimes rather than fighting America or the West. Furthermore, AQ

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[345] "US troops ….. stationed in the country in response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait" (Hough, 2018, p. 69).
[346] In what was in effect a war of attrition.
[347] *Boko Haram* – meaning 'Western education is forbidden' is a Nigerian based *jihādist* group which is also active in Cameroon, Chad and Niger. Initially linked to AQ, BH has formally supported IS since March 2015.
[348] On 2 May 2011 - US Navy SEALs stormed the Bin-Laden compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan and killed Bin-Laden.

established a dedicated transnational organisation that spread its ideology beyond its traditional base in South Asia and the Arab World. Touching upon the impact and legacy of Bin-Laden, Hough states, "[s]urely no individual in modern history has exerted such military influence internationally without the back-up of a state structure" (Hough, 2018, p.69). The next section will discuss how US interventionism helped shape the conditions for the creation of contemporary Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* Islam*ist jihādist* groups.

'US Middle Eastern Interventionism - Shaping the Conditions for the Creation of Contemporary Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* Islam*ist Jihādists'*

It can be argued that US interventionism in the Middle East created the conditions, out of which was born an even more brutal group of *Sunni* extremists (ISIS), as a result of the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq. During the post-invasion occupation, the US implemented, a critically flawed policy of 'de-Ba'athification[349]' of the Iraqi government, military and civilian services[350]. This was conducted on behalf of the US-led Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA)[351] by the Supreme National De-Ba'athification Commission created by Paul Bremer. As a consequence, most *Sunni* military and intelligence personnel who had been loyal to Saddam had no longer any form of employment or income, still possessed military and intelligence knowledge, organisational skills, access to weapons and few if any viable options for gainful employment. Consequently, many of these former military and intelligence officers organised an insurgency to fight the 'occupation' and allied themselves with Islam*ist* extremists as a matter of expediency.

It is worth noting that the US-led invasion of Iraq remains current in the minds of many Arab *Sunnis.* This is exemplified by the application by Al-Rabbat[352] to The Lord

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[349] Ba'athism (*Al-Ba'athiyah*) means 'renaissance' and is an Arab nationalist and *Sunni* ideology that promotes unity through leadership and utilises a political party (Ba'ath party) to control government and citizens.
[350] This was based in theory on the precedent of the US-led de-Nazification policy in post-World War II Germany.
[351] CPA - Coalition Provisional Authority. The CPA was formed following the 2003 invasion of Iraq. It was a US-led transitional government of the coalition force and existed from 21 April 2003 until 28 June 2004.
[352] General Abdul Waheed Shannan Al-Rabbat (also spelt Ar-Ribat), retired Iraqi Army general, former Iraqi Army Chief of Staff under Saddam Hussein and Governor of Nineveh province (1999-2003).

Chief Justice of England and Wales in 2017 to bring proceedings for judicial review and issue a summons for a prosecution of Blair, Straw and Goldsmith in respect of what is contended to be a 'crime of aggression' (invasion of Iraq) under the law of England and Wales (Royal Courts of Justice, 2017[353]). This case was brought notwithstanding the earlier 2006 judgement by the House of Lords (in R - v - Jones) which ruled that the invasion of Iraq, although a crime of aggression under customary international law, was not a crime of aggression under the law of England and Wales, as no such statutory law existed. Consequently, the 2017 court ruled that it was bound by the earlier House of Lords' judgement (Royal Courts of Justice, 2017). Nonetheless, for the purposes of this thesis, this case highlights the currency of this enduring matter in some Arab minds.

Returning to the Iraq insurgency, many of the Ba'athists and others were imprisoned in a large US run detention facility (Camp Bucca) in *Umm Qasr* (Woods, 2016). Following the well documented[354] *Abu Ghraib* prisoner abuse scandal[355] (US Department of Defense, 2004) by US military and CIA personnel (Schlesinger, 2004), many detainees were transferred to Camp Bucca (Woods, 2016). The impact of the abuse at *Abu Ghraib* on the Arab *Sunni* psyche can perhaps be likened, in a UK context, to the impact of 'Bloody Sunday[356]' (National Archives, 2010) on the Northern Irish Nationalist psyche, in that it became an effective recruiting aid for the extremists and an enduring symbol of perceived 'British military injustice' and 'lack of accountability', in the eyes of many Nationalists[357], Republicans[358] and others. Therefore, it could be argued that *Abu Ghraib* had a similar or greater impact on Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis*.

The transfer of the *Abu Ghraib* detainees to Camp Bucca resulted in many non-militant Iraqi detainees who had been detained on the slimmest of evidence being able

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[353] Royal Courts of Justice (2017). General Abdul Waheed Shannan Al-Rabbat – v – the Rt Hon Tony Blair, the Rt Hon Jack Straw and the Rt Hon The Lord Goldsmith, (Royal Courts of Justice, 2017).

[354] By the US DoD, UN, ICRC, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch and media outlets such as BBC, CNN, Associated Press (AP), *The Economist* and *New Yorker*.

[355] Which involved widespread use of torture, unlawful killing, degrading treatment of detained persons (violations including physical and mental abuse and widespread sexual abuse including sodomy).

[356] 'Bloody Sunday' – 30 January 1972, 'Bogside' Derry city, Northern Ireland, when paratroopers shot 28 unarmed civilians (killing 14) during a Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) protest march against Internment without trial. The Saville Inquiry in 2010 found that the killings had been "unjustifiable" and that the shot civilians had been unarmed (National Archives, 2010).

[357] Such as Sinn Féin.

[358] Republican extremists such as PIRA, OIRA and INLA.

to associate freely with hardened Islam*ist* extremists (ideologues and practitioners), experienced insurgents and those who had been tortured and abused by the US military[359] and CIA in *Abu Ghraib* (US Department of Defense, 2004; Schlesinger, 2004). The consequence of this was that Camp Bucca became in effect, a recruiting, re-education, and training centre for Islam*ist* extremists. Furthermore, it became a 'hot house' for evolving Islam*ist* ideology, strategy and tactics, unintentionally facilitated by the US military (Woods, 2016). This situation was exacerbated by swelling detainee numbers[360], inadequate military resources to staff the huge facility, frequent escapes, a relaxed detention regime in order to prevent 'another *Abu Ghraib*' and large-scale prisoner releases including Al-Baghdadi and most of what was to become the leadership of ISIS (Woods, 2016). In UK terms, Camp Bucca can be likened to HMP Maze[361] during the period of Internment[362], except that Bucca was on a much larger scale and was set within a Middle Eastern Arab country which had been invaded by Western non-Muslims. The next section will discuss ISIS, other contemporary Middle Eastern Islam*ist* groups and the 'Islamic State'.

ISIS and IS

The circumstances resulting from the US-led invasion of Iraq, in the balance of probabilities, created the conditions for the formation of a plethora of Islam*ist* extremist groups. Many of these fighters and others would later fight in Syria. There was much fluidity in the membership of these groups and even the actual groups have morphed and altered their names to reflect changing circumstances. An example is *Dawlat al-ʿIrāq al-ʾIslāmiyyah* - Islamic State of Iraq (ISI)[363] that attempted to establish an Islam*ic* state in Iraqi *Sunni* areas during the Iraq War. ISI formed in 2006 as an amalgam of Iraqi insurgent groups, including - *Al-Qaeda* in Iraq (AQI)[364] and its *Mujahideen Shura* Council allies. Upon its formation, Al-Baghdadi became its first Emir. Sookhdeo (2015)

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[359] US 800th Military Police Brigade (US 800 MP Bde) and other elements.
[360] 20,000 detainees in 2007; 100,000 detainees would eventually be processed through Camp Bucca (Woods, 2016).
[361] HMP Maze – known as Long Kesh Detention Centre, Northern Ireland, used to detain suspected and convicted terrorists.
[362] Internment – Internment without trial imposed in Northern Ireland (1971-75). Of the 1,981 persons detained about 95% were Roman Catholic Nationalists and Republicans. The European Commission of Human Rights (ECHR) ruled in 1976 that the interrogation techniques used, constituted torture. This was later reduced, on appeal, to 'inhuman and degrading' treatment.
[363] *Dawlat al-ʿIrāq al-ʾIslāmiyyah* - Islamic State of Iraq (ISI). Further information is available on this group at Appendix 4.
[364] AQI - *Tanẓīm qāʿidat al-jihād fī bilād ar-rāfidayn,* active from 2004-2006.

in *Unmasking Islamic State* highlights that in 2013, ISI transformed itself into the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), then ISIS[365] and ultimately in 2014 to the 'Islamic State' (IS). These and other Islam*ist* groups are at Appendix 4.

The term ISIS[366] is derived from the acronym in Arabic *Da'ish*[367] - *Ad-**D**awlah **A**l-Islāmiyah fī 'l-ʿ**Irā**q wa-sh-**Sh**ām* (Saltman and Winter, 2014). This term is commonly used throughout the Middle East and increasingly within the West to refer to ISIS (Akyol, 2015), not least because it avoids using the term 'Islamic State' (Schwartz, 2014). By merging with its Syrian counterparts, ISIS established a presence both in Iraq and Syria and became an alternative to JaN*[368]* (Cassis, 2015; Revolutionaries Army, RFS Media Office, 2015). The 'Islamic State' did not recognise preexisting 'colonial state boundaries' and sought to extend into what it called "Greater Syria"[369], (Sookhdeo, 2015, p. 90 & p. 175). However, JaN also evolved to meet changing circumstances and in 2016, JaN, split from AQ and Al-Julani[370] announced that the group's new name would be *Al-Jabhat Fateh al-Sham* (JFS), meaning the 'Front for the Conquest of the Levant' (Al-Jazeera, 2016b).

Atwan (2015) emphasises that through a comprehensive approach including social media, ISIS engaged with sympathisers and potential recruits to become a "Digital Caliphate". Viral videos glorifying Islam*ist* violence were used to attract new recruits globally (Atwan, 2015; Sookhdeo, 2015). Cassis (2015) adds that within a short time ISIS had created a reign of terror. Persecution of *Sunni* minorities in Iraq and Syria, foreign funding[371], the chaotic conditions in Iraq and Syria and the existence of the 'IS caliphate', all contributed to their recruitment. Additionally, ISIS exploited sources of income, such as: human trafficking; protection 'rackets' and sale of: antiquities; oil[372]; appropriated properties and sex slaves (Atwan, 2015; Sookhdeo, 2015). Furthermore, ISIS also exploited and manipulated a preexisting lack of trust that some Arab *Sunnis*

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[365] In reality the distinction between the title ISIL or ISIS can appear rather obscure as the generic Arabic term for Levant is al-Sham.
[366] The ISIS motto is *Baqiya wa Tatamaddad* which (preserving and expanding) (Sookhdeo, 2015, p. 90).
[367] *Da'ish* sometimes written as *Da'esh*. To some Arabs this term is considered derogatory.
[368] *Al-Jabhat al-Nusra* (JaN) - The Support Front for the People of Al-Sham; commonly known as Al-Nusra Front or AQ in Syria.
[369] Greater Syria - comprising Jordan, Lebanon, Israel, and Palestine.
[370] Abu Mohammed Al-Julani (leader of JaN).
[371] Including the clandestine foreign policy of a number of regional and global states.
[372] Turkey has long been suspected by a number of states of purchasing illegal oil from ISIS at particularly favourable rates.

had about the West and the palpable fear of atrocities by *Shi'a* militias in areas captured by them, especially in Iraq.

ISIS skillfully used discourses about alleged contemporary 'double standards' of Western powers in relation to the Palestinian cause, the invasion of Iraq and interventions in Libya and Yemen, but lack of intervention in Syria (Atwan, 2015). This therefore presented ISIS 'proofs' in a stark, simplistic but persuasive manner to those who were receptive to a reductive and clearly defined message, set within not only an Islam*ist* but also a skewed Islam*ic* context. They also presented an apocalyptic appeal with a promise to defeat the 'Crusader' armies at the 'last battle' on the field of *Dabiq*[373] (Yahya, 2014). However, it is worth stating that by January 2019, their fighters had suffered almost total military defeat in Iraq and Syria with only Idlib remaining as the final centre of opposition forces. Although some may believe that IS/ISIS is in effect defeated, Sookhdeo (2015, p. 5) warns, "Islamic State is likely to remain a persistent threat, even if it suffers overwhelming defeats". Therefore, ISIS may well mutate into a different entity but remain a deadly form of threat.

The next section will discuss selected enduring factors that may contribute to contemporary Middle Eastern Islam*ist* extremism amongst Arab *Sunnis*. These include: the 'historical factor'; Arab psychology; transnational appeal; Islam*ic* theology; and the appealing simplicity of the extremist message.

Selected Factors that may Contribute to Contemporary Islam*ist* Extremism

Following 9/11, political elites and others attempted to comprehend the multitude of reasons and motivations for the ferocity of such attacks and the enduring appeal of anti-Americanism and Islam*ist* extremism to Middle Eastern Arabs. Western interventionist foreign policy in the Middle East such as the invasion of Iraq and

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[373] *Dabiq* - ISIS's online propaganda magazine. It is named after a town in northern Syria which is the site of a Muslim apocalypse mythology. ISIS fighters often refer to *Dabiq* as the site of the 'last battle' which will be fought by them against the 'Crusader armies'. Warning, the *Dabiq* online propaganda magazine is an extreme Islam*ist* site and subject to lawful surveillance and tracking by intelligence agencies such as the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ). Highlighting the *Dabiq* propaganda site in this footnote, in no way encourages or incites any person to gain access to this extreme Islam*ist* site.

presence of US bases on Arab Muslim territory[374], arguably compounded Arab perceptions of Western 'double standards' in relation to the West's declared support for freedom of speech and the concept of liberal democracy, whilst concurrently supporting autocratic Arab regimes. Furthermore, America's unequivocal support for Israel in relation to its treatment of the Palestinians remains problematic (MSF, 2018; WHO, 2018; Krähenbühl, 2018; Piper, 2018). It can be argued that such factors further contribute to high levels of frustration amongst Arab youth (Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey, 2018; Arab Youth Survey, 2018) which are manipulated by extremists and ultimately form some of the causes of anti-Americanism and pathways to Islam*ist* extremism.

There is perhaps another dynamic which has paradoxically contributed to the rise of Islam*ist* extremism. Extreme attacks against Western targets have undermined some of the arguably legitimate claims of injustice used by Arab activists and extremists. From the Iran Hostage Crisis to 9/11, to ISIS burning alive captives in cages, such as Al-Kasasbeh[375] in 2015; these extreme events have resulted in Western policy makers and the media downgrading or eradicating the justice claims of Arab *Sunnis.* As Boroumand and Boroumand state:

"Pragmatism and prudence were put forward to justify a sellout of justice which, in one of the cruelest ironies revealed by the harsh light of September 11, proved not to have been prudent at all" (2002, p. 16).

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[374] Especially KSA which is the site of the two holiest of mosques and the 'cradle of Islam'.
[375] Muath Safi Yousef Al-Kasasbeh (1988-2015), the Royal Jordanian Air Force pilot who was burned to death by ISIS in January 2015. His death became a rallying point for many moderate *Sunni* Arabs against ISIS, *jihādists* and Islam*ism* in general.

The 'Historical Factor'

The Crusades

Although anti-Western sentiment in the Arab world is not a recent phenomenon, it continues to persist. For example Bin-Laden often called for Muslims to fight against America and the West and referred to Americans and Westerners as 'Crusaders'. More recently ISIS and the 'Islamic State' frequently incited their followers to join them in the fight against the 'Crusader armies' in the 'last battle' at *Dabiq* in Syria, which is where they allege that the 'Crusader armies' will be defeated. Therefore, such imagery is not uncommon in Islam*ist* discourse. Deeb argues that the Crusades remain influential in the Arab mind and much of Islam*ist* rhetoric is constructed around them (Deeb, cited in Sorenson, 2008). As a 'selective understanding' of the Crusades and other historical events remain fresh in Arab minds, Sorenson (2008) argues that there also remains a strong belief that the West, particularly America, is plotting against Arabs.

Therefore, one could argue that even a general understanding of the 'Arab mind' cannot be achieved without grasping the importance of history to it. Long forgotten battles in the Western mind, such as the Massacre of *Ayyadieh* (1191)[376] are oft quoted in the Arab World, as if they had occurred recently with corresponding deep visceral emotion. However, in order to counter Orientalist tendencies, it is worth noting that this is not a uniquely Arab Muslim trait. Within a UK context, one could cite the example of Northern Ireland where there remains a similar popular recollection of historical battles[377], atrocities[378], rebellions[379] and perceived slights. As Chesterton once remarked, "The tragedy of the English conquest of Ireland …….is that *the Irish can never forget it* and the *English can never remember it*"[380] (Chesterton, 2014). The corollary of this within a Middle Eastern context is that one could equally posit that the tragedy of the involvement of the West in the Middle East is that 'the Arabs never forget

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[376] The Massacre of *Ayyadieh* (1191) known in the West as Acre, perpetrated by Richard *Coeur de Lion* (King Richard the Lionheart of England), during the Crusades to recover the Holy Land.
[377] Such as 1689 Siege of Derry and 1690 Battle of the Boyne still celebrated in Northern Ireland annually in the 12th July Marches.
[378] 1972 Bloody Sunday, 1972 Bloody Friday and 1987 Enniskillen Bombing.
[379] 1641 Irish Rebellion, 1798 Irish Rebellion and 1916 Easter Rising.
[380] Often misquoted as – "the problem with the Irish is that they never forget and the English, that they never remember".

and the West never remembers'. This proposition is supported by a range of Arab authors and commentators such as, Soubra[381] (2014), Atwan (2013) and Al-Soudi, (2007).

There is a popular Arab Muslim narrative that the Crusades were Western Christian invasions and occupations of Arab Muslim lands which 'on the face of it' seems to be a fair and reasonable position to adopt. However, there is a contrary, credible and well established academic view held by a range of reputable scholars (normally Western). For the purposes of academic objectivity, it is important to adumbrate this contrary perspective. Notwithstanding the possible complex power related motivations behind Pope Urban II's sermon[382] at the Council of Clermont[383], which initiated the First Crusade[384], one of the main reasons for holding the council was to discuss the appeal for military assistance from the Byzantine Emperor[385] due to an invasion of the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantine)[386], by Muslim armies who were threatening Constantinople (Kennedy, 2008). Accordingly, Daftary (2001) suggests that the initial rationale behind the Crusades was to reclaim Christian lands from Muslims who were identified as synonymous with the Christians' Biblical enemy, the 'Saracens'. This proposition is supported by contemporary academics such as Sookhdeo, Kennedy[387] and Warner[388] who suggest that prior to the Crusades, Christianity and other religions in the Middle East had been overrun[389] (Kennedy, 2008, pp. 363-376) by the onslaught of a persistent Islamic *Jihād* (Warner, 2014).

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[381] Hani Soubra – Lebanese author and former Head of BBC MENA Region. Author of books such as *Islam The Brand* (2014).
[382] Pope Urban II's speech was given on 27 November 1095, over 920 years ago.
[383] Council of Clermont – 18-28 November 1095, partially held in response to Byzantine Emperor Alexius I Comnenus' requests for military assistance due to an invasion of the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantine) by the Seljuk Turks, threatening Constantinople.
[384] Initially as the People's Crusade in 1095, then the Military Crusade (1096-1099), including the capture of Nicea in 1097, Antioch in 1098 and Jerusalem in 1099.
[385] Byzantine Emperor, Alexius I Comnenus.
[386] Which was eventually overrun.
[387] Hugh Kennedy FRSE, FRAS, FBA - Professor of Arabic at SOAS and medieval historian who specialises in the early Islamic Middle East, Muslim Spain and the Crusades and author of acclaimed works such as *The Great Arab Conquests* (2008).
[388] Dr Bill Warner (birth name French) – President of the Center for the Study of Political Islam (CSPI) and author on numerous books on Political Islam.
[389] Such as: the, Sasanians, Byzantines, Ghasanids, Arabian Gulf, Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, Carthage, Kirman, Fars, Sakastan, Himyar, Khuzistan, Transoxania, Meseta, Sind, Farghana, and Al-Andalus as adumbrated in (Kennedy, 2008, pp. 363-376).

One of the earliest Western Christian chroniclers and scholars of the Crusades was William of Tyre[390], who revealed the Crusades to be a necessary sequence of wars against the invading 'infidel'. However, William may not have been wholly objective and would probably have been conscious of the Christian audience, for whom he was writing. As Daftary suggests, once the accounts about Muslims had reached Europe from the Holy Land, a "great imaginative development" of the image of Muslims as "idolaters worshipping a false trinity and Muhammad being a magician", was created (2001, p. 57). According to Daftary (2001) many Christian scholars viewed the Prophet (PBUH) as "the Anti-Christ" and that "the rise of Islam heralded the imminent end of the world" (Daftary, 2001, p. 51). Chesterton[391] appeared to support the view that the Crusades were a response to the invasion of Christendom:

"When people talk as if the Crusades were nothing more than an aggressive raid against Islam, they seem to forget in the strangest way that Islam itself was only an aggressive raid against the old and ordered civilisation in these parts. I do not say it in mere hostility to the religion of Mahomet; I am fully conscious of many values and virtues in it; but certainly, it was Islam that was the invasion and Christendom that was the thing invaded" (Chesterton, 2014).

Clark in his renowned work *Civilisation* states:

"In the middle of the seventh century there appeared a new force, with faith, energy, a will to conquer and an alternative culture: Islam. ….. In a miraculously short time …….the classical world was overrun. The old source of civilisation was sealed off" (Clark, 1987, p. 22).

It can be argued that Western leaders and societies have failed to truly understand the motivation and mindset of events such as the Crusades to Arabs in general and Islam*ists* in particular. Maalouf (1984) in *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes*,

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[390] William of Tyre (1130 – 1186) or Willelmus Tyrensis - the great Western chronicler of the Crusades. William's *magnum opus* was *Historia Lerosolimitana* (History of Jerusalem).
[391] G. K. Chesterton (1864-1936) – British author, theologian, philosopher and journalist. He was viewed by some to be the 'successor to Carlyle and Ruskin'.

suggests that the Crusades continue to exist in the minds and actions of Arab Muslim societies. Therefore, notwithstanding the selective memory which many Arab Muslims apply to the Crusades, they create a deep impact on Arab Muslim culture and mindset. To illustrate the point, the 1990 Gulf War was identified by some Arab Muslims as another 'Crusade' and a Western Christian attempt to occupy Arab Muslim lands.

In September 2001 when Bush made reference to a "Crusade" against terrorism, it was not well received by Arab Muslims. For example, Bensheikh[392] states "His use of the word Crusade was most unfortunate. It recalled the barbarous and unjust military operations against the Muslim World" (Bensheikh cited in Ford, 2001). Similarly, Israel is often cited as a 'Crusader State'. Atkine (2004) argues that the 'Crusader Syndrome' lies at the heart of the ideational frames of current radical Islam*ist* groups and constitutes the backbone of anti-Americanism in the region. Furthermore, Crusader iconography provides powerful visual imagery to Islam*ist* propagandists such as ISIS, who use it (in *Dabiq*) to portray America as aggressively Christian and pro-Israel (Atwan, 2015).

Although the Crusades lasted 195 years and appear to be fixed firmly in many Arab Muslim minds as wars of Western Christian aggression and occupation of Arab Muslim lands; academics and authors such as: Gibbon[393], Sookhdeo, Warner, and Kennedy stress that the Crusades were preceded by hundreds of years of 'Islamic expansion' and invasions into European Christendom (Gibbon, 1850; Sookhdeo, 2015; Warner, 2014).

Colonialism and Post-Colonialism in the MENA Region

Besides the Crusades, the process of colonisation between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries, occupies a substantial place in the construction of radical ideas. Blackwell (2005) argues that the colonising powers refrained from encouraging the establishment of political institutions such as: trade unions; human rights organisations;

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[392] Soheib Bensheikh (Grand Mufti of the mosque in Marseille, France).
[393] Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), the acclaimed historian.

opposition parties; political pressure groups; critical and independent press; *et cetera*. He also stresses that when the colonisers withdrew, the former colonies were left without effective political infrastructure and independent institutions, the *sine qua non* of democratic societies (Blackwell, 2005). Furthermore, Blackwell (2005, p. 394) suggests that decolonisation created internal tensions between the 'winners and losers' and that the national boundaries, created by the colonisers, often cut across "traditional identities and loyalties to tribes and clans". Therefore, it is safe to argue that the process of colonisation in the MENA region which can be viewed as "subjugation, domination and exploitation" created deep fissures in Arab societies, not only in terms of financial gain but their *weltanschauung* (UN Special Committee on Decolonisation, 2018, cited in UN Watch, 2018).

In the midst of this change was Islam which remained intact. For decolonialised MENA societies, Islam provided: a source of faith to the 'common man'; an institutional form; a guide to life; and created a sense of justice amidst a ruling order that was the architect of their subordination (Blackwell, 2005). Therefore, Islam should be viewed as more than a religion in a Western sense but a comprehensive Islam*ic* culture. However, it would be disengenuiness to suggest that *Sunni* Islam was viewed in a single unifying way or had a standard interpretation. On one hand, Middle Eastern autocratic rulers often used their own 'interpretation of Islam' through state appointed Imams in order to justify their prolonged rule and maintain the *status quo*. On the other hand, many Arab *Sunnis* rejected their autocratic rulers' version of Islam and instead followed their selected interpretation that facilitated their political aspirations, often assisted by organisations such as the MB (Sookhdeo, 2008). Furthermore, Islam*ist* groups such as the MB and later, AQ and ISIS skillfully tapped into longstanding emotive historical issues such as the Crusades, or Western colonialism and used such selective understandings of history and iconography, combined with misinterpreted preexisting Islam*ic* doctrines[394] to recruit, motivate and retain their personnel and supporters (Al-Suwaidi, 2016; Atwan, 2015; Sookhdeo, 2015).

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[394] Such as *Jihād.*

Arab Psychology

Patai (2007) suggests that there is an important psychological dimension which should be considered when contemplating this issue. Patai's analysis of the impact on Arab psychology as a result of the Westernisation of the political and social environment in Arab societies may assist in better understanding the processes of Islam*ist* extremism amongst Arab *Sunnis*. Patai (2007) explains how Arab collective pride and self-image was 'shattered' by the French conquest of Egypt[395] which followed centuries of high confidence that Arab civilisation had been superior to the West. Soubra (2014) also highlights that this perceived decline of Arab civilisation coincided with growing exposure to Western political and cultural influence. This was particularly the case following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and caliphate after World War One[396] (Rogan, 2015). As Patai (2007) demonstrates, while recognising the superiority of Western technology, many traditional Arabs viewed Western culture as destructive to their distinct way of life and an implicit threat to Islam.

It is further argued by Patai (2007) that the Arabs have a 'tendency to blame others for the problems they are facing'. This position is supported by Soubra (2014). Whilst it is accepted in ethnography that generalisations of this nature should be avoided as they tend to simplify, stereotype and overlook the complexity inherent in large groups[397], it is worth continuing with Patai's conclusions. Furthermore, such adverse generalisations may be viewed as prejudicial and Orientalist in nature. However, Patai (2007) posits the view that Imperialism, Colonialism and Zionism, have all provided convenient arguments for the construction of an anti-Western and specifically anti-American narrative propagated by much of the Arab media and some Arab intellectuals. Patai (2007), Sookhdeo (2014) and Soubra (2014) also argue that what fundamentalists really fear is not Christianity but Westernisation (or Americanisation) and its inherent secularisation that would greatly diminish the role of

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[395] In 1798.
[396] Triggered by the Mudros Armistice on 31 October 1918, which ended the Ottoman Empire's involvement in World War I. This was followed by abolition of the Ottoman dynasty on 1 November 1922 and abolition of the Caliphate on 3 March 1924.
[397] 22 x Arab states - Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros Islands, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.

Islam to Arabs, similar to the long term impact of the Enlightenment on orthodox Christianity in the West.

Simplicity of its Message

It can be argued that one reason why Islam*ist* extremism has such an appeal is that it presents simple solutions to complex and multifactorial issues, whilst appealing to and distorting deeply held beliefs (Atwan, 2015; Al-Suwaidi, 2016). For example, to a poor uneducated Afghan villager who does not wish his daughter to go to school, the Taliban's simplistic message may be appealing. This is probably because the Taliban present a simple fundamentalist message and encourage a way of life similar to that lived during the time of the Prophet (PBUH). Yet, there may also be a more human and personal reason for this appeal. To an uneducated man who is the head of the family, an educated daughter may present culturally, a threat to his status, dignity and honour. This is reflected in the Nurestan[398] saying "A daughter must not know more than her father" (Shah, 2007). Therefore, in such circumstances, it is not difficult to comprehend how Islam*ists* can create a narrative where modernisation, such as education of girls, can be seen as Americanisation, wholly negative and a threat to culture and Islam.

However, in the Arab Middle East, this pragmatic yet almost Orientalist argument does not withstand intellectual scrutiny, as much of the Middle East is dynamic and developing[399], has higher literacy rates and most Arab youth embrace modernity. Yet, to some Arab *Sunnis,* the simplicity of the Islam*ist* anti-American message can be appealing. This simple unifying message is paradoxically the result of a complex matrix of carefully selected and developed beliefs and ideas which will be examined more fully during the research process and at length in this thesis.

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[398] Nurestan – Afghanistan adjoining Panjshir and North Pakistan. Source – Helmand Detainee Detention Facility archive (Ahmed Shah, 2007).
[399] And in some cases, 'developed' such as Dubai.

Conclusion

Although recent events, such as the conflict in Syria, American invasion of Iraq, US prisoner abuse in *Abu Ghraib* and the presence of American military bases in Muslim lands can be seen as catalysts to explain some of the anti-American appeal of contemporary Islam*ist* extremism to Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis*; in reality, the origins and development of Islam*ism* are deep, complex and historical (Stump and Dixat, 2012, pp. 3-4). This complexity touches upon: theological, political, cultural, ideological, intellectual, societal, psychological, historical, and a range of other factors. Therefore, what is revealed from the literature review and analysis in this chapter is that the message of Islam*ist* extremism is political, ideological and most importantly underpinned by a skewed religious belief (Al-Suwaidi, 2016).

It has been shown that some contributory factors such as anti-colonialism may have almost disappeared, only to have been replaced by anti-Americanism, whilst other factors such as: social injustice; lack of social development and empowerment; the Palestinian issue; fears over perceived threats to Islam, culture and values; seem to endure. Additionally, some, such as the MB, view the only solution to be, an Islam*ic* government based on *Sharia* within an Islam*ic* caliphate (Al-Suwaidi, 2016). What this analysis has also revealed is that prior to the 1980s, many Islam*ist* groups such as the MB were, to a great degree, inward looking. They proposed re-Islamisation of society, restoration of an Islam*ic* government and the use of *jihād* against 'ignorant' Muslim governments and societies rather than the West in general (Bar, 2004). Prior to the Iranian Revolution, terrorism was viewed by many in the West as an outgrowth of modern ideologies, but it was during this period that Islam*ist* extremism appeared on the international 'horizon'[400] with the Iranian Hostage Crisis[401], in what was known in Iran as the "Second Revolution" (Taheri, 2017). This was also when America acquired the popular Iranian title, "The Great Satan" (Taheri, 2017).

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[400] Notwithstanding previous Palestinian and other Arabs 'incidents'.
[401] Iranian Hostage Crisis (4 November 1979 - 20 January 1981 - 444 days) was the longest hostage crisis in history, where 52 x US citizens were taken hostage at the US Embassy in Tehran by Iranian students who supported the Iranian Revolution.

It has also been shown that Middle Eastern Islam*ism* is not a new phenomenon and that there is a 'black thread' of continuity connecting ISIS suicide attackers to the suicidal attacks of the *Hashshāshīn*, during the Crusades. Furthermore, the message of some Islam*ist* ideologues, such as Qutb, has been influential and enduring. Additionally, within the history of Islam*ist* extremism, there is no precedent for the utterly unrestrained levels of violence used by Islam*ists*[402] in the contemporary era. Even the *Hashshāshīn* did not commit mass slaughter in the manner of ISIS. A summary of the chronology of the development of Middle Eastern Islam*ism* through the ages is at Appendix 10. The next chapter will consider theory, methodology and research methods.

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[402] Such as, AQ, *Hezbollah* and ISIS.

CHAPTER 5

Theory, Methodology and Research Methods

This chapter will establish the theoretical framework of the study and outline the methodology and research methods used, within this area of research and domain of knowledge. This is in order to demonstrate the general strategy through which the study was achieved and the research methods within it. In the interests of academic transparency, reflexivity and accountability, the limitations, weaknesses and significant challenges encountered in conducting the primary research, and how they were managed, are also articulated.

The thesis uses a range of relevant theorists, academics and authors, including ancient and modern, Western and Middle Eastern, where they advance the academic investigation. By way of introduction, it will touch upon rational philosophy in terms of a Western and Middle Eastern Worldview and cover Orientalism and Neo-Orientalism from a theoretical framework perspective. It will then outline appropriate selected concepts, arguments and theoretical tools from social movement scholars and adopted qualitative methodologies of critical research, drawing upon collected data *via* in-depth semi-structured interviews from a cohort of Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men, analysed by Interpretative Phenomenological[403] Analysis[404] (IPA).

The theoretical ontological perspective adopted was that knowledge of a mind-independent reality is not feasible, particularly with respect to cultural issues. Therefore, this thesis argues that humans exist in relation to others and can only be understood, in relation to others. Turning to epistemology, the thesis focuses upon a perspectivist[405] epistemology which argues that claims of a general nature can be made as a result of

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[403] Phenomenology – Ancient Greek *phainómenon* ('that which appears') and *lógos* ('study') or *lógia* (logical discourse) is the philosophical study of consciousness and experience. It is a method of inquiry originated predominantly by the philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859 –1938) and developed by others such as Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) (Farina, 2014).

[404] Related Phenomenography – the qualitative research methodology that investigates the different ways in which people experience phenomena or consider such phenomena.

[405] Perspectivism – a philosophical view (coined by Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) but with ancient Greek conceptual origins) that all ideations originate from particular perspectives. Therefore, numerous perspectives about 'truth' can be made. However, it is stressed that this does not mean that that all perspectives are equally valid.

reasoned argument and persuasion, with a resulting perspective that is bolstered by credibility of research.

Theoretical Framework

Introduction

This part of the chapter outlines the theoretical framework and theoretical approach of the thesis. It commences with rational philosophy, Western and Middle Eastern worldviews, touches upon Orientalism and Neo-Orientalism, before considering the social constructionist approach to the ontological and epistemic bases for the study (Brekhus, 2015). To accompany this, the study will give recourse to frame theory[406], a methodology that serves in the cause of understanding the emergence of social movements, be they *jihādi* factions or the 'collective' that wages a counter-terrorist WoT (Goffman and Berger, 1974).

Whilst conducting an academic investigation involving Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis,* it is important to consciously avoid an Orientalist (Said, 1978 and 1985) and Neo-Orientalist (Schmidt, 2014) approach. To complement this, the thesis will retain a generic understanding of Islam*ic* and Arab perspectives and how they may inform the creation of the Islam*ist* viewpoint, but also, how they may be framed or reframed differently from a Western perspective. Although it is well understood that there is no 'single Arab or Islam*ic* mind' or perspective, as this is a complex and multifaceted issue, the intention is to provide an insight to an 'Arab *Sunni* perspective', within this area of research. Although this approach brings with it the inherent risk of being seen as Orientalist or Neo-Orientalist; in reality, the intention is quite the opposite. Arab writers such as Atwan (2015), Al-Soudi, (2015), Al-Suwaidi, (2016) and Said[407] (1978 and 1985) argue that this element is often missing from Western scholarly investigations of Middle Eastern, Arab and Islam*ic* matters. This approach should also assist with the

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[406] Drawn from social movement literature.
[407] Edward Said (1935-2003), intellectual and author, Professor of Literature at Columbia University, established the discipline of postcolonial studies and author of the seminal work *Orientalism* in 1978.

comparison of Western frames of Arab *Sunni* extremism which has often been equated with terrorism.

The crucial aspect of this chosen approach is its particular treatment of the question of Arab Islam*ist* extremism, which can, elsewhere, be greeted in contemporary texts with value-laden language, crafted in response to particular events of recent years. A contemporary example is Murray[408] in his 2017 book *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam.* In it, he begins by declaring that "Europe is committing suicide. Or at least its leaders have decided to commit suicide" (Murray, 2017, p. 1) and goes on to compare the immigration of non-Europeans in general and Muslims in particular into Europe to the Ancient Greek paradox of the Ship of Theseus[409]:

> "As recorded in Plutarch, the ship in which Theseus had sailed had been preserved by the Athenians who put in new timber when parts of the ship decayed. Yet was this not still the ship of Theseus even when it consisted of none of the materials in which he had sailed?" (Murray, 2017, p. 5).

Murray's allusion is implicit yet clear. But it becomes more explicit, as he goes on to refer to the "death sentence that the cradle and Parthenon of Western civilisation had passed upon itself" (Murray, 2017, p. 8) and that large-scale immigration from other cultures and faiths is "a deliberate act of national sabotage" (Murray, 2017, p. 33). Murray also highlights the political neologism 'Eurabia'[410] which is used to describe the 'Islamisation and Arabisation of Europe', as viewed by some American neo-conservatives and others. However, a Western oriented value-laden interpretative perspective may of course also apply to other texts[411].

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[408] Douglas Kear Murray - Neo-Conservative author, political commentator and Associate Director - Henry Jackson Society.
[409] Ship of Theseus – recorded by Plutarch in *Life of Theseus* during the first century CE. It is used as an example to illustrate the question of whether an object remains the same object when all of its component parts have been replaced. Others such as Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and John Locke (1632–1704) also discussed this particular 'paradox'.
[410] The term Eurabia is attributed to the author Bat Ye'or which appeared in his 2005 book *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis.*
[411] For example: Gibbon (1850), Chesterton (2014), Gorka (2016) and Warner (2014).

Rational Philosophy – Western and Middle Eastern Worldview

The development of rational philosophy in the West led inexorably to a modern pluralist and secular society in which today it can be difficult for many to embrace religious concepts or even relate to them (Bronowski, 2011). For example, Descartes[412] developed a philosophic concept of absolute skepticism. He proposed "*cogito ergo sum*"[413]; he therefore dismissed the conventional beliefs of religion and doubted everything, except of course, the act of doubting (Bronowski, 2011).

It can be argued that this philosophy runs contrary to belief and faith in the theological absolute truths of Islam and indeed Judaism or Christianity. Also, Western philosophical, theological, societal and political development have been greatly influenced by thinkers and philosophers such as Protagoras[414], Aristotle[415], Augustine[416], Aquinas[417], Machiavelli[418], More[419], Luther[420], Calvin[421], Galileo[422], Descartes, Hobbes[423], Spinoza[424], Locke, Marx, and Nietzsche to name but a few. Furthermore, Clark in his acclaimed work *Civilisation* stresses that the West in particular benefited greatly from periods of intense cultural and philosophical developments such as the Renaissance and in particular the Enlightenment which he argues laid the foundations of modern Western civilisation (Clark, 1987).

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[412] René Descartes (1596–1650), philosopher and scientist who is often called the 'Father of modern Western philosophy'.
[413] Originally - this appeared in *Discourse on the Method* (1637) but later in *Latin in Principles of Philosophy* (1644).
[414] Protagoras of Abdera (481-420 BCE) philosopher and an early advocate of relativism.
[415] Aristotle (384-322 BCE), the philosopher and polymath.
[416] Augustine of Hippo – (354-430), who helped lay the foundations of Western Christian theology and philosophy.
[417] Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), Christian philosopher, theologian and author of *Summa Theologiae* (A Theological Guide), *Summa Contra Gentiles* ('Book of Truth' defending Christian doctrine against Islam and 'heretical' beliefs) and commentaries on Aristotle created a balance in 'faith and reason' in Christianity and philosophy.
[418] Niccolò dei Machiavelli (1469–1527), Renaissance philosopher, political theorist (realism) and author of *The Prince* (1513).
[419] Sir Thomas More (1478–1535), Renaissance philosopher, lawyer, humanist, statesman and author of *Utopia* (1516).
[420] Martin Luther (1483–1546), theologian and leading figure in the Protestant Reformation. Luther published his famous *Ninety-five Theses* (1517) which demanded a theological debate on the efficacy of plenary indulgences.
[421] John Calvin (1509-1564), theologian and reformer in the Protestant Reformation. He refined preexisting Augustinian doctrines and further developed the concepts of predestination and 'the absolute sovereignty of God'.
[422] Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), philosopher and polymath who posited the concept of Heliocentrism which conflicted with Geocentrism and contradicted Roman Catholic doctrine. After investigation by the Roman Inquisition he was found guilty.
[423] Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), philosopher and author of *Leviathan* (1651) which posited social contract theory.
[424] Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), philosopher and author of *Ethics* (1677) who laid the foundations for the Enlightenment.

Meanwhile, in the Middle East, Islam*ic* philosophers and thinkers such as Al-Kindī[425], Al-Fārābī[426], Ibn-Sīnā[427] and Al-Ghazālī, significantly shaped and influenced Middle Eastern Arab philosophy and perspectives. Corbin (2014, p. 242) in his acclaimed work '*History of Islamic Philosophy'* also stresses the important role of Ibn-Rušd in shaping not only Arab philosophical thought but that of the Latin West. It is Ibn-Rušd who is credited by some, as having 'sown the seeds of the Renaissance' in the West and Christendom, through his commentaries on the great classical works, by Aristotle and Plato and was known to Aquinas by the *sobriquet* 'The Commentator'. He is also known for a number of independent treatises dealing with a variety of philosophical and theological topics, such as '*Tahdfut al-Tahafut'*, (*The Incoherence of the Incoherence*) (Hyman, 1986).

For the purposes of this thesis, it is interesting to note that Ibn-Rušd became the progenitor of provocative and heterodox ideas and posited a controversial view that religion, for the common people, is a metaphor for truth but that philosophy is a more precise tool to access the same truth, and that religion and philosophy are not in contradiction. In the Islamic debate between 'faith and reason', which was also raging in Christendom, he defended the precepts of philosophy against faith by using his widely known mantra "truth cannot contradict truth". In this Islam*ic* debate, he engaged in a prolonged polemic with Al-Ghazālī about 'Who wills the storms?' and was ultimately trapped by Al-Ghazālī, in this famous academic debate. So highly regarded was this Islam*ic* Middle Eastern philosopher in Christendom that Ibn-Rušd appears in Raphael's famous Renaissance fresco The School of Athens (1511), and in Dante's *The Divine Comedy*, where he is featured alongside the great classical minds of ancient Greece and Rome (Columbia University, 2017).

Within the Middle East, Islam remained the predominate and pervasive religion and it was this controlling factor rather than any other, which probably 'fixed' Arab

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[425] Al-Kindī (801 – 873), Abu Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn-'Isḥāq aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ Al-Kindī; the 'Philosopher of the Arabs'.
[426] Al-Fārābī (870 – 950) Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad Al-Fārābī, philosopher, known as 'the Second Master', after Aristotle, for his work on preserving original Greek texts during the Middle Ages.
[427] Ibn-Sīnā (980-1037) also known as Avicenna, philosopher, polymath and a leading Islamic intellectual.

perspectives on the balance between 'faith and reason'. Therefore, it can be argued that for many Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis*, reason was and is viewed through the prism of Islam*ic* belief and their understanding of accepted theology, practice and precedent within their particular cultural environment.

Many in the secular West might agree with the general thrust of Protagoras who posits that "man is the measure of all things" (Poster, 2017) and in control of his own destiny. But in the Middle East and the Arab World, this is generally not the case, as Islam puts *Allāh* at the very centre of life and death (Bronowski, 2011). In Islam, it is '*Allāh* who is the measure of all things', "*Allāh* has set a measure for all things" (Holy Qur'an, 65:3, *Sūrat I-Talāq*) (University of Leeds, 2018). Moreover, Islam's emphasis on divine sovereignty and Middle Eastern societies' inclination to grant 'collective will' as a priority over that of the individual are also among the major differences between the mainly secular Western perspective and predominant Middle Eastern Islam*ic* perspective. In Islam*ic* thought, only *Allāh* has absolute freedom. Thus, in Islam, the freedom of human beings is determined by divine will (Al-Suwaidi, 2016). Interestingly, Dalacoura stresses that the position of the individual and the centrality of duty in traditional Islam has determined the relationship between authority and the community (1998, pp. 43-45).

Patai (2007) posits that Islam has within it a fatalistic element that provides strength to Muslims in times of crises and consequently, a lesser value is placed upon human life. However, caution must be used in approaching such a position. Atkine (2004) appears to support Patai's general position by arguing that the 'Arab attitude toward safety precautions' reflects *Qada* or Preordination[428] and quotes the Holy Qur'an (Abbas and Atwell, 2017), "Wheresoever you may be, death will overtake you even if you are in fortresses built up strong and high!" (Holy Qur'an, 4:78, *Sūrat an-Nisā'*).

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[428] Preordination (*Qada*), - The Islam*ic* theological concept of *Qada*, is that Allāh has preordained every event throughout eternity. It differs from Predestination - the belief that the destiny of man is predetermined by God in a general sense, which exists in the Jewish faith. Although the complex differences between these theological concepts are beyond the scope of this thesis, it is worth noting that they exist. According to Josephus, the Jewish theological schools of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes were divided on the matter of predestination (Kohler, 2011).

In order to better understand Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis*, their belief system and how it impacts upon their actions, it is beneficial to grasp some aspects of the Islam*ic* theoretical concept of *Qada* (Kohler, 2011). This is a complex theological concept and one in which there remains much debate amongst Islam*ic* scholars (Kohler, 2011). Although detailed discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is of value to have a basic understanding of its precepts, as it impacts on the Islam*ist* mindset. Muslims in general believe that, Allāh has created everything and nothing occurs except through the 'Will of Allāh'. It is also believed that every human life has an appointed time and this cannot be cut short by an hour or extended by a second, as articulated in the Holy Qur'an, "Nothing shall ever happen to us except what Allāh has ordained for us" (Holy Qur'an, 9:51, *Sūrat At-Tawbah*). For example, in some parts of the Middle East it is common when an Arab *Sunni* dies to repeat the phrases, 'It was his time' or 'For him it was written' or the Qur'anic phrase *Hasbuna Allāh Wanama Al-Wakeel* ("*Allāh* is the best disposer of our affairs" (Holy Qur'an, 3:173)). Furthermore, this is the primary reason why the term *insha'Allāh* (if Allāh wills it), is so important to Arab *Sunnis* in daily life.

The concept of preordination may not always sit easily with the modern Western secular mind, (Poster, 2017). However, from an ontological perspective, it is worth pausing to consider that 'man' does not choose when he is born, to whom, at which place or point in time and in which level in society; these are all predetermined before birth. (Bronowski, 2011). Also, man does not in general choose when, how and where he dies (excepting suicide). This perhaps reveals a separation between how many in the secular West and many Arab *Sunnis* view the world. However, before adopting a reductionist 'Clash of Civilisations' (Huntington, 1997) or 'schism of belief' position between West and Middle East; it is worth recalling that Western theologians such as Calvin[429] espoused doctrines of Predestination[430] and 'the absolute sovereignty of God'

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[429] John Calvin (1509-1564), theologian, pastor and reformer in the Protestant Reformation. He refined preexisting Augustinian doctrines and further developed the concepts of predestination and 'the absolute sovereignty of God'.
[430] Predestination - the early Jewish and Christian theological belief that the destiny of man is predetermined by God in an absolute way, and later, in a general sense (Kohler, 2011). Although, according to Josephus, the Jewish theological schools of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes were divided on the meaning of predestination (Kohler, 2011). Christianity remains divided on this complex concept due to the 'paradox of free will' (omniscience - capacity to know everything and theological fatalism - infallible foreknowledge making the human act unfree).

and that such beliefs are still considered valid by many extant Christian and Jewish groups within the modern West (Kohler, 2011). Deeper analysis of this complicated theological and philosophical issue is beyond the scope of this thesis.

It is perhaps helpful to be cognisant of this spiritual dimension when Western non-Muslims are assessing Arab, Islam*ic*, and ultimately Islam*ist* matters. For example, it is a common trait for some Western commentators to 'rush to judgement' and completely divorce Islam*ic* belief from Islam*ist* ideology and for others to focus solely upon the Islam*ic* belief aspects of Islam*ists*, whereas the reality of the Islam*ist* belief system is much more complex and intertwined (Al-Suwaidi, 2016; Sookhdeo, 2015; Al-Soudi, 2015). These differences in worldviews and socio-political traditions between the secular-West and predominately Islam*ic*-Arab worlds have also, produced different framing processes and strategies. The next section will touch upon Orientalism and Neo-Orientalism from a theoretical framework perspective, before considering the social construction of reality.

Orientalism and Neo-Orientalism

Orientalism

Orientalism can be said to refer to the tendency to gather knowledge and understand the East or Orient by employing traditional Western or Occidental methods of viewing it from a particular Western perspective or through a Western lens. The eponymous term was used by Said (1978) to challenge the validity of such methods. At the 'hard' end of the spectrum, Orientalism was a method of cultural discrimination and Western prejudice that was applied against Oriental societies. It also formed part of the European imperial process of "subjugation, domination, and exploitation" (UN Special Committee on Decolonisation, 2018, cited in UN Watch, 2018) by demeaning them and making them appear almost 'barbaric', thereby creating an 'Other' that was worthy of 'civilising' and coerced conversion to Christianity.

At the 'softer' end of the spectrum, this involved romanticising[431] the exotic or perceived mystique of the cultures of the East in general and Middle East in particular. Said (1985) considers the consequences of these Orientalist forms of representation to have been stereotypes, falsehoods, over-generalisations and the creation of an Eastern 'Other'. Said (1985) stresses that scholarship about the East was inextricably linked to the Empires that had produced it. Said (1985) further argues that by influencing and distorting Western consciousness, Orientalist discourse had a negative impact on how the West approached the East in general and Islam in particular. However, Said's perspective on Orientalism is not without its critics such as Brunotte (2015, p. 2), who highlights the "homogenizing and ahistorical tendency of his study". That being said and acknowledging that there are critics of Said's view of Orientalism, this view of the Middle East as backward and barbaric has led to interpretations such as, "Islamic civilisation as we know it would simply not have existed without the Greek heritage" (Rosenthal[432], 1975, p. 14). Rosenthal was preceded by Walzer[433] who in his work *Greek into Arabic: Essays on Islamic Philosophy* (1962) advanced the idea that much of what the early Arab philosophers had to say had been 'borrowed' from the Greeks.

Turning to the British experience, for example in India during the British Empire, many British expatriates working for the Honourable East India Company grew to love the vibrant culture that permeated their lives, so much so that they dressed like Indian *Mahārājas*, learned local languages and married local women (Gilmour, 2018). This reached such levels that concerns were raised in London that the British in Indian might ultimately lose their identity and consequently their loyalty to England (Gilmour, 2018). There then followed a comprehensive and well implemented plan to make the British in India as English as possible, in dress, speech, ethos, belief and outlook. This was to become the British *Raj*. It was taught that dressing as an English gentleman was not just about clothing, personal standards or cultural identity but that such dress actually

[431] The mystique and mystery of the Arabian desert with its feuding Bedouins and the opulent harem as captured by Orientalist artists such as Eugène Delacroix, David Roberts, Léon Cogniet and Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres.
[432] Franz Rosenthal (1914-2003), intellectual and author, Professor of Semitic languages at Yale (1956-1967) and Professor of Arabic, Arabic literature and Islam at Yale (1967-1985).
[433] Richard Rudolf Walzer (1900-1975), intellectual, specialist on ancient Greek philosophy. He is best known for his contribution to the understanding of Greek thought and of its use and development by medieval Islamic thinkers.

carried with it a degree of authority, expected standards and compliance from the locals (Gilmour, 2018).

The term 'going native' was used frequently as a pejorative term to any British person who wore local clothing or adopted local customs (Gilmour, 2018). However, the British experience in the Middle East was different, particularly in the Arabian Gulf. Notable individuals such as Blunt[434], Palgrave[435], Leachman[436], Thomas[437], Thesiger[438] and of course Lawrence[439], all wore local Arab dress, whilst in Arab lands. However, it is stressed that dressing in local clothing, speaking Arabic and respecting local customs did not prevent many of them from adopting a British imperialist or Orientalist perspective about the Arabs or Islam. However, it is pertinent that Lawrence wrote in *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*:

> "In my case, the effort for these years to live in the dress of Arabs, and to imitate their mental foundation, quitted me of my English self, and let me look at the West and its conventions with new eyes: they destroyed it all for me" (Lawrence, 1939, p. 30).

What Lawrence alludes to here, and elsewhere in '*Seven Pillars',* is that ultimately being "quitted" of his "English self" and being able to "look at the West" with "new eyes" (Arab / Middle Eastern), left him neither Arab[440] nor truly English (Lawrence, 1939, p. 30); and perhaps he was as is described in the apt ancient Bedouin saying, "Caught between two fires"[441].

Because Orientalists of the past refrained from using Islam's own terms to understand Islam, they placed Islam within the realm of Western understanding *vis-à-vis*

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[434] Lady Anne Blunt (1837-1917) - 15th Baroness Wentworth, author, traveller and Arabist.
[435] William G Palgrave (1826-1888) – Arabian specialist, author, traveller and British Consul-General.
[436] Lieutenant Colonel G Leachman (1880-1920) – Arabist, traveller and British representative.
[437] Bertram Thomas (1892-1950) – Arabist, explorer and traveller, first documented Westerner to cross the *Rub' al Khali*.
[438] Sir Wilfred Thesiger (1910-2003) – renowned explorer and author of books such as: *Arabian Sands*, *The Marsh Arabs* and *Visions of a Nomad* and known to the local Arabs as '*Mubarak bin* London'.
[439] Colonel T E Lawrence (1888-1935) – 'Lawrence of Arabia'. Author of *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* and *Revolt in the Desert*.
[440] Lawrence states "Pray God that men reading this will not, for love of the glamour of strangeness, go out to prostitute themselves and their talents in serving another race" …… "He is not of them" (Lawrence, 1939, pp. 29-30).
[441] Source – Khalid Al-Mansouri, recorded by the author in the *majlis* tent at Liwa Oasis (18 May 2016).

Christian concepts. They therefore, made analogies between Christianity and Islam and between the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and Christ[442] (Jesus (*Īsā*)) (PBUH)) (Nooruddin, 1998). The Christ analogy also reinforced the idea that the Prophet (PBUH) was an 'inferior' version of the Christian Messiah (Nooruddin, 1998). Essentially, Orientalists have traditionally viewed Islam in two ways. First, Islam was viewed as an inferior copy of Christianity and secondly it was argued that Islam with its enormous military and political success was a credible threat to Western civilisation (Rogan, 2018). From the Arab conquests of the seventh century until the decline of the Ottoman Empire, Islam was presented as a consistent threat to Christendom, not least because 'Islam*ic* empires' had challenged and even dominated parts of Christian Europe, leaving longstanding sectarian animosity, such as in the Balkans and parts of Spain (Rogan, 2018; Kennedy, 2008, pp. 363-376). This 'Islam*ic* threat' also incorporated Orientalist perceptions of Islam. Even Clark in *Civilisation* states:

> "In the middle of the seventh century there appeared a new force, with faith, energy, a will to conquer and an alternative culture: Islam. ….. In a miraculously short time – about fifty years – the classical world was overrun. The old source of civilisation was sealed off" (Clark, 1987, p. 22).

Implicit in Clark's statement is a worldview that civilisation is *de facto* Western. Notions such as these constructed 'the Orient'. However, this term is relative rather than an absolute. "The Orient is whatever the Orientalists say it is: it is a series of abstractions based upon Western-generated ideas rather than upon Oriental realities" (Nooruddin, 1998, p. 1). Nooruddin (1998) stresses that Islam*ic* philosophy needs to be studied as an independent and original form of philosophical thought. Corbin (2014) in his seminal work, *History of Islamic Philosophy,* reinforces this view. However, Orientalist

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[442] Christ or Messiah - Jesus Christ - Jesus of Nazareth. Christian theology considers Jesus to have two natures, divine and human. Roman Catholic theology considers Jesus to be part of the Holy Trinity although this Christological issue of the divine nature of Jesus caused difficulties to the early Christian Church. It was initially resolved at the First Council of Nicaea in 325, resulting in the Nicene Creed. However, as doubts continued, it required clarification at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, resulting in the Chalcedonian Definition (Christ having two natures which 'come together in one person or *hypostasis*'). Because of continuing doubts, it was necessary for Rome to redefine and restate church 'truths' about the nature of Christ, such as at the Council of Trent (Holy Roman Empire) in 1545, First Vatican Council in 1869 and Second Vatican Ecumenical Council 1962-1965.

stereotypes are still reflected in everyday discourse about Islam and Arabs, especially since the Trump presidency. Said's claim that little has changed in representations of the Middle East in the West and particularly America (Said, 1985), is particularly relevant to this thesis.

Neo-Orientalism

The contemporary version of Orientalism is termed Neo-Orientalism. While indebted to Orientalism, Neo-Orientalism has created new forms of 'othering' by representing a new kind of *doxa*[443] about the Middle East and Muslims. Although Neo-Orientalism has developed as a different line of thought from Orientalism, it shares certain discursive repetitions and conceptual continuities. As with Orientalism, Neo-Orientalism contains monolithic, binary logic and it is based on the assumption of the moral and cultural superiority of the West over the Oriental 'other' (Behdad and Williams, 2010).

According to Bayat (2015), it is axiomatic that the cultural and political interrelations between the West and Middle Eastern Islam have been influenced by globalisation. He suggests that globalisation has added new dimensions which distinguishes Neo-Orientalism from 19th and 20th century Orientalism (Bayat, 2015). Bayat stresses that Neo-Orientalism is more "entrenched, multi-faceted, and harmful than its predecessor since it has fed into … 'Islamophobia'" (2015, p. 1). As a reflection of growing Islamophobia in the West, Oriental romanticism is replaced with a plethora of new stereotypes of Arabs and Islam. They are now "cast in new dyes" (Anees, 2015, p. 3). Bayat (2015) suggests that globalisation has transformed Europe into a multi-ethnic continent but that many Europeans refrain from recognising this historic shift. This view is further reinforced by significant migration into Europe from the MENA region during 2015-2019. However, Samiel (2010), posits that for a better future, new approaches to identity, global ethics and global civil society are required.

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[443] *Doxa* – from ancient Greek meaning a common belief or popular opinion.

Gol (2010) stresses that even in the 21st century Neo-Orientalist images often misrepresent the East and Islam*ic* World and that repeating discourses of Western hegemony manifest themselves as Neo-Orientalism. Gol (2010) further argues that 21st century Neo-Orientalism represents Eastern and Islam*ic* countries as a monolith and singles out Islam as a 'violent religion'. According to Gol, framing Islam as a, "[v]iolent, irrational, and backward religion … turns ordinary Muslims into potential terrorists". (2010, p. 2). Thus the binary nature of the WoT, simplified as 'us *versus* the other', has led to a renewed version of Orientalism. Binary language and stereotypes that were constructed post 9/11 indicates an Orientalist WoT frame. The associations of the WoT discourse contain normative credentials of Orientalism by underlining the superiority of the West *vis-à-vis* the moral inferiority of the East. Whitlock (2004) supports this view and argues that the 'primitivism of Arab Muslims' was framed by the narrative of the WoT.

It can be argued that the Neo-Orientalist lexicon and discourse has served America in justifying military interventions in the Middle East, for example in the use of the evocative word 'Crusade'. Viewed in this light, Neo-Orientalism can be seen as merely American Neo-Conservative ideology, which has been fostered by leaders, opinion formers, selected academics and politicians. Contemporary examples of some of the most enthusiastic proponents of Neo-Orientalism are Kramer[444] and Pipes[445] who propound the idea that Islam is incompatible with Western democracy. Within the UK, this particular Neo-Conservative viewpoint is espoused by authors such as Murray, who extend this position further to hold the religion of Islam accountable for the actions of Islam*ist* terrorists. However, doing so is not dissimilar to holding the entire German nation responsible (rather than appropriate Nazis[446]) for the Holocaust[447] (*Shoah*) and

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[444] Martin Seth Kramer - American-Israeli right-wing academic, based at *Shalem* College Jerusalem, who writes on Middle East matters and the 'threat from Islam'.
[445] Daniel Pipes - American historian, Neo-Conservative, author, President of the Middle East Forum, publisher of the Middle East Quarterly journal, commentator on the Middle East and terrorism and a columnist for right-wing newspapers.
[446] Nazis - National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP or Nazi Party).
[447] Holocaust (Hebrew – *Shoah* meaning 'catastrophe'), genocide of 6 million European Jews. Other groups such as Romani, Slavs, Aktion T4 patients, communists, homosexuals, Freemasons, Jehovah's Witnesses, priests, political prisoners and POWs were also slaughtered *en masse* on an industrial scale. The 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question' was decided upon at the 1942 Nazi Wannsee Conference.

atrocities carried out by the *Schutzstaffel*[448] and *Einsatzgruppen*[449]. Furthermore, the Nuremburg Trials[450] placed the emphasis on individual responsibility, rather than assumed national guilt. In the interests of academic objectivity, it is worthy of note that this position which is arguably narrow and legalistic has its detractors such as Goldhagen, who takes a contrary position and allocates culpability to 'ordinary Germans' (Goldhagen, 1997).

In a UK context, during 'The Troubles' the British Government at no point blamed the entire Northern Irish Roman Catholic population for the terrorist atrocities carried out by proscribed organisations such as PIRA. This is notwithstanding the fact that virtually all members of this illegal terrorist organisation were Northern Irish Roman Catholics and that there was an unequivocal sectarian dimension to the violence. Rather, the British authorities held the terrorists individually accountable before the law and went to great efforts to avoid alienating the vast majority of Catholics and thereby reducing the levels of radicalisation to Republican extremism, eventually leading to the Northern Irish Peace Process, the 1998 Good Friday Agreement and ultimately, peace.

Beyond the debate of Islam's compatibility with Western democracy or accountability for Islam*ist* terrorist acts, it can be argued that Neo-Orientalism has also become the guiding schema in much of the Western media and how they have framed the WoT. Therefore, Neo-Orientalist stereotypes dominate the public discourse whilst earlier Orientalist and 'romanticised' stereotypes of the Arab Muslim, have been replaced by the extremist and terrorist (Schmidt, 2014; Shaheen, 2014). According to Schmidt (2014), terrorist stereotypes have paved the way for the current political framing of Arab Muslims. Numerous examples of these during the contemporary 'Trump era' have been elucidated earlier in the thesis.

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[448] *Schutzstaffel* (SS) - consisting of *Allgemeine* SS (policing units), *Waffen*-SS (fighting units), *Gestapo* (special investigation and interrogation units) and SS-*Totenkopfverbände* (extermination and concentration camp units).
[449] *Einsatzgruppen* – SS mobile death squad units, responsible for mass killings.
[450] Nuremberg Trials (initial trials 1945-46) known as International Military Tribunal (IMT) - first set of trials, and Nuremberg Military Tribunals (NMT) - second set of trials. These led to the 1948 Genocide Convention, 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1950 Nuremberg Principles, 1968 Convention on the Abolition of the Statute of Limitations on War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity, 1949 Geneva Convention on the Laws and Customs of War and 1977 Protocols.

Western Framing of Islam*ist* Terrorism

Given the complex nature of the phenomena, multi-theoretical lenses are probably required to understand the construction of discourse on Islam*ist* terrorism. Research on framing Islam*ist* terrorism has focused on four empirical goals:

- **One**. To identify thematic units called frames;

- **Two**. To investigate the antecedent conditions that produce frames;

- **Three**. To examine how news frames activate and interact with, an individual's prior knowledge to affect interpretations, recall of information, decision making, and evaluations;

- **Four**. To examine how news frames shape social-level processes such as public opinion and policy issue debates (D'Angelo, 2002, p. 873).

These frames present certain interpretations of reality through, "Selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 6).

Holmes (2016) suggests, that terms such as 'Islam*ic* radicalism, 'Islam*ic* extremism', and 'Islam*ic* terrorism' have long been used by the Western elite and popular discourse to manipulate daily Western anxieties. It worth at this point restressing that this thesis accepts without reservation, the existence of Islam*ist* terrorism as there is overwhelming evidence to support its existence but does not accept the existence of 'Islam*ic* terrorism' as there is no credible evidence to support the proposition, which is academically problematic, as it conflates terrorism with the peaceful religion of Islam, consisting of 1.8 billion Muslims globally (Lipka, 2017). It is also worthy of note that the lack of an internationally agreed definition of terrorism paves the way for the term 'Islam*ic* terrorism' to be manipulated by different actors and to be

employed as a pejorative label (Jackson, 2008; Horgan and Boyle, 2008). Dualistic thinking that provides simplistic distinctions between 'moderate' and 'extremist', or 'good Muslim' and 'bad Muslim' also yield little to Western discourse or transforming our understanding of Islam*ist* terrorism. Furthermore, such an approach tends to obscure the reality of Islam*ist* movements being products of specific political, social and cultural contexts (Al-Suwaidi, 2016; Mamdani, 2002).

9/11 became, arguably, the turning point when the discourse on 'Islam*ic* terrorism' became the catalyst for the perception that violence is inherent to Muslim societies. Thus, the boundaries between acts of terror and the practices of Islam became blurred in Western minds (Atwan, 2015). This discourse also came to prominence in terrorism studies. However, origins of contemporary 'Islam*ic* terrorism' discourse can be traced back to the 1970s. Following the events of the Munich Massacre[451] and the Iran Hostage Crisis[452], Neo-Orientalist discourse proliferated in the West, which identified 'Islam*ic* terrorism' as a specific mode of political violence (Juergensmeyer, 2003). Huntington's controversial Clash of Civilisations theory further fuelled this contentious discourse (Huntington, 1997) and to some degree continues to influence the contemporary debate.

According to Cook (2003, p. 52), religious goals motivate these terrorists by "uniting all Muslims into one state". Similarly, Austin and Twigg (2005) suggest *Jihād* is a mere hatred of the West among irrational and uneducated young radicalised Muslim males. Gunning and Jackson (2011) stress that the profile of an 'Islam*ic* terrorist' as a politically conscious individual rather than a religious fanatic is rarely found in discourse. Hence, 'Islam*ic* terrorism' is viewed as religious extremism that must be dealt with by force. Therefore, the discourse on 'Islam*ic* terrorism' which frames it as a backward, fanatical and intrinsically 'evil' religious identity, has ethical consequences.

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[451] Munich Massacre – 1972 Palestinian 'Black September' terrorist attack on the Summer Olympics in Munich, resulting in the death of 11 x Israeli Olympic athletes and one West German police officer. Black September had demanded the release from prison of Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof (Red Army Faction (RAF) leaders).
[452] Iran Hostage Crisis (1979-1981), 52 US citizens at the US Embassy in Tehran were held hostage for 444 days by 'Iranian Muslim Student Followers of the Imam's Line', in support of the Iranian Revolution.

Countering this theoretical position, Ali (2003) proposes a definition of fundamentalism which is disengaged from religion, instead suggesting that it is any uncompromising belief system that is treated as the sole source of truth. According to Holmes (2016), such an interpretation implies that Bush's WoT could also be viewed as fundamentalism. Furthermore, Holmes, (2016) suggests that demonisation of Muslim extremists creates a negative counter-image through which the West can consolidate its own collective identity:

> "[t]he discourse of 'Islamic Terrorism' is predicated in opposition to the construction of the Western self, … through reductionist ideography that co-constitutes the very threat it purports to overcome" (Holmes, 2016, p. 5).

Yet, Jackson (2008) criticises such discourse as feeding the 'politics of fear' to normalise punitive counter-terrorism strategies and emphasises that Islam is not the cause of terrorism. If this viewpoint is accepted, then there is a need to understand why the radical interpretation of Islam by Islam*ists* wields such popular appeal. One interpretation is that extremist ideology and Islam*ist* rhetoric, is no more than a means to gain absolute power under their explicit terms. An alternative view is that Islam*ist jihādists* have deep religious fervour, truly believe in creating an Islam*ic* Caliphate, will use any means to that end and are arguably the 'mirror image' of the early Crusaders. The thesis will now turn to the social construction of reality and Social Constructionism.

The Social Construction of Reality

Social Constructionism

Social Constructionism posits that people are born into a world where the conceptual frameworks and categories in culture already exist (Brekhus, 2015); and that knowledge of the world and ways of understanding it are constructed between people (Elder-Vass, 2013; Berger and Luckmann, 1966). According to Philips and Hardy (2002), when people engage in conversation, the world gets constructed and language

becomes a 'form of action'. Berger[453] and Luckmann[454] (1966) stress that it is through these social interactions that versions of knowledge become fixed or even fabricated. What is regarded as 'truth' varies historically and cross-culturally and is a product not of objective observation, but of social interactions (Brekhus, 2015). However, the notion of 'truth' becomes problematic (Gergan, 2015) and consequently, within social constructionism there is no concept of objective fact (Elder-Vass, 2013). All knowledge therefore, is considered to be derived from viewing the world from some particular perspective (Giere, 2010). Consequently, concepts are acquired and reproduced daily by those who share a culture and language, thereby explaining the related phenomena of custom and tradition (Brekhus, 2015). It follows therefore, that the way people think and the concepts that provide a framework of meaning, are provided by the language that they use. Language therefore is a necessary pre-condition for thought as we know it (Searle, 1997).

On one hand, Social Constructionism stands in contrast to objective fact, where the latter argues that there are mind-independent properties of a phenomenon, which exist irrespective of human subjectivity (Elder-Vass, 2013). On the other hand, Social Constructionism places emphasis on the social dynamics that result in any phenomenon being considered what it is. These social dynamics comprise a complex set of variables such as cultural and historical biases and dispositions. Where these factors intersect in the public sphere, the concepts of human culture become 'socially constructed'. At the epistemic level, social constructionism places emphasis on social practice and process in order to define the concepts that populate human culture (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). For example, this is evidenced in the manner by which social constructions of America, differ in the Arab world. Therefore, any concept is not absolute; rather, it is indexed to a myriad of cultural processes, within which it arises.

Whether the world is understood from a, Christian, Jewish, Muslim or secular perspective can depend upon 'where and when' in the world one lives or lived. Also, the

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[453] Peter Ludwig Berger (1929-2017) – sociologist, best known for his book, co-authored with Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge.*
[454] Thomas Luckmann (1927-2016) – leading sociologist who made significant contributions to the study of communication, knowledge, religion.

conceptualisation of terrorism has undergone considerable change over time; therefore, 'ways of understanding' are historically and culturally relative (Brekhus, 2015). Consequently, these 'ways of understanding' are not only specific to particular cultures and periods of history, they are seen as products of that culture and history (Brekhus, 2015). The particular forms of knowledge that abound in any culture are consequently 'artefacts' of it (Brekhus, 2015). Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, Western 'ways of understanding' are not necessarily any better than Middle Eastern, in terms of being any nearer to the 'truth'.

Frames

The frame concept is rooted in the study of communicative interaction and was introduced to sociological research by Goffman[455]. Researchers building on Goffman's work have developed an extensive body of empirical knowledge about how speech occurs, how cultural knowledge is used, and how these interplay with interactional intentions and constraints (Steinberg, 1998). It is through this lens that the chapter will establish a basis for understanding the collective 'us *versus* them' conflicts that sit at the epicentre of this thesis. Frames are used to explain speech acts, rituals, and commonly occurring behaviours in other cultures (Brekhus, 2015). A frame may also be viewed as an inherently malleable mental construct, shaped in action and especially in 'face to face' interaction (Elder-Vass, 2013). Therefore, frames are the basic tools by which people infer and establish the nature of events, whilst subject to evolving modifications to the way in which reality is constructed and subsequently perceived (Brekhus, 2015). As such, both anti-Americanism and Islamophobia and indeed a worldview that is fundamentalist or even extremist, are indicative of frames within which self, other and society are defined. The next part of the chapter will consider the methodology and the research methods used in this study.

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[455] Erving Goffman (1922-1982), influential sociologist, author and lectured at University of California.

Methodology and Research Methods

Introduction

The purpose of this section is to outline the research methodology and research methods used in the study. The thesis adopted qualitative methodologies of critical research, drawing upon collected data *via* in-depth semi-structured interviews processed by way of interpretative IPA. These semi-structured interviews were conducted with English speaking, Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* males in Abu Dhabi. Additionally, due attention was given to the strategies that were deployed to ensure credibility of research and presentation of findings. The study focused upon a perspectivist epistemology which argues that claims of a general nature can be made as a result of reasoned argument and persuasion, with a resulting perspective that is bolstered by credibility of research.

The next part of the section will begin by touching upon epistemology, and critical research. It will then discuss and justify the research design and research methods, including sampling, data collection, interviews and data analysis. This will be followed by an overview of the ethical and safety considerations, credibility, validity, limitations and challenges of this research approach. Finally, a brief conclusion is presented.

Epistemology

Epistemology is closely linked to ontology and is the discovery of alternate means to find the most appropriate way of knowing or inquiring into, the nature of the world (Creswell, 2013). Epistemology is thus concerned with the theory of knowledge regarding methods, validation and possible ways of gaining knowledge; of social reality and claims about what is assumed to exist and can be known. Even the 'objective' world as described in science is but an interpretation of the world of our immediate experience, which is inescapably subjective (Hoy, 2009). In order to establish the basis

by which this study as a whole can be considered plausible and credible[456], it is important to establish the epistemic and ontological orientations of the research.

Critical Research

Critical research is, in effect, an amalgamation of various approaches from the social sciences and philosophy (Creswell, 2013). In an ontological sense, it is unconcerned with absolute, mind-independent facts (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). Rather, it locates the sphere of enquiry in the realm of human conversation. As such, it largely appeals to the school of thought that reality is socially constructed at the epistemic level, arguing that truth-claims arise within particular conversations (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). Giere (2010) reveals that power relations can also be added to this 'mix'. Methodologically, it relies on a qualitative approach and is concerned with various facets of human culture, values and agency. The theoretical ontological perspective adopted by this research is that knowledge of a mind-independent reality is not feasible, particularly with respect to the cultural issues that are being explored and investigated. It is therefore argued that humans exist in relation to others and can only understand themselves fully, in relation to others.

Research Design

Qualitative Approach

In this part of the section, an overview of qualitative research will be presented, together with a justification of why it was considered appropriate for this thesis. The phrase qualitative methodology refers in the broadest sense to research that produces descriptive data such as individual's written or spoken words and observable behaviour. However, qualitative methodology, similar to quantitative methodology, is more than just a set of data-gathering techniques. It is a way of approaching the empirical world.

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[456] Capable of withstanding independent academic scrutiny.

Bracketing

Qualitative researchers are concerned with questions of meaning, value and culture (Bryman, 2004), and attempt to set aside their own perspectives and engage in a form of detached subjectivity (Punch, 2013). Sokolowski (1999) suggests that for an enquirer into some facet of human culture, a phenomenological approach to observing the social world requires that researcher to break out of their natural attitude (Sokolowski, 1999). In order to achieve this, this study will apply the theoretical method of 'bracketing' (Heidegger, 2000; Ahern, 1999). Bracketing is an act of suspending judgment in phenomenological analysis about the natural world, in order to focus upon the analysis of experience (Husserl, 2012; Ashworth, 1999).

For example, the act of seeing a terrorist explosion qualifies as an experience, whether seen in person or in some other manner, such as on social media. 'Bracketing' the terrorist explosion therefore suspends any judgement about the explosion and instead analyses the explosion as experienced and interpreted by the mind of the person perceiving it. Therefore, a terrorist explosion may be perceived as a real event, as it is being viewed on social media and result in fear and anxiety on behalf of the viewer. However, it may be proved later to have been a hoax or completely fabricated for propaganda purposes; but that in no way makes the fear or anxiety experienced void. It remains a real experience and may also have influenced or shaped the person's views or opinions.

Holistic and Inductive Approach

Qualitative research is inductive[457] and researchers follow a flexible research design (Walliman, 2006), such as adjusting interview questions following a 'settling period'. Walliman (2006) acknowledges that researchers can never truly escape their

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[457] Inductive - an approach concerned with the generation of new theory emerging from qualitative research data. A deductive approach is aimed at testing theory.

assumptions about the world. Therefore, for this thesis it was important to be cognisant of and sensitive to unstated assumptions.

In qualitative methodology, the researcher looks at settings and people holistically. Consequently, people, settings, and groups are viewed as a whole, which is relevant to this study (Black, 1999). The qualitative researcher also: becomes acquainted with the subject personally; learns about their 'inner life', moral struggles, successes, failures, hopes and fears; studies people in the context of their past; and 'how they exist now' (Black, 1999). Qualitative research is also concerned with 'why people think the way they think', which is particularly relevant to this study. In qualitative interviewing, researchers generally model their interviews after a 'normal conversation' (Bryman and Bell, 2011). This was especially applicable to this research where sensitive data was accessed through careful conversational structure. Although it is acknowledged that qualitative researchers cannot eliminate their effects on the people they study, they attempt to minimise those effects or at least understand them when interpreting data (van Manen, 2014); which was done in this study.

Whereas qualitative researchers tend to emphasise the meaningfulness of their studies (validity), quantitative researchers tend to emphasise reliability and replicability in their research (Black, 1999). However, qualitative study is systematic research conducted with demanding, though not necessarily standardised, procedures. Consequently, the qualitative researcher is encouraged to be their own methodologist. An acknowledged advantage of this approach is that methods are considered to serve the researcher and not *vice versa*. For example, in this study, the researcher had to alter the venues for the interviews to accommodate the fears and wishes of the participants. The next section will cover the research methods and sampling.

Research Methods

Sampling

This study used Purposive Sampling[458] in general and Homogeneous Sampling[459] in particular. Purposive Sampling represents a group of different non-probability[460] sampling techniques and relies on the researcher when it comes to selecting the participants that are to be studied (Mabry, 2008). This was particularly relevant for this sensitive study. Purposive Samples are normally quite small[461] (Goertz and Mahoney, 2012), such as in this study.

Study Sample

The sample size in this study was intended to be 25. This was considered realistic for an individual researcher conducting sensitive research within the UAE. The gender of the sample group was entirely male. The original intention was to interview male and females. However, the university Ethics Committee limited the researcher to interviewing male participants only[462]. The sample age range was from 20 to 50 years. This reflected the bulk of the expatriate Arab population within UAE. It is also an age range which reflected a breadth and depth of experience and presented valuable research material.

Purposive Sampling

The main goal of Purposive Sampling is to focus on particular characteristics of a population that are of interest, which may best address the research question. For example, in this study, participants were English speaking, Middle Eastern, Arab, Muslim, *Sunni,* men. Furthermore, in Purposive Sampling the sample being studied is not meant to be representative of the population as a whole. However, in

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[458] Purposive Sampling is also known as Judgmental, Selective or Subjective Sampling.
[459] Homogeneous Sampling is a purposive sampling technique that aims to achieve a homogeneous sample.
[460] Non-probability Sampling – A non-probability sample is a deliberative and premeditated method of sampling, where a particular demographic is sought, rather than to appeal to any indicative examples from a general demographic.
[461] Especially when compared with Probability Sampling techniques.
[462] Due to safety, religious and cultural sensitivity concerns of a Western male conducting interviews with Middle Eastern Arab *Sun*ni females (to whom he was not related by blood or marriage) within the Arabian Gulf.

qualitative research, this is not considered to be a weakness, rather it is a choice (Goertz and Mahoney, 2012).

Homogeneous Sampling

In this study Homogeneous Sampling was used, which is a purposive sampling technique that aims to achieve a sample whose participants (units) share the same, or similar, characteristics or traits (Maxim, 1999). Homogeneous Sampling participants are selected based upon them having similar characteristics because such characteristics are of particular interest to the researcher (Neuman, 2009). A homogeneous sample is often chosen when the research question is specific to the characteristics of the particular group of interest, which is subsequently examined in detail (Maxim, 1999). This was the case in this study.

Study Data Collection

The data in this study was collected by way of in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews with English speaking, Middle Eastern, Arab, *Sunni*, men who were amenable to taking part in PhD research. The interviews took place in Abu Dhabi. A range of carefully cultivated contacts were used, having been encountered *via* the *majlis*[463] and other situations*,* over a period of time. Contact details were collected and a direct or indirect approach made to each of the individuals concerned. The interviews were to be conducted in a safe, secure and private environment of a hotel meeting room, whilst meeting all cultural and religious requirements. However, this approach had to be changed, as articulated below.

A specific research email was created to which applicants could reply and correspond. It was: phdresearch506@outlook.com Potential interviewees were also provided with the researcher's personal mobile phone number. However, this email became redundant, as the participants were concerned about the security implications of using email and preferred to use the mobile phone as a means of contact.

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[463] *Majlis* - a private seating area where a number of persons will sit and talk. Within the Arabian Gulf these are generally separated into male and female *majlis.*

Interviews / Interview Programming

Semi-structured, in-depth qualitative interviews were used in this study in order to make this research efficient and effective by maintaining focus on matters relevant to the research question. The chief reason for not selecting a method such as unstructured interviews was that such interviews have the risk of not eliciting from the participants the topics or themes more closely related to the research question. Murchison (2010) reveals that qualitative interviewing has been referred to as non-standardised and open-ended interviewing. This tends to involve face-to-face encounters between the researcher and participants directed toward understanding participants' perspectives on their lives or situations as expressed in their own words (Murchison, 2010). At the 'epicentre' of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience. In this study, far from being an impersonal data collector, the interviewer became the 'research tool'. This involved not merely obtaining answers but knowing which questions to ask and how they should be asked within an Arab Islam*ic Sunni* cultural context. Furthermore, as recommended (Myers, 2005; Sokolowski, 1999), the researcher attempted to establish a rapport with the participants in order to develop a better understanding of their experiences and perspectives.

Many qualitative interviews take place in the subject's 'physical world' (Murchison, 2010). This was the case for this study which was conducted within the Middle East and in a location with which the participants were familiar. Indeed, many of the participants wished to move the meeting venue to a specific location of their choosing. This was agreed by the researcher, as it is important in qualitative research to be flexible, and to put the participants at ease. Additionally, the format of using an opening statement, followed by selected general questions was used to elicit conversation. In order to record key and relevant data in a timely and accurate manner during and shortly after the interview process, interview programming was specifically planned to provide enough time between interviews to record the data accurately.

Murchison, (2010) highlights three related techniques of qualitative interviewing. These are: life history; events, activities and perspectives; and large-scale picture. In this study, the Events, Activities and Perspectives technique was used. This technique is aimed at learning about events, activities and perspectives that cannot be observed directly. In this study, the subjects became 'informants' in the truest sense of the word and acted as observers for the researcher (Murchison, 2010). The role of such 'informants' is not simply to reveal their own views, but to describe what may have occurred and how others viewed it (Murchison, 2010).

Interview Recording Process

The interviews were recorded using notes written contemporaneously. This method was selected as it was considered to be the most appropriate and effective due to the sensitive nature of the research. Furthermore, cultural and pragmatic reasons militated against using audio and video recordings in academic research of this nature within an autocratic Middle Eastern state. However, in order to take a comprehensive academic approach, audio and video recording methods were considered but discounted due to ethical, cultural, security and interviewee participation challenges. For example, the concern over using audio recording is captured in the well-known contemporary Middle Eastern Arab saying, "If you say it, you own it". As it transpired the use of contemporaneous notes proved effective, relatively unobtrusive and reassuring to some participants as they considered the process to resemble a protracted "life assurance interview", which are not uncommon within the region.

Data Collection Forms / Data Collection File / Afternotes

Specific interview Data Collection Forms were produced to achieve the required level of accuracy, in a fast and effective manner. All completed interview data collection forms were individually serial numbered and held in a separate data collection file. The completed data collection forms were organised in a chronological manner for ease of reference and recorded on an index sheet at the front of the file. Spoiled or cancelled

interview data collection forms were not destroyed but held at the rear of the file. Alterations were initialled and accompanied by a legible date. Afternotes were recorded with the word 'Afternote', initialled and accompanied by a legible date. Furthermore, for reasons of safety and security, the Data Collection File was treated by the researcher as a 'classified document' and its whereabouts was known at all times. When it was not in the possession of the researcher, it was secured within a lockable container. Therefore, it was at no time left insecure.

Ethical and Safety Considerations

It is acknowledged that: when working with human subjects, certain precautions must be taken to protect the dignity and safety of the research participants; participation in the research must be voluntary; and if respondents take part voluntarily, they may not be in a position to fully appreciate the potential harm they could suffer from their participation. Therefore, in this study the research participants were reminded that they had the option not to answer any question and that they could terminate the interview at any point, which one participant from Syria chose to do.

'No-shows due to Risk'

Significantly, a greater number (27) of potential participants failed to attend the prearranged interviews ('no-shows') than actually took part in the study (13). Many of these were concerned about what they viewed as: pervasive intelligence surveillance; risk; 'leakage' from the academic process; informers; arrest and deportation. For example, some of their specific words articulated in phone calls were: "security risks"; "too much risk"; "too much risk to me because of my connections in Egypt"; "too much risk to my family in Syria"; "will be returned to Egypt" and "this is not England!" These comments reflect the difficulties in interviewing Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* about Arab anti-Americanism and Islam*ist* extremism within the Middle East.

For the thirteen interviewees who participated in the study, an initial ethical and safety briefing was given by the researcher prior to the commencement of the semi-

structured interviews. Additionally, the researcher took fair and reasonable precautions to protect the participants from harm[464] and discomfort[465]. Although Vogt (2006) warns that in reality, it is impossible to anticipate every risk, the researcher took every fair and reasonable precaution.

Altered Prearranged Procedures

The researcher had to alter prearranged meeting procedures as many of the interviewees declined to be interviewed in prearranged hotels, electing instead to be interviewed in a public place of their choosing. This was often a restaurant or coffee shop in a shopping mall, with which they were familiar and which had multiple access and egress points. On occasions, in the middle of interviews, some of the participants asked to relocate to another restaurant or coffee shop, as they became uneasy about certain male customers. This, the researcher agreed to do.

Researcher Safety

Turning to the researcher's safety; the researcher was threatened directly by one participant (Interview 11, Transcript p. 17). His words were recorded by the researcher but no formal action taken, as this would have been a breach of confidentiality. His words were:

> "Some of your questions are against Islam…[i]f you take what I have said and misuse it against Islam or 'us', there will be what you Westerners call severe consequences. Do you understand? We are not playing a game! As-salāmu ʿAlaykum".

These words were uttered in a clear and deliberate voice and accompanied with unblinking eye contact, which had an intensity sufficient to persuade the researcher of the implicit message being imparted and its veracity. Also, the final words of the participant "As-salāmu ʿAlaykum" were accompanied by a particularly strong handshake.

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[464] Such as fire safety, trip hazards and risk related surveillance from 'person or persons unknown'.
[465] Such as availability of refreshments and washrooms.

Some of the early participants requested the researcher to switch off his mobile phone and remove the phone battery, whilst in their presence. The researcher complied with this request and then incorporated this as a standard procedure and requested other interviewees to do the same. All were happy to do so. Furthermore, some of the interviewees arrived with male friends, who sat at a distance throughout the interview, whilst others arrived alone but departed with male friends who appeared at the termination of the interviews. In summary, conducting these extremely sensitive interviews in the Middle East transpired to be much more challenging that the researcher had anticipated, notwithstanding his considerable experience within the region.

Privacy

It is acknowledged that an important part of protecting research participants is guarding their privacy. Revealing the identities of Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* participants could potentially harm them, particularly in the context of the highly sensitive subject-matter of this thesis. Clearly, confidentiality and anonymity are two aspects related to privacy. Confidentiality for the purposes of this thesis means that the identity of the respondent will not be disclosed to anyone. Overall, confidentiality implies that, except for the researcher, no one else knows the identity of the participants. Anonymity means that even the researcher does not know the identity of the respondents. However, it is not only acknowledged but accepted that in qualitative studies by employing in-depth interviews, complete anonymity is impossible. Nevertheless, Murchison (2010) indicates that subjects can be provided with limited anonymity, through using fictional names. In this study, the interviewees were allocated chronological participant numbers.

Informed Consent

In order to protect participants further, this study used 'informed consent'. Informed consent includes the use of written or verbal statements that provide research participants with a general description of the research project along with its potential harms and benefits. Murchison, (2010) acknowledges that the informed consent

approach is also useful in specifying ethical boundaries. The original informed consent forms are held in the Informed Consent Folder and are available for academic scrutiny.

Arab Cultural and Islam*ic* Aspects

Arab and Islam*ic* culture is wide, deep and varied. Many Arab beliefs, activities and customs are kept contained within family and tribal communities and have a low visibility or even remain unseen by expatriates or others. Consequently, the researcher acknowledged this and was cognisant of observing Middle Eastern Arab cultural and religious sensitivities throughout the complete research process. This included what was spoken, how it was spoken, the unspoken, body language, proximity, mannerisms and the avoidance of use of internationally accepted terminology, such as Persian Gulf, which may be considered sensitive or even offensive to many Arabs. Furthermore, the lexicon and tone used throughout the complete interview process was academically professional and neutral.

Impartiality

Additionally, the research was conducted as an independent and impartial academic investigation, without 'fear or favour' to any state, organisation, faith, group or individual and lacking in any form of conscious bias. This was considered important in order to: examine the research problem effectively; exercise independent critical analysis; and contribute 'untainted' new knowledge, at the appropriate academic standard. Therefore, every effort was made to identify and prevent partiality and subjectivity on behalf of the researcher in the approach to and conduct of this research. This included attempting to identify and militate against any prejudicial assumptions, Orientalist or post-colonial opinions, Western preconceived ideas that may have negatively influenced the research, data capture, analysis and conclusions. Notwithstanding the aspiration for impartiality, it was acknowledged that conducting wholly impartial and objective research in this field was not completely achievable, (Ahern, 1999). It was further acknowledged that the specific background of the researcher presented certain additional challenges in this regard.

The next part of this chapter will cover IPA methodological framework (including phenomenology, hermeneutics, and idiography), actual data analysis - Phase One (close reading and emerging themes) and Phase Two (connections, themes and written narrative), before addressing credibility, (qualitative validity and member-checking).

Data Analysis

IPA

This research used IPA which aims at investigating how individuals make meaning of their life experiences. In IPA it is assumed that people are self-interpreting beings and are actively engaged in interpreting the events, objects, and people in their lives (van Manen, 2014). In doing so, IPA draws upon the fundamental principles of phenomenology, hermeneutics[466] and idiography[467] (Sokolowski, 1999), outlined below.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology, (developed by Husserl[468]), is concerned with the way things appear to individuals in experience (Husserl, 2012). Thus, it aims at identifying the essential components of phenomena or experiences which make them distinguishable from others. Farina (2014, p. 50) suggests that, "There is no unique and definitive definition of phenomenology". However, it is generally understood to mean that reality consists of phenomena (objects and events) as they are perceived in the human consciousness. Phenomenological studies thus focus upon how people perceive and talk about objects and events, rather than describing phenomena according to a predetermined system and scientific criteria. This was pertinent to this study as participants articulated their perceptions or actual experience of particular events or emotive and sensitive issues.

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[466] Hermeneutics - from the Greek 'to interpret' or 'to make clear'. Traditionally, it was a branch of knowledge which dealt with interpretation of religious texts. Examples are the Holy Bible, Synoptic Gospels and literary texts. However, modern contemporary hermeneutics includes both verbal and non-verbal communication.
[467] Idiography – In Idiography researchers conduct in-depth analysis of single cases and examine individual perspectives of study participants. The focus is upon unique contexts rather than universal (Spinelli, 2005). IPA relies heavily on idiography.
[468] Edmund Husserl (1859–1938) - who developed phenomenology (philosophical study of consciousness and experience) as an eidetic method (clear mental images) and extended by others such as Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) (Farina, 2014).

Hermeneutics

Husserl's concept was developed by Heidegger into hermeneutics (Heidegger, 2000). According to hermeneutics, one needs to comprehend the mind-set of a person and language which mediates one's experiences of the world, in order to translate that message (Heidegger, 2000). Researchers attempt to understand what an experience is like from the participant's perspective (van Manen, 2014) and make meaning comprehendible by translating it. Therefore, this is a dynamic process where the researcher gains access to the participant's experience and through interpretative activity, makes sense of the subject's personal world. This was considered particularly important in this study.

The IPA analytical process is often described as a 'double hermeneutic'. Firstly, the participants make meaning of their world and secondly, the researcher tries to decode that meaning and makes sense of the participants' meaning making (van Manen, 2014). IPA studies may thus contain elements of both types of interpretation, making the analysis more comprehensive. Therefore, IPA synthesises ideas from phenomenology and hermeneutics resulting in a method which is descriptive because it is concerned with 'how things appear' and interpretative because it recognises there is no such thing as an uninterpreted phenomenon (van Manen, 2014).

Idiography

IPA relies upon idiography. This refers to an in-depth analysis of single cases and examining individual perspectives of study participants, in their unique contexts (Spinelli, 2005). The principle behind the idiographic approach is to explore every case, before producing any general statements. Thus, the IPA researcher will start with examining an individual and producing a case study or move to an equally attentive exploration of the second case (van Manen, 2014).

Consequently, IPA aims to present the participants' evidence, make sense of the phenomena under investigation and concurrently document the researcher's 'sense

making'. The researcher thus moves between the emic[469] and etic[470] perspectives (van Manen, 2014). On one hand, the emic (internal) perspective protects researchers from psychological reductionism (Spinelli, 2005). On the other hand, the etic (external) perspective, can help develop higher level insights. In general terms, IPA provides a set of flexible guidelines which can be adapted by individual researchers, according to their research objectives (Spinelli, 2005), which was done in this research.

Phase One – Close Reading – Emerging Themes

In this study, Phase One involved 'close reading' of the contemporaneous notes and transcripts on numerous occasions, consistent with Spinelli, (2005). This assisted the researcher to become immersed in the data, recall the setting and atmosphere of the interview. Each reading provided new insights. At this stage, the researcher reflected upon the interview experience and points of potential significance. This focused upon: interview content; language use (such as metaphors, 'Arab Street' sayings, repetitions, and pauses); context; and initial interpretative comments, consistent with van Manen, (2014). Distinctive events and emotional responses were also noted and highlighted. During this phase, the researcher identified emerging themes.

Phase Two – Connections – Themes – Written Narrative

Phase Two involved establishing connections between emerging themes, grouping them according to conceptual similarities and providing each cluster with a descriptive label, consistent with van Manen, (2014). This involved compiling themes for the whole set of contemporaneous notes and transcripts prior to identifying connections and clusters. Some themes were 'eliminated' at this stage where they had a weak evidential base. The final list comprised numerous superordinate[471] themes and subthemes. The qualitative analysis was assisted by the use of software (NVivo)[472] and supplemented by traditional manual methods, as sample size was small (van Manen,

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[469] Emic - describing a culture in terms of its internal elements rather than *via* any existing external scheme.
[470] Etic - describing a culture in general terms and objective in its perspective.
[471] Superordinate – denotes a higher level, under which a set of subcategories is subsumed.
[472] NVivo - qualitative data analysis software designed for qualitative research of rich text-based data.

2014).

The analysis described above lead to a written narrative account of the study. This involved taking the themes identified in the final table and documenting them individually. Each was described and exemplified with extracts from interviews, followed by analytic comments from the researcher. Each interview has a corresponding table of themes that highlights the important experiential 'events' that have been found during the process of analysis. The analysis also uses interviewees' own words to illustrate themes. This enables the reader to assess the pertinence of the interpretations and retains the voice of the participants' personal experience and perspective.

Therefore, this is the rationale behind the final version of the thesis including the participant's own words and interpretative commentary of the researcher. Thus, the narrative account engages differing levels of interpretation, from low-level to a highly detailed, interpretative and theoretical level.

Credibility

Qualitative Validity

The credibility of the research was further enhanced by Member-Checking[473], which was conducted at the conclusion of each of the semi-structured interviews. This is discussed further below. In quantitative terms, validity was taken to mean the determination of whether a 'measurement instrument' actually measured what it was purporting to measure (Trochim, 2006). From a qualitative perspective, an account is considered to be valid or true if it represents accurately those features of the phenomena that it is intended to describe, explain or theorise. Golafshani (2003), stresses that whilst it can be argued that no knowledge can be counted as certain, and the best that can be achieved is to seek a means of judging 'claims to knowledge' in terms of their likely truth; this can be augmented by the plausibility of the claim, the credibility of the claim, and the weight of evidence for each of these.

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[473] Member-Checking – is used by researchers in qualitative research to assist in improving the accuracy, validity and credibility of a study. It may also assist with transferability. This can be done during or after the interview process.

Trochim (2006) regards Member-Checking as an important harbinger of research credibility. In this study, checking the results on completion of data collection (semi-structured interviews), it is argued, met the requirements of diachronic[474] reliability (stability over time), (Sokolowski, 1999). An alternative approach would have been to conduct validation at the end of the study. However, this approach would have encountered considerable difficulties within an Arab autocratic society. These would probably have included: lack of access; alteration of the respondent's situation and views; influence by family and friends; and increased stress levels due to making contact again about such a 'high risk' subject matter.

However, it is acknowledged that it cannot be assumed that anyone is a privileged commentator on his or her own actions, in the sense that the truth of their account is guaranteed. Participants' memory may fail, they may not be conscious of some of the non-verbal clues that they transmit, or they may simply (consciously or unconsciously) deny certain aspects of their behaviour. A further issue is that respondent validation is normally conducted by the researcher, rather than a third party. The acknowledged difficulties associated with a third party are: lack of rapport with the respondents (affecting their responses); and re-interpreting the findings. Using a third party for highly sensitive research conducted within an autocratic Middle Eastern state therefore became unworkable. Thus, as previously indicated, the credibility of this research was enhanced by a feasible method of member-checking, at the conclusion of each of the semi-structured interviews.

Research Limitations, Challenges and Weaknesses

In the interests of clarity and academic transparency, it is necessary to reveal the limitations, challenges and weaknesses in this research. This may assist future researchers in this area. These are summarised as:

- Inability to interview Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* females.

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[474] Diachronic Reliability – Diachronic reliability refers to the stability of measurements or observations over time. This should not be confused with Synchronic Reliability which refers to the consistency of results collected at the same time but by using different instruments.

- Conducting research on Arab Anti-Americanism and Islam*ist* extremism within a Middle Eastern autocratic state.

- Increased risk of a lone researcher conducting sensitive research within the Middle East. Examples include Regeni[475] and Hedges[476].

- Choice of purposive sampling whilst a deliberate choice, may impact upon the transferability.

- Conducting the research in English[477].

- High percentage of interview 'no-shows' (27), due to fear and perceived risk of state surveillance, informers, arrest and deportation.

- Interviewees altering the interview venue to a place of their choosing due to concerns about state surveillance, informers and resistance to meet within a prearranged 'closed' environment.

- Evasion of some interviewees about answering important questions on Islam*ist* extremism and *jihādism*.

- Premature termination of an interviewee by a pro-Al-Assad interviewee.

- Threats made to the researcher by a pro-MB interviewee.

- The greatest challenge to conducting this primary research was the prevailing perception of pervasive state surveillance and widespread use of informers for state security.

The above range of limitations, challenges and resulting weaknesses in the primary research transpired to be more considerable than initially envisaged. These resulted in: reduced sample size; increased risk to the interviewees and researcher; a less controlled interview environment; and a loss of potentially valuable data. However, perhaps because of these difficulties and challenges, it is believed that a critical mass of important, high quality and timely data, with new insights was obtained, analysed and

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[475] Giulio Regeni, the Cambridge University PhD student who was abducted, tortured and killed, whilst conducting PhD primary research in Egypt in 2016.
[476] Matthew Hedges, the Durham University PhD student who was arrested for spying whilst conducting PhD primary research in the UAE in 2018. He was: arrested in May 2018; held in solitary confinement until November 2018; interrogated; charged with espionage; found guilty; awarded a life sentence of imprisonment; and subsequently pardoned.
[477] Notwithstanding the fact that English is the *de facto lingua franca* amongst most nationalities within the UAE.

used in addressing the research question. This therefore made an original contribution to knowledge and moved forward this academic field of inquiry.

Conclusion

This chapter retained a generic approach and understanding of Islam*ic* and Arab perspectives in order to inform the creation of the Islam*ist* viewpoint, but also, how this may be framed or reframed differently from a Western perspective. This involved avoiding adopting an Orientalist or Neo-Orientalist approach, whilst remaining cognisant of the differences between the mainly secular Western perspective and predominant Middle Eastern Arab Islam*ic* perspective. Also, the texts of Islam in relation to the use of violence are open to interpretation. Consequently, whilst Islam is demonstrably in its essence, concepts and contemporary practice, a religion of peace; interpretation of religious texts has become an important motivational factor for Islam*ist* extremists. Islam*ists* therefore interpret the Holy Qur'an and *Hadith* in such a manner, so as to support their particular ideology. This is not to suggest that many Islam*ists* do not have a fervent religious belief or that such a belief has not motivated many Islam*ists* to move from their home countries in MENA[478] and across the globe to become foreign fighters in states such as Iraq and Syria. But it is argued that such belief is a distorted interpretation of Islam*ic* texts for ideological purposes. It is further argued that conventional Islam, is not intrinsically the main root cause of Islam*ist* terrorism. Consequently, this thesis argues that Islam*ist* terrorism must be understood through wider geopolitical discourses across Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* societies, and the socio-religious structures that reinforce competing frames.

Turning to frame and ideology; it is argued that both are useful concepts for examining social movements, as the overarching epistemic and ontological criterion that is social constructionism. Furthermore, it is considered that such concepts can be applied to the phenomena of Islam*ist* extremism, anti-Americanism, and Islamophobia. Ideologies often function as frames, yet it is accepted that not all frames are ideologies.

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[478] Such as Algeria, Jordan, KSA, Libya, Morocco and especially Tunisia.

Therefore, ideology can be viewed as a backdrop for interpersonal communication. Ideologies are socially constructed and the social construction of ideologies involves framing processes, which can be malleable. (Rude, 1980). Rude (1980) stresses that there is no single theory of ideology and Klandermans, (1997) adds that people develop belief systems from a combination of reflecting on and interpreting their own experiences. Frame theory points to important processes in social movements and can provide a compelling 'frame' with which to view the research problem explored by this thesis (Rude, 1980).

Ultimately, this study moves forward the academic understanding of the role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men to Islam*ist* extremism in the contemporary era. In so doing, it adopts: a qualitative research design; employs in-depth semi-structured interviews; obtains data from a cohort of Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men; employs IPA; and further enhances the credibility of the research *via* member-checking. Furthermore, appropriate attention was given to the highly sensitive nature of the research by way of preservation of confidentiality and risk mitigation. The next chapter will consider the findings and analysis of the primary research.

Chapter 6

Research Findings and Analysis

This chapter presents the research focused upon the role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era. This was achieved by using a qualitative examination and analysis of the interview responses of Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* male participants. In order to address the specific research question, two general themes emerged and were analysed, based upon their relevance to the study. These were *Causes of Arab Anti-Americanism* and Arab *Islamist Extremism*. The analysis also resulted in themes and subthemes being identified for each interview. For ease of reference, the final themes and subthemes which synthesise the findings of the IPA for the full sample are summarised immediately below. There is also a supporting table (Table 1), immediately below the summary. Individual interview themes and subthemes, analysis and supporting tables are also summarised below, within the main body of the chapter.

Related appendices consist of: Primary Research Questions (Appendix 14), Codebook (Appendix 15), Highlighted Interview Transcripts with Line Numbers (Appendix 16), Initial Themes (Appendix 17), Main Themes (Appendix 18), Other Themes (Appendix 19), Detailed Analysis of Selected Semi-Structured Interviews (Appendix 20), and Terminated Interview Transcript (Appendix 21).

In the interests of clarity, the Initial Themes are the complete coding of the interviews and included thirteen participants (N=13). The Main themes are those that are salient to the research question and included twelve participants (N=12). The Other Themes included twelve participants (N=12) and include 'Reducing anti-Americanism'; 'Improving the image of the Arab Muslim world'; 'Arab Government control and oppression'; and 'Islam is a Religion of Peace'.

Master Themes and Subthemes

Thematic Results. This section combines the IPA thematic results of all participants into a coherent unified presentation of themes and subthemes related to the study. Themes were selected for their salience to the research question, as well as their perceived importance to the participants and the researcher. Causes of anti-Americanism and Islam*ist* extremism are discussed in unison.

Initially, the breadth of causes of anti-Americanism provided by participants suggested that anti-Americanism was a pervasive and multifaceted concept within the culture of Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis*. Most of the participants believed that the major causes of anti-Americanism were: America's support for Israel (N=11); American foreign policy (N=10); US-led invasion of Iraq (N=8); and Palestinian-Israeli issue (N=7). A finding that is of particular interest in this research is that Islam*ist* extremism was viewed by most interviewees as a source of anti-Americanism (N=9). It was also inferred that history was another cause of anti-Americanism (N=7), due to the historical relations between the Arab World and the West/America. These were seen implicitly as providing a continuity of transgressions against Arabs from the 'deep past' to the present. An interpretation of one participant's insight showed that, because peace and prosperity are not characteristic of the contemporary Arab Middle East, Arab Muslims are compelled to look to history to establish a continuity with the present and assign blame to the West (N=1).

US Support for Israel. American support for Israel was the most talked-about cause of anti-Americanism (N=11) and most interviewees commented on the illegality and 'unfairness' of Israel (N=10). Many also described Israel as a terrorist state (N=6) and suggested that many Arab *Sunnis* do not accept Israel (N=6). However, some did not view Israel as a terrorist state and felt it important to distinguish between Judaism, Zionism and terrorism, "No. It is important to make a distinction between Jewish, Zionism and terrorists" (Interviewee 3).

US-led Invasion of Iraq. The US-led invasion of Iraq, which demonstrably increased Islam*ist* extremism (N=3), appears to have created an enduring legacy of

resentment against America. Also, the invasion was connected to feelings of grief and sadness related to war casualties and 'war crimes' (N=3), as well as general anger at and hatred for America (N=3).

American Foreign Policy in the Middle East. The discussion on American foreign policy was broad but included some common elements. America was viewed as a country that interferes in the Middle East and 'Arab World' (N=8), especially in a manner that is unwelcome to many Arabs. America was also portrayed as an aggressive country that does not care about Arab people and 'constructs' Arab Muslims as the enemy (N=6). It was also viewed that America had created extremist groups such as *Da'ish* (N=6), had supported and continues to support Arab dictators who intentionally maintain their people in poverty (N=5), whilst America continues to reap benefits from such alliances. Finally, America was viewed as unpredictable and untrustworthy and an unreliable ally to the Arabs in the contemporary era (N=4). This final point is particularly pertinent given the growing influence of Russia within Syria and the surprising lessons that many Arab *Sunnis* are drawing from this.

Recruitment of Islam*ists*. A second significant finding is that America's support for Israel was being used by Islam*ists* in order to recruit Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* into extremist organisations. Eight participants (N=8) agreed with this causal connection. Additionally, one participant noted that there were multiple reasons that motivate Arabs to join Islam*ist* and extremist organisations, such as political, Islam*ist* influences, and poverty.

Islam*ism* and Extremism. The analysis revealed that the responses relating to questions about Islam*ism* and extremism were fewer in number than those relating to the causes of anti-Americanism (see table below). This may have been due to a sense of personal vulnerability or personal risk by the interviewees in doing so within a Middle Eastern Arab autocratic state. However, many participants were willing to discuss *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* and believed that these were resistance, and not terrorist, organisations (N=9). More than half thought that the use of *Hezbollah* in Iraq and Syria against Arab *Sunnis* was 'wrong' (N=7). Another interesting finding was that Islam*ism*

was considered a misuse or misinterpretation of Islam and that this was usually done willfully for personal gain (N=5). On one hand, this position may have been adopted by some in an attempt to separate Islam from Islam*ism* and diminish the credibility of Islam*ists*. On the other hand, this position may well have been a common Arab trope.

Another interesting finding was that prior to the US-led invasion, Iraq was said to have played an important role in curbing Islam*ist* extremism (N=1) and that following the invasion, the Arab buffer or 'Arab Wall to Iran' had been destroyed by the West (N=5), allowing an influx of Islam*ists and* extremists. The master themes and subthemes are shown below.

Table 1

Master Themes and Subthemes

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM	Cross-Reference (number of transcripts in which a theme or subtheme appears)	Transcript Number
America's support for Israel	11	1-7, 9-12
Used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab *Sunnis*	8	1, 2, 5, 6, 9-12
Undermines negotiations between Palestine and Israel	5	4, 5, 9, 11, 12
Palestinian-Israeli Issue	7	1-5, 10, 12
Israel an unjust, illegal state	10	1, 2, 4-7, 9-12

Israel a terrorist state	6	2, 4, 8, 10-12
Arab *Sunnis* do not accept Israel	6	3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12
American invasion of Iraq	8	1-6, 10, 11
Destruction of Arab Buffer 'Arab Wall to Iran'	5	4, 6, 10-12
Anger and hatred for America	3	2-4
Grief	3	2, 4, 5
Increased Islam*ist* extremism	3	1, 4, 5
Israel connected to reasons for and consequences of war	2	5, 6
American foreign policy	10	1-6, 9-12
America interferes in the Middle East and Arab world	8	1, 3-6, 9, 11, 12
America - aggressive, uncaring about Arabs and Arab Muslims viewed as the enemy	6	2-4, 9, 11, 12
America supports Arab dictators, creating and maintaining Arab poverty	5	3, 5, 9, 11, 12
America created *Da'ish* and other extremist groups	6	2-4, 6, 9, 12
America - unpredictable, untrustworthy, an unreliable ally to Arabs	4	6, 8, 11, 12

Historical relationship with the West/America and continuity of transgressions from past to present	7	2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12
Western Colonialism still relevant today	4	1, 2, 6, 9
Increased peace and prosperity in Arab World would decrease the need for historical blame of West	1	11
Islam*ist* extremism	9	1-6, 9-11
Arab 'Muslim ban'	4	4, 6, 11, 12
Trump's *Al-Quds* decision	3	6, 11, 12
Minor influence of Arab media	3	5, 6, 10
'Americanisation'	2	3, 4
ISLAMISM AND EXTREMISM ISSUES	10	1-6, 9-12
Hamas and *Hezbollah* resistance, not terrorist, organisations	9	1-6, 9, 11, 12
Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against *Sunnis* – 'wrong'	7	1, 3, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12
Islam*ism* misuses and misinterprets Islam - self-serving	5	2-6
Iraq was critical in curbing extremism prior to US invasion	1	6
Politics, Islam*ist* influences and poverty	1	3

drive Arabs to join Islam*ist* organisations		
Islam*ist* extremists have a similar mentality to US 'civilian shooters'	1	10
Members of extremist groups, once in, cannot get out	1	4
There should be a separation of religion and state	2	6, 9
Corrupt Arab governments contribute to causes of extremism	1	11

Individual Interview Themes and Subthemes

Interview 1

Interviewee one was born in Libya and holds a degree in telecommunications. He provided balanced responses and showed a serious commitment to justice, whilst responding in a calm and rational manner. He also at times spoke with passion whilst retaining a sense of reasonableness. The main themes and subthemes for interview one are at Table 2 below.

Causes of Anti-Americanism. This theme included five causes. These were: the Palestinian-Israeli Issue ("the Palestinian issue"); American foreign policy ("aggressive interventions"); America's invasion of Iraq ("one that changed a whole generation's view of America"); history and Colonialism ("result of Ottoman and Western domination"; "important in North African Arab countries"; but "gives a backward push and is draining our resources"); and Islam*ist* extremism ("Much!"; "Yes, Syria and Iraq"). Two causes of anti-Americanism were elaborated most in the transcript, the Palestinian-Israeli issue and, to a lesser extent, American foreign policy.

The Palestinian-Israeli issue was one of the most important causes of anti-Americanism for Arab *Sunnis*, by virtue of the volume of discussion it generated. It elicited powerful responses from the interviewee, who showed a genuine and controlled passion about, "The sheer injustice of it". He believed that while Israel was and remains a terrorist state, caution should be exercised when interpreting events.

Two subthemes were elaborated as part of the Palestinian-Israeli issue. The first was the great importance of this issue for the interviewee, for Arab *Sunnis* and for the Arab World in general ("It is very, very important to us Arabs"). The second subtheme was America's support for Israel ("Israel could not survive without them"; "America and Israel are joined at the hip"). America's support for Israel was elaborated in four subthemes. First was the injustice and illegality of Israel:

"It is the clear lack of balance, fairness and proportionality by Israel that is the problem. This is supported by the US".

Second was the idea of "might is right", with Israel imposing its rule upon weaker countries ("the weak tribes or clans lose"). The interviewee discussed how Arabs were compelled to protect themselves, since "If someone kicks your door in, you must defend your home'… You must fight". Third, the problem of Arab dignity was highlighted ("It is a dignity issue… the 'dignity of the Arabs' which is being insulted"). Fourth, it was stressed that America's support for Israel was used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab *Sunnis* ("Of course a lot. Why wouldn't they?").

American foreign policy, as a cause of anti-Americanism, was illustrated through a mixed metaphor about religion as a fire that America has used to promote extremism ("I think that America used religion like a fire… It then spread elsewhere like a virus"). Another aspect of American foreign policy was 'America's change from libertarian to imperialist treatment of the Middle East'. The interviewee placed emphasis on this move "away from their liberal origins" and towards a more aggressive and imperialistic perspective (the "Founding Fathers would not have approved").

Islam*ist* Extremism Issues. Although he stated that there had been an "an increase in extremism and Islam*ism*", the interviewee argued that '*Hamas* and *Hezbollah* were not terrorist, but that *Hezbollah's* militia forces "have done terrible things against *Sunnis* in Iraq and Syria". Additionally, the interviewee noted that "Religious extremism is like a fire, if you start it, you cannot control it".

Table 2

Interview 1 Themes and Subthemes

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
Palestinian-Israeli Issue
High importance for self and Arabs
America's support for Israel
Israel an unjust, illegal state
Arabs need to protect themselves
Insult to Arab dignity
Used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab *Sunnis*
American foreign policy
Used religion to promote extremism
Change from libertarian to imperialist treatment of Middle East
America's Invasion of Iraq
History and Colonialism
Islam*ist* Extremism

America's invasion of Iraq increased Islam*ist* extremism
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM ISSUES
Hamas and *Hezbollah* not terrorist, but *Hezbollah* has recently done terrible things
Religious extremism is like a fire

More detailed analysis of interview one is at Appendix 18.

Interview 2

Interviewee two was born in Egypt, graduated from Al-Azhar Islam*ic* University in Cairo in modern languages and Islam*ic* theology, and presented as a calm, reasoned but cautious individual. He was critical of American foreign policy and America's biased approach towards Arab Muslims and the Middle East. Also, he did not view the actions of *Hamas* and *Hezbollah*, to be terrorist. Instead, he constructed them as legitimate resistance against a known oppressor. These salient themes, and their subthemes, are at Table 3 below.

Causes of Anti-Americanism. This theme included six causes. These were: American bias against and manipulation of the Arabs; the Palestinian-Israeli issue; education; history of Arab relationships with the West; American led invasion of Iraq; and Islam*ist* extremism. For example, in relation to American bias and manipulation the interviewee stated:

> "There is strong US bias against Arabs. Arab rights are not respected; they are not the same as Israeli rights".

> "The US manipulated and continues to manipulate Arabs".

The Palestinian-Israeli issue was considered extremely important for Arabs ("our number one 'living' issue"). Connected to this cause of anti-Americanism was America's support for Israel, the "strategic enemy" of the Arabs. It was considered that this

relationship had allowed Israel to evade justice for its 'crimes' and illegal occupation of Arab land ("It is immoral and a double standard!"), because it is "an illegal occupier of Arab land", and a "terrorist state" ("it bombs women and children. What do you call it?"). Additionally, America's support for Israel was taken advantage of by Islam*ists*, who "nourish and manipulate it", in order to recruit Arab *Sunnis* ("A lot, probably more than 80%").

The US led invasion of Iraq was considered another cause of anti-Americanism ("It brings more hatred of America"), as well as grief, expressed non-verbally, and remembrance ("invasion is over but we will never forget"). It was also stressed that this "illegal" war did not bring democracy to Iraq as the Americans had argued, but "starvation, diseases, poverty, death and destruction!".

Islam*ist* extremism was also regarded as a cause of anti-Americanism ("A lot!"), without further elaboration by the interviewee. The role of education in anti-Americanism, was described as: "the teachers… then had an influence and impact on the students and pupils".

The history of the relationship of the Arab World with the West was understood by the researcher as an indirect aspect of anti-Americanism in this transcript. In addition, the Crusades were viewed as battles in a long war:

"Crusades… These are battles in a long war. The Crusaders stayed three hundred years[479]. This is a long war".

This was also considered true for Colonialism, "still used against the British and French, especially when they try to intervene in the Arab World".

Islam*ist* Extremism Issues. The participant regarded *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* as resistance fighters, not terrorists ("Why should I?"; "No. How can it be? It is resistance"). He argued that it was no accident that *Hamas* only attacks Israel, and no other country or state: "We Arabs say, 'Does *Hamas* plan attacks against Sweden, Argentina or Japan? No! Only against Israel'".

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[479] The nine Crusades actually lasted 195 years, ranging from the First Crusade which began in 1096 until the fall of Acre in 1291.

The interviewee believed that through the invasion of Iraq, America created conditions amenable to the rise of extremist groups like *Da'ish* ("the US invaded Iraq and… created the situations for *Da'ish* to come"). Finally, the interviewee noted that Islam*ism* and extremism were not aligned with Islam; they were "against Islam", they "use Islam – it is not real Islam".

Table 3

Interview 2 Themes and Subthemes

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
American bias, injustice, manipulation against Arabs
Palestinian-Israeli issue
America's support for Israel
Israel a strategic enemy of Arabs
Israel does not face justice due to US support
Israel an illegal, occupying, terrorist state
Used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab *Sunnis*
American invasion of Iraq
Arab hatred of America
Grief
Remembrance
Islam*ist* Extremism
Historic relationship with the West

Crusades
Colonialism
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM ISSUES
Hamas, Hezbollah resistance, not terrorists
America creates and supports Arab extremists
American support for Israel used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab *Sunnis*
Islam*ism*, extremism against Islam

More detailed analysis of interview two is at Appendix 18.

Interview 3

Interviewee three was born in Egypt, was a university graduate and provided a coherent argument in which he criticised America and its policies towards, and actions against, Arabs. The interviewee was also concerned about the poverty of Arabs. Table 4 presents the themes and subthemes of 'Causes of anti-Americanism', and 'Islam*ism* and Islam*ist* Extremism'.

Causes of Anti-Americanism. Six subthemes were involved in this main theme. These were: America's support for Israel; American foreign policy; Americanisation; America's invasion of Iraq; Islam*ist* extremism; and History. America's support for Israel had the closest connection to anti-American Arab sentiments ("most"). This interviewee stressed that Israel would "never" be accepted by Arabs, but interestingly commented that young Arabs could see that Israeli Arabs enjoyed greater rights and educational opportunities, that were seldom available in the Arab world ("The young see it").

The interviewee also showed some ambivalence about the connection of Israel with terrorism. On the one hand, Israel had performed terrorist actions against Arabs ("All

know it") with the assistance of America ("America supports Israeli terrorist war crimes"); on the other hand, Israel was not considered a terrorist state ("No. It is important to make a distinction between Jewish, Zionism and terrorists"). The Palestinian issue was, again, of great importance to Arab *Sunnis* ("Extremely important").

American foreign policy was considered another significant factor of anti-Americanism, one that was important for Arab *Sunnis* ("A lot") that included negative connotations for "America's interventionism in the Arab world". Overall, the US was portrayed as a hostile, unilateral, tyrant:

> "America is aggressive and does not care about world opinion. They own the UN or can ignore them".

American atrocities and human rights violations were considered to have created a deep hatred for America ("that will not go quickly"). Furthermore, America's support of Arab dictatorships was thought to have created and perpetuated poverty amongst Arabs ("America's support for autocratic leaders in the Arab world that keep the poor Arabs poor"). Finally, America was viewed as the creator of *Da'ish* ("The US"), with *Da'ish* serving as a "US proxy".

America's invasion of Iraq was considered another cause of anti-Americanism ("A lot"), that brought "Death, destruction and long-term hatred". The massive loss of Iraqi life constituted "war crimes" and was "anti-humanitarian".

The history of Arab relations with the West and America was also considered a factor of anti-Americanism, since it provided continuity from the past to the present ("From Crusades to Trump"). Other causes of anti-Americanism mentioned briefly were Islam*ist* extremism ("Yes it does") and Americanisation ("A lot").

Islam*ism* and Extremism Issues. According to the interviewee, there were "many different reasons" that drew Arab *Sunnis* from around the world, to join *Da'ish* and other Islam*ist* extremist organisations. Some of the reasons given were "political, religious and social" and include political freedom ("most Arabs are not free in the Western sense, so some wanted to travel to fight for that freedom"); Islam*ist* influences

("others were inspired by the messages of Islam*ic* fundamentalism"); and poverty ("some Arab men were desperately poor").

This interviewee did not consider *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* terrorist organisations ("No"; "We are proud of them"). Nevertheless, *Hezbollah's* use in Iraq and Syria against *Sunnis* was considered "wrong". Stronger criticism was directed towards *Da'ish*, which was viewed as interpreting Islam in arbitrary, self-serving ways ("It is against Islam. They interpret Islam as they want – their own version to serve their own political agenda").

Table 4

Interview 3 Themes and Subthemes

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
America's support for Israel
Palestine-Israel issue
Low acceptance of Israel
Israel performs terrorist acts
Israel not a terrorist state
Israeli Arabs enjoy rights, democracy
American foreign policy
Important for Arab *Sunnis*
US a hostile, unilateral tyrant
American interventionism in Arab world

America created *Da'ish*
American support for Arab dictators creates and maintains Arab poverty
American atrocities create hatred

America's invasion of Iraq
Created hatred for America
Massive loss of Iraqi life - "war crime"

Historical relations with West/America

Islam*ist* extremism

Americanisation

ISLAMISM AND EXTREMISM ISSUES

Many reasons why Arabs join Islam*ist* and extremist organisations
Political
Islam*ist* influences
Poverty

Hamas, *Hezbollah* not terrorists
Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against *Sunnis* was wrong

Da'ish interprets Islam in a self-serving way

Further more detailed analysis of interview three is at Appendix 18.

Interview 4

Interviewee four was born in Egypt, a university graduate and worked in finance. He was articulate, astute, cautious and initially, slightly distant. He 'warmed up' during the interview process and spoke much on numerous issues. He concentrated on anti-American sentiment which increased significantly, both personally and socially, after America's invasion of Iraq. His responses were extensive and his interview transpired to be the largest of the set. The main themes and subthemes for this interview are at Table 5.

Causes of Anti-Americanism. This theme included five causes. These were: the Palestinian-Israeli issue; the Iraq War; American foreign policy; Trump's 'Muslim ban'; and Islam*ist* extremism. The latter two themes were discussed briefly. Islam*ist* extremism was a probable cause of anti-Americanism ("Yes, I think so"). A serious implication of Trump's 'Muslim ban' was that through his negative outlook towards Arabs, the American president, "is saying it is ok for others to do the same, and they are doing it".

The Palestine-Israel issue was considered very important for the participant ("Very important") and for Arab *Sunnis* in general ("Many say, 'Palestine is our living cause'") and ("Iraq is lost but this is still a 'game that can be won'"). It was also considered an issue that brought shame and humiliation ("We live with this humiliation every day of our lives") and ("It is like a great shame to us that we could not protect these old men, women and children").

America's support for Israel was considered to undermine negotiations between Palestine and Israel ("Sure") and was an important cause of anti-Americanism ("It makes Arabs hate America. The Israeli war criminals could not do it without their permission, munitions, funding or help"). Israel was viewed as an "illegal" and "terrorist" state that Arab *Sunnis* would "never" accept:

"They are a terrorist state because they stole our land, kill and torture innocent Palestinians. They are still stealing our land by using these foreign settlers".

Related to this rejection of Israel, were the 'war crimes' and 'humanitarian crimes' it had perpetrated, which were viewed as being "aimed at civilians".

America's war on Iraq was another important multi-faceted cause of anti-Americanism. Its main subthemes were: the participant's personal experience of becoming aware of the war and the anti-American and other sentiments that this created; the extent of American war crimes not being known about by many Arabs; and the purposeful destabilisation of the region through the 'destruction of Iraq'. The effect that the war had in increasing Islam*ist* extremism was also briefly commented upon ("Yes, of course"). The participant provided a vivid, "terrible" recollection of the time when he found out about the war while he was at school ("We all stood and watched; our teachers and us all. We watched the Americans bombing the strongest Arab country"). The participant described the emotions that he and other Arabs had felt at the time of the invasion. They were feelings of sadness, mourning, anger, and humiliation:

"It was a very sad day for us all".

"This humiliation sits deep within us".

"As we stood and watched this, I was crying and so were others".

"I also became angry. Many people became angry. It is like some strange man that you heard about before, came to your house and kicked your door in and then set fire to your house".

The invasion of Iraq, experienced through this event, was a significant cause of anti-Americanism that permanently affected the participant's view of America:

"There was a time when I saw America as an example of an advanced society… But after what they did to Iraq, no. I have never thought about them like that again".

He mentioned that these views "will never go away", but that they had become more moderate, "milder" over time. The great loss of Iraqi life constituted "terrible war crimes", and he stressed that many Arabs did not have access to this information ("only a small

percentage"). Finally, the invasion of Iraq was considered to have a wider American foreign policy implication, that was the purposeful destabilisation of the region by weakening, or destroying, Iraq:

"Iraq was the strongest Arab country. It blocked Iran and held back the Iranian flood and the *Shi'a* flood. It was the largest Arab buffer zone".

It must be noted that within this context, the participant described that people have shifted their focus from the Iraq war towards issues such as gaining employment and living conditions ("We are too busy with life"; "Many Arabs since the 2008 financial crisis have had other things to worry about"). This view may shine a light on new information that anti-Americanism may have become a secondary focus for many contemporary Middle Eastern *Sunni* Arabs due to harsh economic reality.

American foreign policy for this interviewee included a number of subthemes that explained different actions and policies which were seen to cause anti-Americanism ("The invasion of Iraq; Palestine; making *Al-Quds* the capital city; and supporting the Jewish lobby in the US. All of this"). American foreign policy was considered "aggressive" and destructive to Arabs:

"Does not care about world opinion. They own the UN or can ignore them and they do what they want"

"As people say, 'America has destroyed the Arab World'".

America was blamed for the contemporary Middle Eastern situation ("America did this by its actions. Not us"), and it was also considered an unreliable ally ("America is not a reliable ally'… Common on the Arab Street"). Furthermore, America was said to have directly or indirectly created *Da'ish* ("made a pathway and helped to bring it into reality").

Americanisation was the final cause of anti-Americanism posited by this interviewee. The way that Americanisation was understood by the participant, shared

similarities with hostile foreign policies, in that it was thought to be aimed at destroying local cultures and making indigenous people more susceptible to America:

"A lot. Americanisation is slowly destroying distinctive global cultures. It makes our young people more vulnerable to influence by America".

Islam*ism* and Extremism Issues. The participant distanced himself from Islam*ism* ("I am not with them or their message"), but also emphasised that *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* were not terrorist organisations. Instead, it was considered their duty to resist. He repeated the common Arab street saying:

"Absolutely no. If you come to my house, kick in my front door and occupy it; it is my duty to resist".

In this interview a large subtheme emerged that included criticisms offered by the participant. These included Islam*ist* extremism and *jihādism*, *Hamas*, *Hezbollah*, *Da'ish*, MB and other issues. The most pertinent subthemes are discussed below.

Islamists and extremists were considered to use "their own", "very rigid interpretation" of Islam and do so "for their own gain". Islam*ist* extremism was thought to create propaganda intended to keep people ignorant ("poverty of knowledge and understanding. They only want us to think what they think"). Extremists, both Arab and Western, "seem ignorant". And members of extremist groups, once they are in, they cannot get out: "It is like a vortex in bathwater that draws many small particles into it… But when they are inside the vortex there is no escape, no way back".

Table 5

Interview 4 Themes and Subthemes

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
Palestinian-Israeli issue

Important for Arab *Sunnis*
Emotions of shame and humiliation
America's support for Israel
Undermines Palestinian-Israeli negotiations
Israel an illegal 'terrorist state'
War and humanitarian crimes perpetrated by Israel
Arab *Sunnis* do not accept Israel
American foreign policy
American foreign policy is aggressive and reckless
America at fault for the problems in the Middle East
America created *Da'ish*
'Americanisation' destroys cultures, makes people susceptible to America
America's invasion of Iraq
Traumatic personal experience finding out about the invasion
Emotions of sadness, anger, humiliation
Changed personal views forever
Views became more moderate over time
US war crimes not known by many Arabs
Destabilisation of the area through weakening, or destroying, Iraq

Increased Islam*ist* extremist
Trump's 'Muslim ban' has encouraged others to speak ill against Islam
Islam*ist* extremism a probable cause
ISLAMISM AND EXTREMISM ISSUES
Personal distance from message of Islam*ism*
Hamas and *Hezbollah* - resistance and not terrorists
Arab Spring a failure due to extremists
Influx of extremists due to Arab Spring
Criticisms of extremism ideas and tactics
Islam*ists*, extremists interpret Islam rigidly for their own benefit
Islam*ist* extremism uses propaganda to keep people ignorant
Sharia is threatened by extremism, not by the West
Arab and Western extremists are ignorant
Members of extremist groups, "once in, never out"

Further and more detailed analysis of interview four is at Appendix 18.

Interview 5

Interviewee five was born in Syria and provided short and concise responses, largely using a matter-of-fact approach. The salient themes and subthemes for this interview can be found in Table 6 below.

Causes of Anti-Americanism. This theme included five causes. These were: Palestinian-Israeli issue; invasion of Iraq; American foreign policy; Islam*ist* extremism; and influences of friends and the media.

Islam*ist* extremism was viewed as a cause of anti-Americanism ("Of course"), and the influence of Arab media on the participant's anti-Americanism was considered little ("a little") and smaller than the influence of his friends ("friends had more influence"; "how strongly they felt").

The Palestinian issue was considered important ("It is still important to most Arabs") and Israel was disapproved of ("It is Israel. It is what they do to the Arabs"). America's relationship with Israel was a factor that compounded the Palestinian issue ("They are not independent") and it was thought that Islam*ists* used this to recruit Arab *Sunnis* ("This is how it works").

The US-led invasion of Iraq was also considered "very" important as a cause of anti-Americanism. There was sadness for the great loss of Iraqi life ("It is sad for us"). The war was also seen as an expression of "US self-interest" and "Israel" was named briefly as a reason for the war. Some consequences of the war were thought to be regional destabilisation ("Yes"), divisiveness among Arabs ("the division of the Arabs"), and the strengthening of *Sunni* Islam*ist* extremism against *Shi'a*/Iran ("increased strength of the *Shi'a* Crescent and Iran"). The creation of *Da'ish* was viewed as another result of the war ("Without the invasion there would have been no *Da'ish*").

American foreign policy was viewed as creating resentment amongst Arabs ("the Middle East and the Arabs resent their policies") and affected anti-American sentiment among Arab *Sunnis* ("It does"). America's influence in Arab affairs was elaborated through its support of Arab dictatorships: ("If you are an Arab dictator and the US is paying to keep you in power, you keep your mouth shut and do what the US wants. We all know this").

Islam*ism* and Extremism Issues. The participant considered Islam*ism* a "misuse of Islam" and agreed that ignorance feeds extremism ("Correct"). He also

criticised *Da'ish* for attacking *Shi'a* mosques ("killing innocent people who are praying. This is terrible"). He did not view *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* as terrorist groups but felt that *Hezbollah* was "wrong" in "acting like a militia for Iran against Arabs". Finally, he viewed a negative consequence of the Arab Spring to be an influx of international *jihādists* ("it drew *jihādists* from across the world. How can it be positive?").

Table 6

Interview 5 Themes and Subthemes

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
Palestinian-Israeli issue
Israel 'illegal'
America's relationship with Israel
Compounds the Palestinian issue
Used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab *Sunnis*
US Invasion of Iraq
Grief and sadness for great loss of Iraqi life
The war an expression of US self-interest
Israel related to reasons of the war
Destabilised the region
Divided Arabs
Strengthened and created Islam*ist* extremism (*Da'ish*)
American foreign policy

Brought resentment to Middle East and Arabs
Raised anti-American sentiment amongst Arab *Sunnis*
American interference in Arab affairs
America pays Arab countries in return for 'doing what it wants'
Islam*ist* extremism
Influence of friends
Minor influence of Arab media
ISLAMISM AND EXTREMISM ISSUES
Islam*ism*, a misuse of Islam
Ignorance feeds extremism
Da'ish terrible for attacking *Shi'a* mosques
Hamas, Hezbollah not terrorists
Hezbollah 'wrong' to act as a militia for Iran against Arabs
International influx of *jihādists* a consequence of the Arab Spring

Further more detailed analysis of interview five is at Appendix 18.

Interviewee 6

Interviewee six was born in Iraq and a university graduate. He revealed that he first learned about America when his friends and relatives were bombarded and killed by American air strikes. However, his short stay in Texas left him with a "generally positive" impression of the US. Anti-Americanism and America's support for Israel were

issues that recurred in this interview. Emphasis was also given to: US-led invasion of Iraq; Iraq as a 'Wall' to Iran and deterring Islam*ist* extremists; and the implications of the disbandment of the police, army and government. The main themes and subthemes can be found in Table 7.

Causes of Anti-Americanism. This participant revealed nine causes of anti-Americanism: friends and family members killed by American bombardment; American support for Israel; Iraq invasion; American foreign policy; historical relations with the West; minor influence of Arab media; Trump Arab 'Muslim ban', Islam*ist* extremism; and the Trump *Al-Quds* decision.

The experience of having family members and friends killed by American bombardment could not be disregarded since it was, in the balance of probability, a contributory factor to the participant's anti-Americanism; even if he did not state it explicitly ("The US bombarded my home") and ("Many of my friends were killed by the Americans. I lost family members too").

American support for Israel was expressed categorically as a cause of anti-Americanism ("100%") and undermines any negotiations between Palestine and Israel ("100%"). This support was also seen as feeding Arab *Sunni* recruitment by Islam*ists* ("Of course"). Israel was described as an illegal state, which was not accepted by Arabs ("Arabs do not accept Israel") and which will "Never" be accepted by Arab *Sunnis*. This relationship was considered to perpetuate the suffering of Palestinians ("the American support of Israel with their oppression of the Palestinian people"), and ("It is what the Israelis do") while ("the US does nothing"). Interestingly, this participant made some interesting additional points. Although he considered that the war of "1967 and later seizure of lands" were illegal, he stressed that Palestinians had sold their lands to Israelis ("What the Palestinians don't tell you is that they sold the land to the Israeli Jews"). The participant also noted that there were many Arabs who live in Israel, who have rights not usually enjoyed in Arab countries:

> "20% of Israel is Arab and there they have more rights that in most Arab countries".

The invasion of Iraq was cited as another cause of anti-Americanism ("'woke the world up' to what America really is"). The national interest of America and Israel were listed as among the causes of the Iraq war ("influenced by Israel through the lobby in the US"). The consequences of the war involved "a more secure Israel". The invasion of Iraq was viewed as bringing about the destruction of the "Arab Wall to Iran":

> "The Americans and the West invaded Iraq and destroyed what we call the Arab Wall to Iran. We say, 'Iraq was the Arab Wall to Iran'".

American foreign policy was thought to affect Arab *Sunni* anti-Americanism ("A lot"). American interference was viewed as unwanted by ("We do not want them. They are not welcome"); and popular Arab sayings construct America as a country that enforces "democracy by invasion". Curiously, American involvement in the Middle East was seen as a minor cause of anti-Americanism ("A little").

Historical relations with the West were viewed as a source of anti-Americanism with the participant stressing that American transgressions continue to this day ("Nothing has changed; they still come to take our money or oil"). Furthermore, Colonialism was viewed as being still relevant ("it is"). Other causes of anti-Americanism expressed as: Islam*ist* extremism ("It does"); Arab 'Muslim ban' ("from Trump"); the American "*Al-Quds*" decision; and the influence of Arab media ("it is 'drip-drip'").

Islam*ism* and Extremism Issues. This theme included three subthemes: whether *Hezbollah* was terrorist or not was thought a matter of perspective; Iraq curbed Islam*ist* extremism before the invasion; and criticisms of extremism.

The first subtheme, whether *Hezbollah* was considered a terrorist organisation was thought to depend upon perspective ("it all depends on your perspective"). The interviewee once viewed *Hezbollah,* whom the "Arab people loved", as a resistance movement operating against Israel but that they had changed and now worked "for Iran against *Sunni* Arabs".

The second subtheme regarded the critical role that Iraq played in curbing Islam*ist* extremism prior to the invasion. Here, the interviewee discussed how Saddam realised the danger of extremism and actively thwarted the power of the Islam*ists*:

"Saddam Hussein kept them under control. He did not allow them any power or influence. I think he understood how dangerous they could be. As we say, 'The *Ba'ath* party was the belt that held us together and Saddam was the belt buckle'".

The interviewee believed that the US-led invasion and 'destruction of Iraq', army and police, "created the space" for resistance fighters and extremists to come and fight America "in large numbers". It was viewed that the invasion increased extremism ("Yes"). Also, the creation of *Da'ish* was seen as a possible strategic tactic by outside forces to increase extremism in the region:

"But many Arabs say it was a plot from the West and Israel to gather *jihādists*".

Table 7

Interview 6 Themes and Subthemes

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
Friends and family members killed by American bombardment
American support for Israel
Used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab *Sunnis*
Israel – 'illegal state' not accepted by Arab *Sunnis*
American-Israeli alliance perpetuates suffering of Palestinians
Israeli atrocities
US inaction

Palestine-Israel issue is complex
Palestinians' sold lands to Israel
1967 War and later land seizures - illegal
Arabs who live in Israel, have rights not found in Arab lands
America's invasion of Iraq
National interest of America and Israel among the causes
A 'more secure Israel' - consequence of the war
Destroyed the 'Arab Wall to Iran'
This may have been a deliberate strategic target
American foreign policy
Increases anti-Americanism of Arab *Sunnis*
American interference, unwelcome by Arab *Sunnis*
Arabs blame America for preexisting problems in the region
'Americans bring democracy by invasion'
Historical Relations with the West
Continuity of American transgressions against Arabs
Western Colonialism is still relevant today
Minor influence of Arab media
Arab 'Muslim ban'

Islam*ist* extremism
Al-Quds
ISLAMISM AND EXTREMISM ISSUES
It is a matter of perspective whether *Hezbollah* is terrorist or not
Hezbollah was a resistance organisation against Israel loved by Arabs
But since 2006 they changed, now work for Iran against Arab *Sunnis*
Iraq played a critical role in curbing Islam*ist* extremism before American invasion
Invasion increased extremism
Iraq's destruction created space for freedom fighters and extremists
Da'ish creation a possible plot from the West and Israel to bring extremists

Interview 7

Interviewee seven was born in the UAE to Syrian parents yet still had close family relatives "surviving" in Syria. He was calm, confident, articulate but very deliberate and focused about which questions he would and would not answer. He had a positive view of America, liked American products and stated that he wished to visit America. Interestingly, he declined to talk about any subject that may portray America in a negative light and dealt with Israel as a separate issue. Furthermore, many sensitive questions were left unanswered. The main themes and subthemes are at Table 8.

Cause of Anti-Americanism. American support for Israel was the only salient theme that emerged from this interview. Israel was signified to be an illegal occupying force ("Yes"). He also stressed that most Arab *Sunnis* did not accept the existence of

Israel ("No"). Furthermore, he expressed a strong opposition to Israel ("I don't accept it as a country. I would like to see it gone").

Table 8

Interview 7 Theme and Subthemes

CAUSE OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
American support for Israel
Israel an illegal occupying force
Most Arab *Sunnis* do not accept Israel
Strong personal opposition to Israel

Interview 8

Interviewee eight was born in Jordan, a graduate and worked in banking. He had a positive view of America and liked a broad spectrum of American products. Similar to participant seven, he declined to answer many sensitive questions. However, he made interesting and pertinent observations relating to America and Russia as an ally to the Arabs. The theme and subthemes of causes of anti-Americanism are at presented in Table 9.

Causes of Anti-Americanism. This theme included two causes. These were: America is not a reliable ally – but Russia would be, and history may play a role in current anti-Americanism in the Arab World. The ongoing role of history in anti-Americanism was derived indirectly through the words of the participant who stated that he preferred not to think about the Crusades ("I try not to think about them").

The construction of America as an unreliable ally and its comparison with its Russian counterpart was an interesting and detailed account, elaborated with examples.

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The participant advised that America was "not a reliable ally" and that, along with the West, they would not support Arabs but, rather, exploit the Arab world:

"The lesson for the Arabs is that the Americans and the West just want our money but will not stand by us".

He contended that America had proven an unreliable ally by invading Iraq ("America turned against him and invaded him with Britain's help. That is the lesson for the Arabs") and turning against Egypt ("when their long-term Arab ally Mubārak, needed their help; they turned against him". By contrast, Russia was viewed as a dependable prospective ally for Arab nations ("Americans and the West… will not stand by us but the Russians will"). He stressed this by citing the tenacity of Russia in supporting Al-Assad in the Syrian conflict:

"Did Russia go against Al-Assad when the whole world stood against him? No. They stood by him at the UN and blocked America and the West. When he was losing the war against the *jihādists* the Russians sent their Army and Air Force and helped them win the war".

He further posited that Russia would never have invaded Iraq if it had been Iraq's ally ("They would never have turned against him and never have invaded him"). Finally, the researcher inferred from the transcript that Russia and Putin are constructed as a strong and dependable ally for the Arabs ("Putin is Russia and Russia is Putin").

Table 9

Interview 8 Theme and Subthemes

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
America is an unreliable ally to the Arab world
America and the West will not support Arabs, they exploit the Arab World

America turned against Arab ally Saddam
America turned against Arab ally Mubārak
Russia is a good prospective ally that will stand by the Arabs
Russia has proven a reliable ally to Syria
Russia would never have betrayed Iraq, if they had been allies
Russia and Putin are strong and dependable
History may play a role in current anti-Americanism in the Arab world

Interview 9

Interviewee nine was born in Egypt, a graduate of Islam*ic* studies and presented in a calm and reasonable manner. His responses were considered and worded carefully and provided an interesting metaphor about America, Israel and Palestine, adumbrated below. He presented as pro-Islam*ist* but anti-extremist. He posited that American foreign policy was the 'cornerstone' of anti-Americanism in the Arab World. The main themes and subthemes developed for this interview are at Table 10.

Causes of Anti-Americanism. This theme included five causes. These were: American foreign policy; the relationship between America and Israel; Arab government control and corruption; history; and extremism. Interestingly, extremism was signified as an influence without any further elaboration ("Yes") being given.

American foreign policy was considered the major factor in creating anti-American sentiment in the Arab World:

"American foreign policy and nothing else".

"They don't care about the Arab World".

"They take what they want".

The interviewee stressed that Americans, "Just follow their own interests" and "Keep interfering in the Middle East and trying to achieve their national goals". The existence of military bases in the Middle East was also an issue with "a big impact" on anti-Americanism. The interviewee stated explicitly that America had created extremist groups, ("The US and CIA created *Da'ish*") and supported AQ ("They supported Bin-Laden. They even make Hollywood films about it"). The participant also stressed that the UN was unable to act in defence of the world's nations, due to it having been usurped and corrupted by America and other powers, ("The UN is corrupted. It is owned by America and the big powers"). The interviewee went on to suggest that America uses the Arabs and Muslims as an external and internal enemy as a means of uniting their people in fear of a common enemy[480]:

> "They are creating an external enemy and an internal enemy so that they can control their people. We are used to this in the Middle East. We see it. We know it"

> "It is useful for their politicians to create us as their enemy like Trump's Arab Muslim ban".

It was also suggested that a similar misrepresentation of Arab culture and religion was created by Western media in perpetuating xenophobia:

> "Anything which is not Western is seen as less than Western and something to be frightened".

He also suggested that because America and Europe wanted extremist attacks on their soil to end and Europe in particular wished an end to the migrant crisis, that both America and Europe had abandoned their humanitarian and democratic principles and accepted Middle Eastern dictatorships:

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[480] In an almost Orwellian manner.

"They just want stability and the *jihādist* attacks in Europe and America to go away. And Europe also wants the Arab refugees to go away, and for that they will accept dictatorship in Turkey, Egypt and Tunisia".

Finally, the interviewee argued that the American people were not the same as their government and its foreign policies ("They are people like us"), inferring that they bore no blame or responsibility.

The American–Israeli relationship was viewed as a significant cause of anti-Americanism ("completely"). America was seen as supporting "illegal occupiers" and their alliance with Israel was viewed as lacking "any morality". He believed that the relationship provided security for Israel, through protection from America ("It is a 'political wall' that protects Israel"). America's support for Israel was also viewed as promoting the recruitment of Arab *Sunnis* by Islam*ists* ("It is obvious"), and Israel was regarded as an illegal occupying force that "stole Arab land", as well as a terrorist state ("Yes") which would "never" be accepted by Arab *Sunnis*. Finally, the American-Israeli relationship was seen as undermining negotiations between Palestine and Israel, a point made through a metaphor of the 'wolfs and the lamb':

"America is like a fierce wolf; Israel is like a wolf cub and the Palestinians are a little lamb and all three are discussing what to have for lunch. All Arabs know that what the two wolves will have for lunch is the lamb!"

Arab government control and corruption was constructed by the researcher as an indirect factor of anti-Americanism, based on the participant's view that Arab people know and resent the fact that corrupt Arab government elites spend their money on American weapons instead of food:

"If the elite spends the money on more and more weapons from America. As we say, 'Tanks do not feed the people'".

"If you mean, do the people see where their money is being spent and do the people resent it, then – yes!"

History was considered a cause of anti-Americanism, since the current actions of America continue a tradition of historical transgressions by the West against Arabs:

"We cannot forget because the West will not let us forget".

"From the Crusades through the Gold Age of Islam and the Arabs, to the invasion of Iraq, to this week. It does not stop".

Western Colonialism was viewed as still relevant in some contemporary Arab nations ("especially important in North Africa").

Islam*ism* Issues. Initially, the interviewee explains that extremism was not a prerequisite for Islam*ism* ("*Da'ish* are not Islam*ists*, they are extremists and they are not real Muslims"). Islam*ism* was viewed as being about "changing the people's way of living towards Islam" and about the extent to which one is "following a straight path". The interviewee believed that Arab countries "must change the political system… towards an Islam*ic* path".

Hamas and *Hezbollah* were not considered terrorist organisations ("No"). *Hezbollah* is a resistance fighting group "trying to free Arabs from occupation". However, *Hezbollah's* use against *Sunnis* in Iraq and Syria was considered "unlawful and wrong". He was also opposed to attacks against *Shi'a* mosques ("I do not agree with these acts").

Table 10

Interview 9 Themes and Subthemes

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
American foreign policy the most critical factor
America just follows own interests
America interferes in the Middle East for national goals

Military bases have a considerable impact
The UN had been usurped and corrupted by America *et al*
America had created extremist groups such as *Da'ish*
American politicians construct Arabs as enemy through propaganda
Western media misconstrue and condescend Arab culture and Islam
But Arabs different from West, "To you your way and to me mine"
America and Europe legitimise dictatorships (Turkey, Egypt, Tunisia)
America and Europe want extremist *jihādist* attacks to stop
Europe wants the repatriation of the Arab refugee 'wave'
Arabs have 'no issue with the American people. "They are people like us"
The relationship between America and Israel
American alliance with Israel is immoral
Provides security for Israel *via* political lobbying
Israel an occupying, terrorist state, will never be accepted by Arab *Sunnis*
Anti-Americanism used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab *Sunnis*
Undermines negotiations between Palestine and Israel
Arab government control and corruption
Arabs resent elites who spend their money on US weapons and not "food"
History

Continuity of past Western aggression and current American policy/wars
Western colonialism still relevant today in North Africa
ISLAM*ISM* ISSUES
Islam*ism* is not a prerequisite of extremism
Islam*ism* is about applying the 'right path' of Islam in people's way of living
Islam*ic* path requires change in the political systems of Arab countries
Religion may need separating from state in Arab countries
Hamas and *Hezbollah* are not terrorist organisations, but Arab freedom fighters
The use of *Hezbollah* against *Sunnis* in Iraq and Syria was "unlawful and wrong"

Interview 10

Interviewee ten was born in Lebanon and positively inclined towards America, as he had lived and studied there as an adult. The main themes and subthemes are at Table 11 below.

Causes of Anti-Americanism. This theme included five causes. These were: American foreign policy; America's support for Israel; America's invasion of Iraq; Islam*ist* extremism; and Arab media.

American foreign policy was considered a major cause of anti-Americanism for Arab *Sunnis* ("Of course – lots"). The participant offered a unique perspective of anti-Americanism from within America, as he had experienced it "in my American university", such as American foreign policy towards Latin America, as well as American connections with drug cartels:

"It was anti-American about the involvement of the US in Latin America, the Iran Contras, Chile, Colombia, Oliver North and the drug cartels".

America's support for Israel was considered the second "major" cause of anti-Americanism, and this relationship was used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab *Sunnis* "in a big way".

The Palestinian-Israeli issue was considered "very" important to Arab *Sunnis* as America was not considered neutral and "cannot be at the negotiating table". Furthermore, the UN had not acted in defence of Palestinian civilian casualties ("What has the UN done about it? Nothing"). Israel was viewed as a terrorist state ("Yes"), "unlawful" and an occupying force ("illegally occupied East Jerusalem"). It is interesting to note that the participant had personal experiences from the Lebanon and Syrian wars with Israel. He described how in Lebanon his father would camouflage the lights of their car so as not to attract bomber aircraft overhead.

The US-led invasion of Iraq was the third major cause that "has led to a lot of Middle Eastern anti-Americanism in the Arab World". Importantly, the invasion of Iraq destroyed the Arab buffer 'Wall to Iran' ("The US invasion of Iraq destroyed the Arab Buffer against Iran"). Finally, the influence of the Arab media was considered small ("a little") and Islam*ist* extremism was signified as a cause of anti-Americanism ("Yes").

Islam*ism* and Extremism issues. Two minor subthemes were developed. First, the participant argued that *Hamas* was not a terrorist organisation ("No"), but that *Hezbollah* was, because it opposed Arabs ("It is pro-Iran and anti-Arab"). Second, he argued that Islam*ist* extremists and public shooters in America have a similar mentality ("a type of mentality like the shooters in the US").

Table 11

Interview 10 Themes and Subthemes

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
American foreign policy
Anti-Americanism in the US
Foreign policy toward Latin America, connections with drug cartels
America's support for Israel
Israel has special privileges with America, like '51st state'
Palestine-Israel issue very important to Arab *Sunnis*
UN has done nothing about massive Palestinian civilian casualties
America is not neutral, cannot sit at the negotiating table
Israel an occupying force, an illegal, terrorist state
Used by Islamists to recruit Arab *Sunnis*
America's invasion of Iraq
Destroyed the Arab Buffer 'Wall to Iran'
Islam*ist* extremism
Minor effect of Arab media
ISLAMISM AND EXTREMISM ISSUES
Hamas is not a terrorist organisation

Hezbollah is a pro-Iran and anti-Arab terrorist organisation
Islam*ist* extremists have a similar mentality to civilian shooters in the US

Interview 11

Interviewee eleven was born in Egypt. He presented as a serious and determined individual. He considered the questions and replied in a serious manner. Table 12 presents the themes and subthemes.

Causes of anti-Americanism. Seven causes of Anti-Americanism were developed. The most elaborated causes were American foreign policy; Palestinian-Israeli issue; US invasion of Iraq; and history. Three additional causes were briefly stated: America's 'Muslim ban' ("Trump ban on Arab Muslims"); "*Al-Quds*"; and Islam*ist* extremism ("Sure").

American foreign policy was the largest subtheme, where "American conduct in the Arab world" was viewed as causing anti-Americanism. American foreign policy was also considered to affect Arab *Sunni* anti-Americanism ("It must do"). Furthermore, he believed that, "The people are against what American does to Arabs in the Middle East".

He emphasised that America supports Arab dictatorships "for their own interests but never the people", and this support keeps Arab people "poor and oppressed".

Another subtheme included Arab sayings that portrayed America as an unpredictable, untrustworthy, country:

"Still waters are deep waters' like you never know what America is really doing".

"Others say, 'Americans are mad dogs and cannot be trusted".

Finally, he stressed that America did not care about Arabs or their true wishes; Americans even "hate Muslims" and "want to see us as the enemy". The participant's comments here seem to point to the existence of feelings of sorrow and disappointment.

"America does not care about us".

"We know that they will never support the real wishes of the Arab people".

America's support for Israel was a second important cause of anti-Americanism ("90%"). He stressed that the legitimacy of Israel would "never" be accepted by Arab *Sunnis* and that Israel was an illegal, occupying force ("Yes, yes, yes!"), protected by an immoral alliance with America ("The world superpower supporting a terrorist state"). This relationship undermined negotiations in the Palestinian-Israeli issue, that was "very important" to Arab *Sunnis*. He posited that Islam*ists* use America's support for Israel to recruit Arab *Sunnis* ("Of course. 90%").

Similar to interviewee nine, this participant illustrated the Palestinian/Israeli issue by using a 'wolf and lamb' metaphor, with America and Israel on the one side, and Palestine on the other. Additionally, it was suggested that America and Israel had a shared strategic goal in destabilising the region ("people call this the 'US agenda' or the 'US/Israeli agenda'").

Meanwhile, he underscored that the world/West did nothing to help the Arabs ("What did the world do? Nothing"; "the West does nothing"). And the UN was seen as ineffectual because it has been usurped by the US ("We Arabs say that, 'The UN is a puppet and the US is the puppet master'. Is this not true?").

The US-led invasion of Iraq was the third cause and "probably one of the greatest reasons" of anti-Americanism. The participant posited that the Arabs were unaware of the great extent of Iraqi loss of life ("We thought that it was high but not this high"). He stressed that the aim behind the invasion was to "break the strong Arab nations" and one of its consequences was the destruction of the "Shield against Iran" ("they broke the 'Shield' against Iran"). He also believed that the invasion also increased Islam*ist* extremism ("yes").

History was included as a cause of anti-Americanism because he believed that historic transgressions by the West against Arabs continue to be important as long as there is no peace and prosperity in Arab nations. He stated:

"If we had peace and prosperity then maybe we could put less importance on it".

Islam*ism* and Extremism Issues. In this theme, three subthemes emerged. The first was that *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* were not terrorist organisations, a view shared by "nearly all Arabs". Still, the use of *Hezbollah* against *Sunnis* in Iraq and Syria was considered unjust ("No"). A second subtheme was that corrupt Arab governments contribute to extremism ("Corrupt governments in the Arab world who keep their people poor does this. They do it on purpose. It is the Arab way").

The final theme included a series of the participant's views about Islam*ism*, extremism, America and the West. One of those views was an insightful critique of American culture; whilst other views were extreme, by virtue of their content.

Americanisation was regarded as a "big problem for Islam" that "destroys Arab culture" and "takes people away from religion". Democracy was viewed as a Western political system that Arabs did not want. He took the view that Arabs needed someone to rule over them. He stressed:

"We do not want democracy. We want *Sharia*. The people are like sheep and need a shepherd".

In this criticism of the West, the participant indirectly provided an interesting argument, where he distinguished between the real values of democracy and freedom, and the deterioration and decline of those values as seen through examples within contemporary American culture. While he condemned those values, and viewed their application as a distortion, he implicitly recognised that they had an inherent worth:

"They think they want shopping malls, credit cards and debt, so much debt. They think that this is democracy and freedom. No! This is Western slavery and the death of the soul".

He went on to state that "a compromise is not possible" and reconciliation between the West and the Arab world can never happen, because "like oil and water; they don't mix. They will never mix". Finally, the participant criticised the researcher for

having some interview subjects that were "against Islam" and, before departing at the end of the interview, threatened the researcher not to misuse his research "against Islam or us" or there would be severe consequences.

Table 12

Interview 11 Themes and Subthemes

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
American foreign policy important for Arab *Sunnis*
American conduct in the Arab world
American interference in the Middle East
American support of Arab dictatorships, with Arab people being kept poor
America portrayed as unpredictable and untrustworthy
America uncaring about the real wishes of Arabs
US support for Israel
Undermines negotiations between Palestine and Israel
Palestine-Israel issue important for *Sunnis*
Arab *Sunnis* will never accept Israel
Israel is an illegal, occupying force
America the world superpower supports a terrorist state
Used by Islamists to recruit Arab *Sunnis*
Destabilisation of the region is a part of the 'US/Israeli agenda'

The world does nothing to help Arabs
UN is ineffectual, usurped by the US
The US Invasion of Iraq
Many Arabs unaware of great extent of Iraqi loss of life
Aim behind invasion was to 'break the strong Arab nations'
The destruction of the 'Shield against Iran' was a consequence
History
Lack of peace, prosperity in Arab nations amplifies historical blame of West
Trump's 'Muslim ban'
Al-Quds
Islam*ist* extremism
ISLAMISM AND EXTREMISM ISSUES
Hamas and *Hezbollah* are not terrorist groups for most Arabs
Hezbollah use against *Sunnis* in Iraq in Syria unjust
Corrupt Arab governments contribute to extremism
Other personal views
Americanisation is a big problem for Islam
Americanisation destroys Arab culture
Americanisation takes people away from religion

Democracy a western political system undesirable to Arabs
Democracy, freedom has value, but corrupted in America
'Arabs are like sheep and they need a shepherd'
The West and Arab world cannot compromise; oil and water will never mix

Interview 12

Interviewee 12 was born in Egypt and a university graduate. His transcript proved to be one of the richest in the research and there are many interconnections between the issues discussed. The themes and subthemes developed are at Table 13 below.

Causes of Anti-Americanism. The main causes of anti-Americanism were six: American foreign policy; American support for Israel; US invasion of Iraq; History; Trump's 'Muslim Ban'; and *Al-Quds* decision. "America causes anti-Americanism!", proclaimed this interviewee. The first four themes are discussed at some length. Trump's 'Muslim ban' and the *Al-Quds* decision are briefly signified as causes of contemporary anti-Americanism ("the Arab Muslim ban to the US"; "*Al-Quds*").

American foreign policy involves US interference in Arab affairs ("It interferes too much"), and this has caused America to lose "any morality in the Middle East". American foreign policy also affects Arab *Sunni* anti-Americanism ("A lot").

The interviewee put forward the view that America construes all Arab Muslims to be the enemy ("making all Muslims the enemy. But they mean us, the Arabs, not the Indonesians"), and they along with the West betray their Arab allies ("The West only betrays the Arabs"; "America was Iraq's friend and ally and then invaded it"). America also supports Arab dictatorships ("America talks about Arab democracy but supports Arab dictators").

Interviewee 12 went on to narrate the Arab tale of the lion and the three oxen as a metaphor for American foreign policy, with America, the lion, unable to overpower and control the Arab states (the oxen), and thus proceeded to divide them and to turn them against each other. Explaining the metaphor, he stated, "It is about the US invasion of Iraq and later destruction of so many Arab countries". Related to this tale, he made the point that America had an ongoing agenda of invading Arab countries ("They had invaded Afghanistan and were looking for another country to invade").

Furthermore, he added that America regards Arabs as lesser than Americans and Israelis ("still not be equal to them or Israelis") and aspires to turn them into "American second-class citizens".

Finally, America is said to have created *Da'ish* and other extremist groups ("Yes, they created the many fighters and groups that opposed their illegal invasion and one of these became *Da'ish*").

The interviewee considered American support for Israel to be the second main cause of anti-Americanism and suggested that this relationship prevents America from understanding the perspective of Arabs ("because the Zionists will not permit it"). In this context, the Palestine-Israel issue was considered to be, "very, very, important". For Arab *Sunnis*, and American support for Israel was considered to undermine negotiations between the two sides ("Yes"). The interviewee stressed that most Arab *Sunnis* do not accept Israel ("no"), which is seen as an invader ("again"), an illegal occupying force ("Yes and most Arabs do"), and a terrorist state ("Yes"; "These were terrorist attacks by Israeli terrorists").

The interviewee highlighted that America's support for Israel is "very often" used by extremists in order to recruit Arab *Sunnis* ("Why wouldn't they"). The participant then suggested that America and Israel were themselves extremist:

"Is Israel not extreme? Is the US invasion of Iraq not extreme?"

"Some people the West call terrorists are not terrorists … Others that the West does not call terrorists, like the Israelis, are terrorists".

He then posited that extremism by America and Israel caused Arab 'counter-extremism':

"Extremism causes resistance or counter-extremism. 'You cannot punch a man in the face and complain when he hits you back'".

The US led invasion of Iraq was identified as another major cause of Arab anti-Americanism. The participant stressed that it was the Arabs' "modern holocaust" and it had left "a deep wound". He also emphasised that the destruction of Iraq, "one of our strongest Arab countries", "weakened the *Sunni* Arab world… and made Iran stronger". He added that the Iraq war will never be forgotten, ("we will never forget it or let our children forget it"); and that American atrocities and human rights violations will never be forgotten or forgiven ("They acted like beasts. We will not forget or forgive"). He took the view that the rest of the world turned a 'blind eye' to these atrocities ("But the world is blind and does not want to see it. They do nothing to America").

History was identified as another cause of anti-Americanism, and the participant established a continuity of past Western transgressions with contemporary American actions against the Arabs. This was elaborated through a discussion about historical events and how they reveal an important direction of travel or "pathway":

"We should look at these events as stones that form a pathway over time. The stones are not very important but the direction is what is important".

History was viewed as having the quality of a "black shadow" that Arab *Sunnis* carry with them:

"The past is part of our present and it follows us around like a ghost or a shadow".

Islamism and Extremism Issues. Three subthemes comprise this theme: the proposition that *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* are not terrorist groups; that the MB is not an extremist group; and Arab respect for how *Da'ish* fought against the Syrian regime.

Hamas and *Hezbollah* were not viewed as terrorist organisations ("No. Why would I?"). *Hezbollah* had been considered "heroes to all Arabs" when they were fighting Israel, but are no longer due to *Hezbollah* sectarian attacks against *Sunnis* in Iraq and Syria ("killing *Sunnis;* it is a terrible thing"). He concluded that there must be an unknown factor that had affected *Hezbollah* ("They are being used. We do not know the truth"). Additionally, he did not consider the MB to be an extremist group ("No").

The participant seemed to express a respect, perhaps even admiration, for the way in which *Da'ish* fought against the Syrian regime:

"Well, the whole world could see how much territory they captured and how quickly. It took many countries fighting them from all sides to push them back. Most of their fighters died in battle or *jihād*".

Table 13

Interview 12 Themes and Subthemes

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
American foreign policy
US interferes in Arab affairs
America has lost any morality in the Middle East
America constructs all Arab Muslims as the enemy
Treats Arabs as lesser than Americans and Israelis
Wants to turn Arabs into American second-class citizens
America supports Arab dictatorships
America and the West betray their Arab allies

America has an agenda of invading Arab countries
Separating Arab countries and turning them against each other
America created *Da'ish* and other extremist groups
American support for Israel
Prevents America from understanding the perspective of Arabs
Palestine-Israel issue very important for Arab *Sunnis*
Israel not accepted by Arab *Sunnis*
Israel seen as an invader, illegal occupying force, terrorist state
US support of Israel undermines negotiations between the two sides
Very often used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab *Sunnis*
America and Israel are extremists
American, Israel extremism causes counter-extremism by Arabs
US invasion of Iraq
American atrocities, human rights violations will never be forgotten/forgiven
The world chooses to be blind, does not want to criticise America
The invasion weakened Arab *Sunnis* and made Iran stronger
History
Continuity of Western/US actions against Arabs up to the present period
Historical events show directionality

The past is like a 'black shadow' that Arab *Sunnis* carry with them
Trump's 'Muslim ban'
Al-Quds
ISLAMISM AND EXTREMISM ISSUES
Hamas and *Hezbollah* are not terrorist groups   *Hezbollah* were heroes against Israel, but now kill *Sunnis* in Iraq, Syria
Some unknown factor at play
MB - not an extremist group
Respect for the way *Da'ish* fought the Syrian regime

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This organic empirical research and analysis, that has been generalised and applied across Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis*, was not only a matter of pressing importance but made an original contribution to knowledge, within this academic field of enquiry. It did so by ascertaining a more accurate picture of the present state of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men, how it is woven into the Islam*ist* narrative and what role it plays in attracting Arab *Sunnis* to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era. It also appraised the concepts in question in new ways that mediated between academic discourse and popular incarnations; and Middle Eastern and Western perspectives, so that new light could be shed on the problems at hand. This therefore, formed the justifying criterion for this academic investigation. The findings and conclusions also update and refresh earlier academic research within this field of knowledge.

Although it is acknowledged and accepted that there is no single 'Arab Mind' or 'Arab View' on almost any given issue, the primary research was able to 'tap into' the 'beating heart' of the contemporary 'Arab Street'. Furthermore, engaging directly with Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* men about these sensitive matters, in the 'melting pot' of the Middle East, under conditions of anonymity and risk, was not only challenging but most worthwhile and of academic value. Consequently, the established literature, developing scholarship and primary research of this study have revealed that anti-Americanism plays a significant role in attracting Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* to Islam*ist* extremism in the contemporary era. This may present itself in the form of correlational motivational factors or direct causal links to Islam*ist* extremism. Furthermore, the primary research revealed new and interesting conclusions, some of which came as a surprise to the researcher.

This final element of the thesis will begin with a brief summary of what was deduced in relation to the concepts which were considered germane to the study. It will then progress to the main conclusions of the primary research. Then, it will look beyond

this study and reflect upon the wider geopolitical developments within the Middle East, upon which this study has 'shone a light'.

Deductions of Concepts Explored

At this juncture it is considered apposite to offer a brief summary of what was deduced in relation to the concepts that were considered central to the study. It will be recalled that the thesis initially explored the concepts of terrorism, fundamentalism, radicalisation and Islamophobia, prior to examining anti-Americanism and Islam*ist* extremism at much greater depth. This clarification of its conceptual basis was regarded as essential given the ambiguous and amorphous nature of the concepts being explored which frequently acquired radically distinct meaning, dependent upon the context and the actors that defined them.

Terrorism

First and foremost, attention was given to the complex concept of 'terrorism'. Rather than endorsing the rhetoric of sensationalism, this study considered the manner by which 'Othering' binaries resulted in the emergence of that which is 'terrorist'; meaning that particular perspectives are adopted from which the 'Other' is viewed as deviant and the view of the perceiver is judged moral and righteous. Terrorism has been understood by way of multiple perspectives, being a special category of violence that is 'justified' in accordance with particular ideological ends. It was also deduced that terrorism bears an exceptional status, depending upon the legislating party. Therefore, it was surmised that contemporary considerations of terrorism have blurred the divide between generalities and particulars, conflating individual instances of terrorism with a wider assumption of that which is terrorism and in particular its connection with the religion of Islam. It is also acknowledged that achieving a universal or wholly objective definition of terrorism is problematic.

Fundamentalism, Radicalisation and Islamophobia

This then led to the consideration of the phenomena of fundamentalism, radicalisation and Islamophobia. The research observed that whilst the concept of

fundamentalism has seemingly innocuous origins, it has come to be associated with any absolute conviction, and particularly in the context of Islam*ic* fundamentalism. The latter concept is largely a Western construct, comprising the uncritical generalisation of particular acts and their attribution to the religion of Islam. Additionally, it was observed that particular conceptualisations of fundamentalism such as 'Islam*ic*', and, more particularly 'Islam*ist*', have dominated both popular and political discourse. Therefore, fundamentalism was understood more broadly as a form of dogmatic reasoning or a battle of 'norms against norms', and an absolute conviction in particular forms of truth, which are understood dogmatically.

Radicalisation was understood as a process, indicative of a movement along a spectrum of belief whilst being bolstered by a sense of conviction and affiliation. It was further deduced to be an extension of fundamentalism; thus, a process that moves between varying degrees of conviction until an absolute state is reached. It was also shown how, in the contemporary era, radicalisation has become synonymous in Western discourses with Islam*ist* extremism, which has in its turn, contributed to the phenomenon of Islamophobia. Finally, the emotive subject of Islamophobia, the 'demonisation of difference' and its meaning within the contemporary lexicon was examined and the manner by which the 'Other' is viewed through the lens of subjectivity. It was concluded that Islamophobia is the uncritical fear of and revulsion towards Islam and Muslims.

Anti-Americanism

It has been shown that from its historical origins to modern denouncements of 'occupation' of Arab Muslim lands, criticism of America has a varied and broad history. The cultural criticisms with which this examination began have remained constant in Arab anti-American discourse, such as the spectre of 'Americanisation' and its perceived impact on Islam*ic* culture. Historically, once America was acknowledged as a 'great power' by the rest of the world, political and economic concerns also became a core element of anti-American thinking.

It was deduced that a narrow definition of anti-Americanism that defined it as an

indiscriminate attack on America, was probably the most useful conceptual starting point. It was observed that the history of anti-Americanism has been recorded and retold in a largely impressionistic fashion, with a degree of incoherence due to the term being used too broadly and too regularly. Yet, it was posited that although disliking certain aspects of America is perhaps understandable, to hate the nation and its people as a whole, is somewhat irrational. It was noted that such blanket hatred generally relies upon a series of stereotypes or caricatures that often reveal more about the individual or group passing judgement than the country being hated. Notwithstanding this, the thesis highlighted and accepted that America is not always moral, just, ethical, honourable, or indeed lawful, but rather that the slide from criticism to anti-Americanism lacks logical credibility. It was further posited, that to a fair and reasonable mind, prejudiced, discriminatory or exaggerated rhetoric only weakens otherwise justifiable critiques of America's many perceived faults.

Beyond the generic historical or thematic classifications of anti-Americanism that were examined, its role in attracting Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* to Islam*ist* extremism remained the primary focus of this study. The research showed that within the Middle East, such prejudiced and oversimplified arguments have proved persuasive and enduring to many Arab *Sunnis*, as the anti-American messages of Bin-Laden, Al-Baghdadi or Arab state controlled media have demonstrated. However, the thesis also stressed that: American human rights violations in *Abu Ghraib*; extrajudicial killings; extraordinary rendition; excessive civilian fatalities in the assault on *Fallujah*; and the existence of Guantanamo Bay have not been fabricated but are well established facts and have raised levels of anti-Americanism and acted as propaganda weapons and recruiting aids for Arab Islam*ist* extremists. It was also shown that the US-led invasion of Iraq reinforced in the Arab *Sunni* psyche a preexisting sense of injustice 'at foreign hands', resulting in greatly increased levels of anti-Americanism. This was further added to by a prevailing 'conspiracy mindset' dating back to events such as Sykes-Picot and even the Crusades, which were viewed as providing a continuity of transgressions against Arabs from the deep past to the present.

It was also stressed that the asymmetric nature of conflict between the

industrialised power of America and Arab *Sunni* extremist groups, further fuelled a sense of injustice; and although these events were sometimes viewed through a distorted lens, they created a vivid, continuing and believable 'landscape' of anti-Americanism within the Middle East. Consequently, it was considered axiomatic that US direct military action in the Middle East had greatly exacerbated levels of preexisting anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis*.

Therefore, it was concluded that anti-Americanism is a heterogeneous construct of starkly competing interpretations, that is neither a new nor an ideologically consistent discourse. There is thus considerable variation in its intensity, coherence, and expressions across the Middle East. Enduring contributory factors for Arab *Sunnis* were shown to be, 'what America does' (foreign policy and interventionism) in Arab Muslim lands; 'what America is' (pluralism, culture and 'Americanisation'); 'what America has become' (separated from its liberal roots); and ambivalence. Furthermore, it was shown that for Arab *Sunnis*, two of the most significant and contentious issues that contribute to Middle Eastern anti-Americanism and Islam*ist* extremism are the US/Israeli alliance and continued Israeli oppression of the Palestinian territories.

It was also shown that the phenomenon of anti-Americanism has recently developed another facet with the inception of the Trump presidency that has, by any standard, been espousing an isolationist and protectionist ethno-nationalism without due regard for the semantic complexities of international relations. This was exemplified by America's withdrawal from the UN Human Rights Council in 2018, to the dismay of much of the Arab World but which was lauded by Israel. It was shown that: Trump's 'Twitter diplomacy'; lack of distinction between 'Islam*ist*' and 'Islam*ic*'; failed 'Muslim ban'; and *Al-Quds* decision, were issues of continued concern and even resentment, for many Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis.* Turning to how Trump's presidency is viewed by Middle Eastern contemporary Arab youth, it was revealed that three-quarters of Arab youth view the impact of Trump's presidency on the region as negative. Also, it was shown that anti-Americanism amongst Arab youth is growing 'year on year'. Finally, it was posited that the totality of the aforementioned factors contributes significantly to current Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* anti-Americanism and feeds the Arab Islam*ist*

narrative. However, although it may appear reductionist, it is important to stress that the study concluded that Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* are not intrinsically or intuitively anti-American, but have their opinions shaped and influenced by a broad spectrum of factors and political and ideological actors.

Islam*ist* Extremism

Turning to Islam*ist* extremism, this was understood to be a phenomenon that selectively uses the religion of Islam in order to further specific political ends by extreme measures. This and other definitions were contrasted with popular and political understandings of 'Islam*ic* terrorism', whilst stressing the importance of making the distinction between Islam*ic* and Islam*ist*, at an academic level. Furthermore, for the purposes of academic accuracy, this thesis does not accept the existence of 'Islam*ic* terrorism', as there is no verifiable evidence to prove its existence.

The study also revealed that notwithstanding the existence of ancient groups such as the *Hashshāshīn*, the theoretical and ideological bases of Islam*ist* extremism are predominately rooted in the reactionary and rejectionist ideas that emerged in the MENA region in the postcolonial era. Although the theories of *Al-Mawdudi* and MB's *Qutb* drew upon pre-fundamentalist, predominantly *Wahhabi*-influenced doctrines, modern Islam*ist* extremism incorporates the politicisation of Islam as a means of restoring religion to the public space and reversing what is perceived to be an inexorable tide of secularisation, modernisation and 'Americanisation'. It was shown that both of these early Islam*ist* ideologues promulgated philosophies which bound political legitimacy and territorial sovereignty to an unyielding divine order which was diametrically opposed to any and all forms of pluralist government or indeed non-Islam*ist* Arab government. Islam*ist* extremism was thus observed to promulgate a hydra-type conspiracy theory that embellishes the notion that attack is the only form of defence and force is the best means of transmuting theory into practice. Islam*ist* extremists thus endeavour through political violence and force to establish an Islam*ic* caliphate through a totalitarian ideology that is essentialist and deterministic.

The study also revealed that while the means of achieving this end have altered considerably over time, the core aims and objectives of Arab Islam*ist* extremists have remained largely unaltered. For instance, although the emphasis upon martyrdom represented a break with fundamentalist tradition, this was attributed chiefly to post-Cold War era geopolitical changes and the US-led invasion and occupation of Iraq. Similarly, whilst the slaughter of Muslims is not expressly advocated by fundamentalist theologians, the doctrine of *takfir* was shown to be closely related to *Qutb's* theory of *jahiliyyah.*

Moreover, it was argued that although there has been an emergence of groups such as *Da'ish*, with inward-looking and localised objectives; other Islam*ists* held a much wider vision, such as AQ and MB that exemplified the more global nature of contemporary Islam*ist* extremism. As a result, Islam*ist* extremism is characterised both by change and continuity. Where change has been manifest in terms of methods, constancy has been prevalent in terms of ideology, distorted theology and flawed hermeneutics.

Therefore, it is concluded that Islam*ist* extremism is instrumental. Regardless of time or place, it has sought to replace pluralist and autocratic governments with Islam*ist* authoritarian regimes, where the rights of the individual are subsumed to the *ummah* and the state. From a Western perspective, Islam*ist* extremism can be viewed as a means to an end, as opposed to an end in itself. However, from a Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* Islam*ist* perspective, it is not only a method of achieving 'Allāh's law in Allāh's land', or more realistically, totalitarian power for the Islam*ist* extremists, but a *jihād* or 'personal struggle for the sake of Allāh'. Also, it was noted that the rise of Islam*ist* terror organisations in the Middle East revealed an identifiable link between material poverty, the intellectual poverty of radical Islam*ist* doctrines and the educational programmes facilitated by the MB.

What is clear from the research is that Islam*ist* extrem*ism* remains an existential threat to many Arab states and a longer term threat of varying degrees to the West. Although the most extreme elements of Islam*ist* extremism, such as *Da'ish* and AQ, are declining in popularity with Arab *Sunnis;* the insidious, and pernicious ideology of the

MB probably presents the greatest long term threat to pro-Western Arab states and to a lesser degree, the West. Although this significant threat has been highlighted on numerous occasions by some Arabian Gulf states, Arab academics and others, the MB continues to be supported by Iran, Turkey, Qatar and other regional players. Furthermore, a number of Arab states view the MB as an 'Iranian Trojan Horse' that is facilitated by Iran to bring about the downfall of their states or 'regime change from within'. Much to the great annoyance of some Arab states, this Islam*ist* organisation retains the status of a charity within the UK, notwithstanding a recent highly critical parliamentary report of the MB.

Primary Research Conclusions

Selected conclusions of the primary research, some of which came as a surprise to the researcher, are summarised under the following headings: importance of the plight of the Palestinians to Arab *Sunnis*; non-acceptance of America in Palestinian negotiations; 'Palestinians are part of the problem'; Israel as the West's 'Lost Empire' in the East; Arab rights within Israel; Islam*ist* extremism and MB Islam*ist* threat; *Hezbollah;* consequences of 'Arab Spring'; counter-surveillance 'lifestyle'; liberty *versus* continuity of power; democracy; anti-Americanism in the Arab media; Russian Involvement in the Middle East; American and Arab 'Double Standards'; sectarianism; difference in positions between Arab leaders and their people; and the relationship between Arab States and Islam.

Notwithstanding the wealth of information relating to anti-Americanism, Islam*ist* extremism and Islam that has been amassed since 9/11; the results of this research support the position that Western policy makers in general and American in particular, would benefit greatly from expanding their perspectives and viewing the Arab Middle East through a different epistemological lens; and that by so doing, this would reveal a wider range of pragmatic and workable foreign policy options, some of which are adumbrated below.

Importance of the Plight of the Palestinians to Arab *Sunnis*

It is clear from this research that the plight of the Palestinians remains not only extremely important to Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* but a central issue in their lives. Not only is it central but it remains current in the light of Trump's 2017 *Al-Quds* decision; 2018 cancellation of US humanitarian funding to the Palestinian National Authority; and 2018 US withdrawal from the UN Human Rights Council, in protest of its frequent criticism of Israel's treatment of Palestinians. However, this is a complex matter. Beyond the merits of the Palestinian case, this passionate issue serves a useful purpose in uniting Arab *Sunnis* in a region that is a 'patchwork quilt' of ancient and contemporary rivalries, tribal and territorial loyalties and enduring disputes. Additionally, this visceral issue, with its inherent and inseparable anti-Americanism has for some time, been skillfully utilised by Arab leaders, governments and others to divert Arab populations from enduring internal issues of poverty, weak economic performance, high levels of unemployment, corruption and lack of representation.

Although the core rationale for Arab governments continuing to use anti-Americanism as part of the Palestinian issue has not changed; the 'Arab Spring' has altered the political landscape of the Arab World and brought with it a degree of risk to the stability and even survivability of many Arab governments. Thus, many Arab regimes have concluded that continuing this policy is unsustainable and have greatly toned-down the 'regime endorsed anti-American element' of the Palestinian issue. Consequently, overt support for the Palestinians has been reduced and there is now almost an implicit and quiet acceptance of the *status quo*, in order to reduce any form of public demonstration and maintain stability and internal security. Also, there is an indication within some Arab regimes, of an almost implicit acceptance that Israel's continued illegal settlement programme in the West Bank, is slowly removing any realistic possibility of a long term 'Two State Solution'. However, for the 'Arab Street' the settlements remain unlawful, unethical and unacceptable and constitute what is viewed as American endorsed Israeli oppression of Arab *Sunni* Palestinians.

What has become clear from the research is that America's enduring unequivocal and indiscriminate support for Israel; and Israel's oppression of the Palestinian Occupied Territories has become conflated and as a result 'toxic' to their relationship with Arab

populations. Therefore, the Palestinian cause remains probably the most emotive issue in the contemporary Arab World and the key element in continued Arab *Sunni* anti-Americanism, which feeds Islam*ist* extremism.

Non-acceptance of America in Palestinian Negotiations

The research has highlighted that many Arab *Sunnis* appear to believe that America's unequivocal support for Israel completely undermines its independence in any mediation and negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. As some interviewees claimed, this would be like getting Russia to negotiate the issue of who owns the Crimea or the more descriptive metaphor of the wolves and the lamb: "America is like a fierce wolf; Israel is like a wolf cub and the Palestinians are a little lamb, and all three are discussing what to have for lunch. All Arabs know that what the two wolves will have for lunch is the lamb".

It is for these and other reasons that America's support for diplomatic dialogue between Israel and Palestine is undermined by their policies and actions in the Middle East. Additionally, this is further aggravated by Israel's continued occupation of Arab land through the illegal settlements, contrary to UN resolutions. Furthermore, many Arabs perceive that international law is not applied to Israel, and in particular: the non-implementation of UN Security Council resolutions requiring Israel to withdraw from the Palestinian Occupied Territories.

'Palestinians are part of the Problem'

One surprising finding of the primary research was that some Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* were prepared to admit to a Western researcher in the Arabian Gulf, that many Arabs recognise that the Palestinians are 'part of the problem', in relation to their dealings with Israel. This acknowledgement is captured and exemplified in interviewees' sayings such as, "They are like a member of a family who was the only one who did not get anything from a will and it is toxic", and "The Palestinians are like the poor man at a party". Additionally, notwithstanding the fact that Israel currently occupies a good deal of Palestinian land illegally, some and possibly many Arab *Sunnis* acknowledge that in the

past, Palestinians have willingly sold Palestinian land to Israeli Jews. Although many Arabs prefer to suggest that these Palestinians were cheated in some way, others accept that much of the land was sold willingly by absentee landlords, as opposed to being captured, or the Palestinians being driven off. Furthermore, many Arabs differentiate between the plight and legitimate cause of the Palestinians who live in the occupied territories and the Palestinian diaspora who live in many Arab countries. However, it is important to stress that notwithstanding the above perceptions about Palestinians, many if not most Arabs still do not excuse the Israeli initiated 1967 *An-Naksah* and their subsequent illegal seizure of Arab and Palestinian land. It can be safely concluded that it is chiefly for the reason of not undermining the Palestinian cause and for showing a unified Arab 'front' in support of the Palestinians, that such critical opinions are generally not voiced outside of the 'Arab Street' and certainly not to the West. This aspect is worthy of further academic research within the Middle East.

Israel as the West's 'Lost Empire in the East'

One intriguing conclusion that can be drawn from the primary research is that there is a narrative amongst some Arab *Sunnis* that view Israel as part of the West's 'Lost Empire in the East' or "the West's foothold in the Arab Middle East". Some Arabs suggest that the expansionist policies of Israel can be associated with Western nostalgia for the West's 'lost empire in the East'; not Byzantium, but the lands that the Crusaders held and ruled over for one hundred and ninety-five years. Furthermore, some Arabs posit that this is perhaps one underlying and even motivating reason why the Greco/Roman, Judeo-Christian West, and America in particular, support Israel's expansionist policies. For example, as some of the interviewees stressed: "Israel is the last Crusader state" or "The Tenth Crusade". This Arab view may be underpinned by the prominent historical dimension within the Arab World and the oppositional nature of some perspectives between Middle East and West. What is also a little surprising about this finding is that educated Arab *Sunnis* are expounding a narrative which is normally limited to extreme Islam*ist jihādist* groups, such as *Da'ish,* as articulated in their illegal journal *Dabiq*. Setting aside the historical and nostalgic dimensions, Arab *Sunnis* stress that Israelis are predominately non-Arab and that increasing numbers of immigrants to

Israel are European, hence the symbolic connection with the 'Crusaders' and the "West's last foothold in the Arab Middle East".

Furthermore, some Arabs consider that one of the motivations of the West or America in trying to control the Arab World is as a means of controlling the religion of Islam and that Trump's use of the term "Islam*ic* terrorism", his so called 'Arab Muslim ban' and the *Al-Quds* decision are all examples of this. Although this may appear to be a slightly 'conspiratorial' Arab view, it will be recalled that some Western academics such as Chomsky have long highlighted the historical role of 'Christian Zionism' in establishing and maintaining Israel, whilst others such as McDermott have posited the more recent role of 'New Christian Zionism'.

What is clear from the research is that America's image in the Arab World suffers greatly as a direct consequence of its unequivocal support for Israel. Furthermore, America's reputation is inextricably linked to Israel's actions in the Palestinian Occupied Territories. Therefore, it can be deduced that America's support for Israel is perceived by some Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* as a symbolic continuation of Western expansionist policies during the Middle Ages. This interesting oppositional perspective may be growing within the Middle East and feeding preexisting Arab *Sunni* anti-Americanism, which in turn feeds the Islam*ist* narrative. Consequently, it is a matter worthy of further academic research and exploration.

Arab Rights within Israel

A particularly interesting finding of this investigation is that some Arabs admit openly that the Arab population within Israel enjoy greater rights than in most Arab countries. This reveals that some Arabs recognise the democratic benefits provided by Israel to Arabs within its borders, whilst still acknowledging the injustices caused to the Palestinians by Israel within the Occupied Territories. It also reveals a growing realisation of the negative impact of the 'Arab Spring' within Arab lands, and highlights that many Arabs do not feel free to speak openly about religious or politically sensitive matters. It also reveals that some Arabs now have a greater understanding and possible

acceptance of the juxtaposition of Arab rights within Israel, as opposed to reduced rights in many Arab countries.

Islam*ist* Extremism and MB Islam*ist* Threat

The research has highlighted that Middle Eastern Islam*ist* extremism appears to be undergoing a period of transition. The 'Islam*ic* State' and its 'Islam*ist* Crusade' no longer exists and *Da'ish* has fragmented into isolated 'pockets of resistance'. Additionally, many of the Islam*ist* groups that were fighting in Syria (listed at Appendix 4) no longer exist due to having been destroyed or morphed into other elements. AQ continues to evolve across the MENA region and remains particularly active in Syria and Yemen. However, it is safe to conclude that Islam*ist* organisations such as *Hamas* have greater popularity with Arab *Sunnis* than more extreme Islam*ist* groups such as AQ or *Da'ish*. *Hezbollah* which is by any standard extreme also retains a popular Arab *Sunni* status, notwithstanding its extreme activities and sectarianism in Syria and its use as an Iranian 'parallel force' in Lebanon, where it not only counters the Lebanese Army but to a great extent, the Lebanese state.

Although there is ongoing academic debate as to whether Islam*ist* extremists pose an existential threat to the West, as far as many Arab leaders are concerned, the MB most certainly present an existential threat to their states. Hence, it is axiomatic that they pose a critical threat that needs to be addressed effectively. Therefore, Middle Eastern Arab states should have an entirely integrated approach to fighting Islam*ist* extremism. This should include, degrading the ability of the Islam*ists* to recruit, train, resource and fight; countering the cyber threat; supporting moderate Islam*ic* representatives and organisations; improving community engagement; regulating imams; integrating domestic and foreign policies; improving international collaboration with Western allies; and ensuring that the application of counter-terrorist policy is lawful, morally credible, coherent and most importantly - proportionate; so as not to provide Islam*ists* with a propaganda weapon and recruiting aid, especially to the MB.

Arabs states should also embrace the best and most appropriate Western security methods whilst retaining some traditional Middle Eastern methods, to ensure

cultural appropriateness. However, despite the temptation, Arab states should refrain from the widespread use of paid informers, which tends to become counterproductive and subject to a spectrum of motivations, as evidenced previously in Ceaușescu's Romania, Hoxha's Albania or Honecker's German Democratic Republic. Additionally, focus and emphasis should be placed upon the epicentre of the threat (the narrow end of the funnel) rather than seeking 'enemies of the state' in a broad inefficient manner which could ultimately breed mistrust, resentment, fear and reputational loss within the international community. Also, the use of draconian methods such as the extrajudicial killing of citizens; torture in state interrogation centres; and the excessive use of force in quelling public demonstrations, is not only unethical by any standard but counterproductive. Furthermore, unless Arab leaders can address the enduring and debilitating issues of economic stagnation; lack of evolutionary reform; high levels of unemployment; social injustice; systemic corruption and imperiousness; some Arab *Sunnis* will remain, and many may become, vulnerable to toxic Islam*ist* doctrine and recruitment, as exemplified by the MB.

Turning specifically to the MB; it is posited that the UK's protracted preoccupation with Brexit may well be having a foreign policy impact in relation to some Gulf Arab states. It is important that UK's foreign policy especially in relation to the Middle East, Islam*ist* extremism and particularly the MB does not lose focus during this difficult time of Brexit. Ignoring persistent warnings from Arabian Gulf allies that the MB continue to use the UK as a base to undermine Middle Eastern Arab allies of the UK; and findings of the in-depth MB report commissioned by Cameron[481] does not augur well for Anglo-Gulf relations. It will be recalled that the House of Commons report concluded that the MB is a secretive (clandestine) organisation that does not share the values of the West and uses the 'cloak' of charitable status in the UK to conduct it nefarious activities.

It is argued that as the Islam*ist* MB is being increasingly repressed within the Middle East, that the importance of its Western bases, such as London, and its activities, will continue to grow, adding to even greater diplomatic annoyance of some Arabian Gulf states. But it is also argued that the MB probably constitutes a long-term

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[481] David William Cameron - Prime Minister of the UK (2010 to 2016) and Leader of the Conservative Party from 2005 to 2016.

Islam*ist* threat to the UK. Hence, the UK should take effective action against the MB within the UK, demonstrate greater resolve and strengthen the already fragile relations with some Arabian Gulf states. Similarly, the EU should take action against the MB and other Islam*ist* groups within state boundaries and acknowledge the existential long term threat that the MB poses, not only to the West, but many Arab states. Although the true extent of the threat which the MB poses to the West remains unclear due to its intentionally opaque nature, what is apparent is that its threat is much more philosophical, ideological, pervasive and enduring than the occasional isolated terrorist attacks within the EU by other Islam*ist* extremists. Therefore, Western governments should better support their Arab allies and take effective action against the MB within their own states. Also, truly understanding Islam*ist* extremism means not just viewing it from a Western perspective but should include viewing it through the lens of Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* both leadership and the 'Arab Street', and correctly assessing the pathways to extremism, especially anti-Americanism. Consequently, it is concluded that Islam*ist* organisations such as the MB, spread a pernicious and revolutionary ideology that seeks to destroy the West's Arab allies in the Middle East, pose a long term threat to the West and therefore need to be opposed tenaciously by the Middle East and West.

Hezbollah

An interesting finding of this study was that many Arab *Sunnis* consider *Hezbollah* to be a resistance organisation but not 'terrorist'. This is especially interesting as *Hezbollah* has been used as a proxy by the Syrian regime and Iran, as a sectarian militia against *Sunnis* in Syria and connected to a range of atrocities against *Sunnis*. This 'special status' afforded to *Hezbollah* by *Sunnis* is chiefly due to their significant military achievements against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, albeit viewed by many in the West as terrorism. Additionally, *Hezbollah* is considered by many *Sunnis* to have restored pride and respect to the Arabs, through their fighting prowess against Israel. However, it is also clear that many Arab *Sunnis* also consider what *Hezbollah* have done in Syria to be "wrong", and "acting like a militia for Iran against Arabs". In the interests of academic objectivity, *Hezbollah* maintains that its justification for intervention in Syria is based upon, protection of isolated *Shi'a* communities and *Shi'a*

religious sites from *Sunni jihādists;* defence of the Syrian state as the 'backbone' of the resistance against Israel; and maintaining Lebanese security. However, a contrary position is that *Hezbollah* has exploited sectarian fears and prejudice in order to mobilise its military forces, with the aim of extending its geopolitical interests within Syria. Therefore, it can be concluded that *Hezbollah* has a dichotomous status of being regarded as a terrorist organisation by numerous global states whilst still being regarded as a respected resistance movement by Arab *Sunnis*, notwithstanding it being used to fight Arab *Sunnis* in Syria.

'Arab Spring'

Consequences of 'Arab Spring'

An important finding of this research concerns the 'Arab Spring' and more precisely its impact on Arab states, their leaders and people. The research and analysis revealed that there have been a number of significant consequences of the 'Arab Spring' that have affected states and their populations. Arab leaders have displayed determination to: increase stability and survivability; build comprehensive and robust internal security forces; procure, develop and deploy sophisticated and pervasive surveillance systems; build extensive networks of informants; and some have also introduced beneficial social reforms.

Additionally, from this research it can be deduced that many contemporary Arab *Sunnis* in a range of Middle Eastern Arab states, do not feel free to speak openly about politically sensitive matters, such as: *jihādism*, Islam*ist* extremism, the MB in particular or indeed anti-Americanism. Consequently, they tend to only trust their immediate family and a limited number of close friends, when doing so. Meanwhile, there is a widely held 'Arab Street' view that most if not all Arab telecommunications are under constant state surveillance, consisting of sophisticated electronic surveillance and human monitoring. This has been exacerbated by the perception of a proliferation of human intelligence assets (informers) for state security, within the wider community. Therefore, the direct consequence is that many Arabs will not talk openly about such sensitive matters, as was reflected in this study. This highlights a degree of nervousness, a greater focus on

self-preservation and ultimately presents increased challenges in conducting primary academic research and determining in-depth public opinion.

'Counter-surveillance Lifestyle'

One conclusion which can be drawn from the observations and analysis of the primary research is that post 'Arab Spring', some Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* partly live a 'counter-surveillance lifestyle'. It was observed that many of the interviewees in this study would only meet in public places such as shopping malls that were familiar to them, which had high ambient noise levels, multiple access and egress points and would not only switch off mobile phones but also remove the power source. Additionally, the forward facing camera ports on their mobile phones were obscured with adhesive stickers. It was also evident that there were increased levels of situational awareness; facial scanning; and an availability of 'close friends' within the immediate vicinity, who could render assistance if required. It was also revealed that the use of VPNs is widespread but not trusted and that the use of 'fake' social media account profiles is common. These and other measures appear to have become almost a 'second nature' to younger Arab *Sunnis*, from a range of Arab states. Some are applied on a permanent basis and others, as and when required. Although this would be a fascinating area for further academic research, it is considered that within the current Middle East, the risk to PhD researchers would be too great.

Liberty *versus* Continuity of Power

On one hand, the study revealed that the 'Arab Spring' has resulted in: increased state surveillance, the perception of a proliferation of informers for state security, increased capabilities of state security apparatus and autocratic governmental control within many Arab states. On the other hand, from a Middle Eastern Arab governmental position, stability and survivability of state power and continuity of leadership have been reinforced and ensured. Therefore, these states consider such measures vital and preferable to the spectre of widespread demonstrations and exploitation by Islam*ist* extremist groups and others, as seen in Syria, Iraq, Libya and Yemen. Furthermore,

Arab governments also justify the increase in pervasive draconian measures in combating the illusive, opaque and revolutionary MB that threatens their very existence.

Although from a Western democratic perspective, these austere and repressive measures may appear undesirable and morally unacceptable; from a Middle Eastern Arab governmental perspective, they are viewed as pragmatic, realistic and a robust response to maintain order and prevent an Islam*ist* takeover. Additionally, from a philosophical perspective, some in the West may view these punitive and draconian measures through the prism of Voltaire[482], Spinoza and Kant[483], whilst many Middle Eastern leaders are more likely to view them through the prism of Machiavelli, Trump and Putin; in essence, *realpolitik*. Furthermore, these actions by Middle Eastern states should also be viewed in the context of: Islam*ist* conflicts in Syria, Iraq, Libya and Yemen; former Islam*ist* domination of Egypt; ongoing Islam*ist* destabilisation of Lebanon and Jordan; the growing Islam*ist* influence in Tunisia; the present Islam*ist* ascendancy in Turkey; open sponsorship of the Islam*ist* MB and Taliban in Qatar; Iranian funding of Islam*ist* groups such as *Hezbollah* and MB; and the proliferation of Islam*ist* groups being funded and used by state actors (such as Iran) as proxy forces to destabilise Arab states. Therefore, it can be safely concluded that many Middle Eastern Arab states are facing an existential threat from Islam*ists,* and view the balance of liberty with continuity of power, in that light, and act accordingly.

Democracy

As for democracy, some Arabs seem to believe that democracy is an undesirable Western political system, not least because Arab states have a different culture, history, unifying language and most importantly faith. Also, the issue of *Sharia versus* democracy is a very real and hotly debated issue for contemporary Arab *Sunnis.* However, it is also clear that others seek greater liberty and self-determination but not necessarily Western style democracy. A possible daring interpretation of the statement by one of the interviewees that, "The people are like sheep and need a shepherd", is that it is not dissimilar in sentiment to the popular Russian saying, "Russia needs a

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[482] Voltaire (1694–1778), Enlightenment writer and philosopher, birth name - François-Marie Arouet, known as Voltaire.
[483] Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), philosopher; a key figure in philosophy, metaphysics, epistemology and ethics.

'strong man' leader". This is often provided as a justification for holding Russia's competing elements in balance and in order to prevent what many Russians view as 'potential instability and chaos'. Be that as it may, this may also, to some degree, explain the growing cult of personality in the 'Arab Street' of Saddam, highlighted by this research, who is being 'rehabilitated' as: a strong *Sunni* leader; an opponent of Iran and the *Shi'a;* and an Arab leader who dared oppose the might of America. Whether this be so, there is no doubt that the consequences of the 'Arab Spring' within the region have been traumatic, not least because in the post-revolutionary chaos, it has been the Islam*ists* that displayed the determination, ruthlessness and preexisting organisational ability to seize power from the 'young and hopeful'. It is worth recalling at this juncture the reply of the interviewee (who threatened the researcher[484]), when asked, "Is *Sharia* compatible with democracy?" and answered:

> "It is the wrong question and an example of wrong thinking! The question you should ask is – is democracy compatible with *Sharia*? The answer is no! *Sharia* is compatible with life. Islam*ic* life! Democracy is a Western political system. We do not want democracy. We want *Sharia*. The people are like sheep and need a shepherd. They think they want American fast food, music, clothes and movies. They think they want shopping malls, credit cards and debt, so much debt. They think that this is democracy and freedom. No! This is Western slavery and the death of the soul. It is democratic slavery that is not compatible with Allāh's law. It never will be".

However, it will be recalled that this particular interviewee was not representative of the cohort, but it does highlight a strongly held view, which is thought popular within the MB. What is also clear from the primary research is that because the consequences of the 'Arab Spring' have been so destructive and catastrophic to the Middle East, there is no current appetite amongst moderate Arab *Sunnis* for attempted democratic reform through public protest. Also, to some degree, there is a perception that this particular 'window of opportunity' has closed. Additionally, it is concluded that the focus for many, if not most Arab *Sunnis* has become providing a decent standard of living for

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[484] Participant 11.

themselves and their families, within a safe and secure environment. The research also highlighted the UAE as an example where moderation without extremism exists within an Arab country. The UAE may not be democratic but the respondents suggested that it was an example of a modern Arab country, within the context of the Arabian Gulf, where citizens and residents have the opportunity to prosper under conditions of safety, security, strong leadership and the rule of law.

Anti-Americanism in the Arab Media

The study revealed that although anti-Americanism in state controlled Middle Eastern Arab media still exists, it has been greatly reduced since the 'Arab Spring'. As previously highlighted, the rationale for this greater state control was primarily to limit civil dissent and reduce the possibility of public demonstrations. However, it was also a recognition that Islam*ists* use anti-Americanism to attract and indoctrinate new recruits and that 'those who demonstrate against America today could demonstrate against their own Arab leaders tomorrow'.

Curiously, as the presence of overt anti-Americanism in Arab state media has been greatly reduced, the negative depiction of Arabs and Muslims portrayed by the Trump administration and supportive American media outlets, in homogenous, disparaging and contemptuous terms has greatly increased. This is a most interesting juxtaposition. For example, the participants in the study highlighted the simplistic American media image of an Arab Muslim as a man with a long beard, no mustache and wearing a *kandora*, which is grossly unrepresentative, misleading and lacking in any real credibility within the heterogeneous multilayered and complex Arab World.

Although this pejorative and derogatory depiction and stereotyping of Arab Muslims by Trump may appear unthinking and pointless, it was highlighted that this 'Othering' could also be viewed as having considerable utility to the current American administration, in that it supports and implicitly justifies interventionist US foreign policy in the Middle East. Additionally, in portraying Arab Muslims as primitive, unreliable and the 'Other', this specifically bolsters its support for Israel as 'the only Middle Eastern democracy', *de*

facto civilised and 'like us'. Furthermore, it was highlighted that although Arab states attempt to control the excesses of anti-Americanism and Islam*ist* extremism on the internet, by blocking sites, the widespread use of VPNs and other methods are limiting its impact. Therefore, it can be deduced that notwithstanding reduced levels of anti-Americanism in state controlled Arab media, the increase of negative stereotypes of Arabs and Muslims by the Trump administration and American media, reinforced by the 'Arab Muslim ban', is likely to contribute to the growth of Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* anti-Americanism.

Russian Involvement in the Middle East

Another important conclusion 'flowing' from this research concerns the perceptions of the respondents towards Russia's military and political support for the *Al-Assad* regime. This was characterised as a lesson for the Arabs and highlighted Russia's possible future role as a reliable ally to the Arab World in general. This may appear counterintuitive to the 'Western mind' where the Russian Armed Forces have aerial bombed and killed large numbers of Arab *Sunni* civilians in Syria[485]. Yet, as exemplified by the interviewees in this research, some and possibly many Arab *Sunnis* view Russia as a potentially reliable, strong and loyal ally to Arab governments. This aspect of 'strength' in an ally and the willingness to use it or lack thereof, such as Obama's 'Red Lines' in Syria, was emphasised and appeared to be much more important than morality. The primary research interviewees also emphasised that, had Russia been Iraq's ally, it would never have invaded Iraq, as America had. Additionally, America's actions in 'abandoning' their long term Arab ally Mubārak, when he most needed their help, was viewed as proof of America being a disloyal, unreliable and disingenuous ally.

The research also underscored that some Arab *Sunnis* believed that the relationship between the West and wealthy Arab states was solely based upon money. As it was characteristically stated, "The lesson for the Arabs is that the Americans and the West

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[485] In the interests of academic objectivity, the Russian Federation has repeatedly stressed that Russian military operations in Syria have caused the deaths of *jihādist* fighters and some unavoidable civilian deaths.

just want our money but will not stand by us; but the Russians will". An additional important related factor which can be surmised as being relevant is that Russia does not have the same relationship with Israel as America. There appears to be a developing Arab view that America's comprehensive military, financial, political and moral support for Israel has created an immovable obstacle and that a relationship with Russia would circumvent this impediment to progress.

Therefore, it can be safely deduced that Russia's tenacity in supporting the Al-Assad regime appears to have been beneficial from a reputational perspective, amongst many Arabs. Additionally, some and possibly many Arabs view Russia as not only a potential ally but the obvious one; notwithstanding the high death toll of Arab *Sunnis* that have directly resulted from operations conducted by Russian military forces in Syria and their continued cooperation with *Shi'a* Iran within Syria. Furthermore, the growing relationship between Arab states and BRICS countries in general, and Russia and China in particular, may present an opportunity for developing additional, parallel and eventually alternative military and political alliances.

'Double Standards'

Arab Muslim 'Double Standard'

Within the framework of anti-Americanism, one issue that emerged was a possible Arab Muslim 'Double Standard'. This appears to be applied to the West and America in particular, as opposed to Arab Muslim dictators and even Eastern non-Arab Muslim empires, such as the Ottomans. For example, the double standard is often applied to the US-led invasion of Iraq which can be met with outspoken and virulent criticism in contrast to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, which is often greeted with silence. However, in taking this position, it is important to acknowledge that the scale of destruction and fatalities in these two examples were entirely different.

Additionally, Arab *Sunnis* frequently and vehemently criticise the unjust oppression of the Palestinians in the occupied territories by Israel but rarely if ever criticise the dictatorial regime of brutality, tyranny and torture presided over by Saddam.

As touched upon above, it appears that Saddam is currently being rehabilitated in the Arab *Sunni* popular mind as a *Sunni* 'hero' or 'strong man', with many items being sold in the 'Arab Street' bearing his face, such as mobile phone covers and a proliferation of heroic film clips being shared on social media sites. Furthermore, public criticism in the 'Arab Street' does not seem to extend to the brutal and murderous regime of Al-Assad. For example, Arab *Sunnis* will criticise the human rights violations at Abu Ghraib but again remain silent about the extensive atrocities carried out by the Al-Assad regime at interrogation centres such as *Saydnaya* Prison[486] and the notorious Branch 215 Interrogation Centre[487] in Damascus. However, in the interests of academic objectivity, it is important to highlight a contrary position. It may well be that Arab caution about criticising Al-Assad in the 'Arab Street' is perhaps related to not being misinterpreted as an Islam*ist* supporter and may also reflect a greater awareness of pervasive state surveillance and a proliferation of informers.

Turning to Arab criticism of the impact of colonialism in the MENA region, this is primarily focused upon the French and British empires, particularly in relation to the consequences of Sykes-Picot. However, such criticisms rarely highlight the Muslim Ottoman Empire and their sustained domination, subjugation and exploitation of Arab lands. One conclusion which can be drawn is that this reluctance may be due to the fact that the Ottomans, Saddam and Al-Assad, were and are Eastern and Muslim and the British, French and Americans are Western and viewed as non-Muslim. Although this may appear to support a 'Clash of Civilisations' hypothesis, the reality is likely to be more complex and nuanced. One possible explanation that arises from this research is that many educated Arabs possess an almost implicit presumption and acceptance that Arab governments will be corrupt and totalitarian. Yet, there is an expectation of higher standards from the 'developed' Global North in general and in particular those with post-Enlightenment based liberal parliamentary democracies possessing a separation of state institutions, freedom of speech and *habeas corpus*. Furthermore, there is much

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[486486] *Saydnaya* Prison (known as the 'Slaughterhouse') - the notorious regime torture centre near Damascus operated by Al-Assad's feared Military Police (*Ashorta Al-Askaria*), where Amnesty International have estimated that between 5,000 and 13,000 people have been executed between in 2011 and 2015. Atrocities include comprehensive torture, forced cannibalism, mass hangings and the construction of a crematorium to burn the bodies and destroy evidence (Amnesty International, 2016b; Amnesty International, 2017b).

[487] Branch 215 Interrogation centre ('Raid Brigade') – the regime interrogation and torture centre in *'Al-Tawjih Al-Siyasi'* (6th of May Street), Damascus. This is probably the most feared torture centre in Damascus.

criticism of America for 'what it has become', supposedly 'adrift' from its original founding values. Again, to offer a contrary view, this may not amount to an actual double standard but be a reflection of disappointment and frustration.

Also, there may be a related failure in many Arab *Sunnis* to recognise the Islam*ic* dimension of Islam*ist* extremism in general and *jihādists* in particular. For example, it was observed that when the extremist interpretation of Islam held by *Da'ish* was mentioned, the popular Arab *Sunni* retort tends to be, "But who created *Da'ish?* America created *Da'ish".* Consequently, the extremist interpretation of Islam held by many *jihādists* is often ignored or dismissed with the declaration that they are not 'real Muslims'. Curiously the very same allegation of not being 'real Muslims' is what *Da'ish* have made against any Muslim who opposed them or did not fit their narrow extremist mindset. In relation to this study, it can be deduced that the existence of such an Arab *Sunni* double standard is debilitating to the Arab World as it is overly simplistic, ignores the reality of the international political system such as national interest and feeds Arab *Sunni* anti-Americanism, which can in turn be exploited by Islam*ist* extremists and others. Although taking such a position of an Arab Muslim double standard risks appearing Neo-Orientalist, it is a matter worthy of further academic exploration and scrutiny.

American 'Double Standard'

The juxtaposition of an Arab double standard is an American double standard as applied to the Middle East and can be concluded to present yet another possible cause of Arab *Sunni* anti-Americanism. This is epitomized by how America dealt with two separate invasions; the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The research highlighted an Arab view that America did not respond to the invasion of Lebanon in a similar way as that of the invasion of Kuwait. America's demand to Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait was not applied to Israel in relation to their occupation of Palestinian lands or Lebanon, amounting to what some Arabs view as an American double standard. This is exacerbated by the fact that America had been a longtime ally and military partner of Iraq. As amplified by one of the interviewees,

"America was Iraq's friend and ally and then invaded it". However, to reflect a contrary perspective, the American State Department position was that Iraq's invasion was an act of aggression and that Israel's invasion was an act of 'self-defence' against the PLO and 'securing borders'. Furthermore, America's self-styled status as 'Leader of the Free World' and 'Champion of Liberty' is viewed as compromised and a double standard by many Arab *Sunnis* due to the US-led 'illegal' invasion of Iraq; Abu Ghraib atrocities; Guantanamo Bay violations; extraordinary rendition and unequivocal support for Israeli oppression of the Palestinians and the development of illegal Israeli settlements on Palestinian land. Therefore, it can be concluded that this perceived American double standard presents yet another possible cause of Arab *Sunni* anti-Americanism, which in turn can be used to fuel Islam*ist* extremism.

Sectarianism

In relation to Middle Eastern Arab sectarianism, what seems clear from this study, is that the US-led invasion of Iraq reignited and exacerbated preexisting sectarian tensions between the *Shi'a* and *Sunni*, due to the removal of Saddam and the 'Arab Wall to Iran'. This also provided Iran with an opportunity for greater regional intervention and growing influence, through the use of sectarian militias and other strategies. The research revealed, how in Syria and particularly in Iraq, many *Sunnis*, have felt marginalised, vulnerable, isolated and persecuted by the *Shi'a* at an economic, political and societal level.

The research further highlighted how *Da'ish* intentionally targeted *Shi'a* mosques and other *Shi'a* sites and how the excesses of the sectarian *Shabiha* and *Hezbollah* *Shi'a* militias resulted in 'sectarian cleansing' and ultimately '*Sunni* flight' to the 'Islamic State', *Da'ish* and other Islam*ist Sunni* extremist groups. It can be safely concluded that this type of lethal sectarianism has only prolonged the Syrian conflict. In Iraq, Syria, and to a lesser extent in Yemen, this revived sectarian rivalry has often erupted into open internecine conflict between *Shi'a* militias and *Sunni jihādists* and other religious extremists, who were often being used as proxy forces within a wider regional conflict. Furthermore, there is a sectarian dimension to Saddam's current rehabilitation in the

'Arab Street'. Saddam is not being portrayed as a generic Arab hero but a *Sunni* hero and as a 'victim' of the *Shi'a,* facilitated by the Americans. This is reinforced by widespread promulgation of the film footage of Saddam's 'mishandled' execution by the *Shi'a* and of him being verbally abused in a sectarian manner whilst on the gallows. His death is being portrayed as brutal *Shi'a* revenge rather than justice. However, this sectarianism is rather more complex than it appears, as it will be recalled that many Arab *Sunnis* still revere Arab *Shi'a Hezbollah* as valiant resistance fighters against Israel, yet disapprove of their sectarian actions in Syria.

Therefore, it is clear from this study that there has been a resurgence in Arab Muslim sectarianism within the Middle East, chiefly due to the sectarian nature of the conflict fought by and against *Sunni jihādists* in Iraq and the bitter and destructive Syrian Civil War. Also, these dichotomous sectarian tensions have also been observed in KSA, Bahrain, Lebanon and the ongoing conflict in Yemen. Although sectarianism has proved useful in the motivation and mobilisation of the masses, once established, it can be difficult to control its excesses, as has been seen in Syria. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that Islam*ic* sectarianism is a divisive and destructive phenomenon that is growing and deepening and that Iran and others have benefited from and exploited the consequences of the US-led invasion of Iraq, Western destruction of the Saddam regime, the 'Arab Spring' and continued Arab sectarianism. Ultimately, this type of bitter sectarianism creates mistrust and resentment between *Shi'a* and *Sunni* within the region and may have challenging long term consequences.

Difference in Positions between Arab Leaders and their People

From the research, it is well understood and accepted that a broad spectrum policies of many Arab leaders and governments often run contrary to the feelings and wishes of their people. Examples of these may relate to relations with America and Israel and state 'controls' on aspects of Islam. However, to add balance, it is acknowledged that many Arab leaders and governments have to exist within the norms of the international political system, make pragmatic alliances, militate against perceived internal and external risks and manoeuvre politically according to changing

circumstances. This is exemplified by the opaque relationships and cooperation that some Arab leaders have with Israel, that are not in the public domain, whilst concurrently issuing public declarations about the need for Palestinian liberation and criticism of Israel's actions in the Palestinian Occupied Territories. This is partly in recognition of the Palestinian issue remaining the central issue for Arab people, but not necessarily Arab governments.

Relationship between Arab States and Islam

This investigation highlighted that for Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* states the relationship between the ruling power and Islam is not only complex but often opaque. Yet, it remains crucial, not least because of the pivotal role it plays in the daily lives of many Arab *Sunnis* and the extremely important function it has in maintaining stability and the *status quo* in many Arab states. The research also found that even the question of the place of religion within the state and society remains a particularly sensitive, emotive and potentially dangerous matter. The outcome of this research indicates that this is chiefly because of the ever-present threat posed by Islam*ist* extremism, radical Islam*ic* fundamentalism and the distortion of the precepts of Islam by those who wish to gain power or overthrow rulers, whilst proclaiming to return religion to the public space. Following Solzhenitsyn's observation that the line between good and evil runs through the heart of every human being, one could be daring and posit that the line between moderation and extremism also runs through the consciousness of many Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis.* Therefore, it is concluded that the distortion of Islam by Islam*ist* extremists is so dangerous, that it has the ability to bypass the state and government controlled mosques and reach directly into the 'hearts and minds' of ordinary Arab *Sunnis* and lead them on a path of fundamentalism, radicalisation and ultimately extremism, in order to overthrow Arab governments and gain power. This therefore, remains one of the primary reasons why many Arab states believe that they need to exert control on the excesses of some interpretations and distortions of the belief of Islam and its position within the state.

Although this question of the place of religion within the state was, to a greater degree, resolved in the West centuries ago, after prolonged periods of vicious religious wars, sectarianism and the benefits of the Enlightenment; for many Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* states, this continues to remain a pertinent issue. Even in a non-Arab state such as Turkey, this issue remains critical, as it now appears to be moving away from secularism, long established under Atatürk, towards parliamentary Islam*ism* under Erdoğan, as the *'primus inter pares'*.

Finally

This study has shown that anti-Americanism is a real, significant and growing phenomenon for Middle Eastern Arab *Sunnis* and forms the fertile ground upon which Islam*ist* extremism is grown. It is 'a tree with a thousand roots'[488] which feeds into Arab *Sunni* society and Middle Eastern Islam*ist* extremist organisations, at many different levels. It is therefore a conduit for carrying a broad spectrum of perceived grievances and wrongs which are skillfully manipulated by Islam*ist* extremists and others, for their own purposes. Therefore, not only is Arab *Sunni* anti-Americanism a considerable threat to Western and American interests but especially Middle Eastern Arab allies. Islam*ist* extremism is arguably a greater threat because of its symbiotic relationship with anti-Americanism and must in a Middle Eastern context, be regarded as inseparable from it. As if to highlight this symbiotic relationship, the research revealed that some Arabs consider Islam*ist* extremism to be, not only a recipient but a source of anti-Americanism. Therefore, they are 'two sides of the same coin'. What is clear from the research is that, post 'Arab Spring' there is a danger of Islam*ism*, such as the MB, becoming even further embedded within Arab states in a clandestine way and with it, its concomitant pervasive and perfidious influence on Arab populations and popular sentiment. This may manifest itself as Islam*ist* revolutionary activity, insurgency and chaos resulting from social upheaval and Islam*ist* inspired civil conflict. It may even become the catalyst for the further mass movement of displaced persons and refugees, as already witnessed in Syria, Iraq, Libya and Yemen.

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[488] Ancient Arab saying.

If anti-Americanism remains unchecked and continues to evolve and grow within the post 'Arab Spring' Middle East, it could ultimately become the catalyst to shape, influence and alter not only the mindset of Arab populations but the decision making of Arab leaders. This may occur in a subtle and nuanced way. The conclusion may well be, that in the era of Trump's rapid 'Twitter diplomacy', that America and the West simply cannot be relied upon to stand by Arab leaders, especially when their help is most needed. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the growing relationship between Arab states and BRICS countries in general, and Russia and China in particular, may present an opportunity for developing additional, parallel and eventually alternative military and political alliances.

If America remains unable or unwilling to disengage from its categorical support for Israel's excesses, closer alliances of Arab states with BRICS countries may offer benefits, as BRICS do not have significant political and military relationships with Israel, thus helping to appease the concerns of Arab populations. Also, the additional benefit to Arab states forging alliances with nations such as Russia and China is that these states are, unlikely to challenge Arab autocratic rule or demand democratisation. Furthermore, they are not unaccustomed to combating Islam*ist* extremism or civil unrest within their own borders, using draconian and autocratic methods, as evidenced by the 1989 Tiananmen Square suppression, 2018 internment and re-education of Muslim Uyghurs; and Russia's highly lethal Chechen counter-terrorist 'Policing' operations[489]. Therefore, this could, if it comes to fruition, not only offer Arab states an opportunity to appease their populations on the Israeli-Palestinian issue but provide greater stability and survivability during times of existential threat, with the prime Middle Eastern exemplar being Russia's support for the Al-Assad regime.

Should this shift occur it would probably alter the balance of power within the Middle East to the detriment of the West in general and America in particular. This may occur over a protracted timeframe through incremental and evolutionary economic and diplomatic change. However, it could also occur quite rapidly through continued Western flawed interventionism or lack of commitment (failed 'Red Lines') and a

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[489] 1999-2009 Counter-terrorist Policing Operations in North Caucasian Region (Second Chechen Campaign).

conscious 'pivot East' by Arab states that assess, that in the future, America may not be the 'indispensable nation'. Another possible option is the development of Iranian style 'parallelism' or 'hybrid' alliances to aid Arab state survivability. It is argued that should this 'pivot East' occur, it will not be as a result of Russia and China aggressively 'capturing' these long established Western diplomatic and defence relationships. Rather, from a Middle Eastern Arab perspective, it is more likely to be the direct result of the West opportunistically promoting Arab democratisation at times of crisis, a willingness to engage with declared enemies of Arab allies (MB and Iran), 'masterful inactivity' in relation to Islam*ist* organisations such as the MB, and ultimately abandoning long term Arab allies, when they are most in need. Consequently, Arab allies such as Egypt and the Arabian Gulf 'petro-monarchies' require more from the West than accepting the MB as a 'registered charity'. Finally, it is posited that the West is rapidly approaching the 'eleventh hour' and must act decisively to support its Arab allies and combat the primary causes of anti-Americanism and Islam*ist* extremism before it is 'too late' and others do so in another way.

Further Research

Given the continuing growth of Middle Eastern Arab anti-Americanism, the role it plays in attracting *Sunnis* to Islam*ist* extremism and the threat which it presents to the Middle East and the West; further research is of pressing importance. This needs to be addressed more fully through a broader examination of this matter and include Arab *Sunni* females.

Although this particular research has been challenging and academically rewarding, the researcher has, on occasions, been operating at the limit of safety and was on one occasion threatened. Therefore, conducting PhD research in the Middle East into sensitive subjects such as anti-Americanism and particularly Islam*ist* extremism, brings with it concomitant risks. These generic risks are highlighted by the examples of the abduction, torture and killing of the Cambridge University PhD student, Giulio Regeni in 2016; and the arrest, life sentence for espionage and subsequent clemency of the Durham University PhD student, Matthew Hedges in 2018. It is therefore concluded that until present conditions change, conducting primary research

into sensitive subjects within the Middle East results in too much risk and is not recommended, on the basis of researcher safety, university legal duty of care and national and Middle Eastern diplomatic sensitivities.

(Word Count 80,451, less bibliography, acknowledgements and footnotes)

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Appendix 1

Islam (Sunni)

"My experience in the study of astronomy, geometry, and experiments in physics revealed to me that there must be a planning mind of unlimited power. My discoveries in astronomy showed that there are fantastic intricacies in the universe which prove that there *is* a creative system and a meticulous control that *cannot* be explained through sheer physical and material causes" (*Al-Bīrūnī*[490] (973-1048) cited in Fernini, 1998 p. IV[491]).

Notes:

1. **Verification**. Unless indicated with a specific reference, the meanings of Islamic terms have been verified with the General Authority for Islamic Affairs and Endowments (GAIAE), Fatwa Centre and Official Centre for Religious Research and Rulings (*Ifta*) and where appropriate, Al-Azhar[492] Islamic University in Cairo.

2. **Islamic Terms**. The meaning of Islamic terms is explained at Appendix 2.

3. **Structure**. This appendix is structured as follows:

- Introduction.
- 6 Articles of Faith.
- 5 Pillars of Islam.
- Prophet Muhammad (PBUH[493]).
- Holy Qur'an.
- *Hadith*[494] and *Sunnah*[495].
- *Ahkram* (Islamic principles of behaviour).

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[490] *Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Al-Bīrūnī* (973-1048) is a noteworthy Persian scholar and polymath who was given the title *Al-Ustadh* (*The Master*) and is regarded by some as one of the greatest scientists of medieval times (Frye, 2000, p. 162).
[491] *Al-Bīrūnī* cited in Fernini, (1998).
[492] The leading Islamic University (*Jami'ah*) in Cairo which supplies qualified and validated imams across the Arab world. It is reputed to be one of the oldest universities in the world, where it is believed that studies began in 975 (Islamic Landmarks, 2016).
[493] *Alayhi as-Salām* - Peace Be Upon Him.
[494] *Hadith* - the sayings and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). *Hadith* are generally taken from the *Sihah as Sittah* ('Six Correct Ones') - *Al Bukhari, Muslim, Ibn Majah, Abu Dawud, At-Tirmidhi* and *An Nasa'i. Hadith* have been scrutinized, tested and validated for authenticity by a process known as *Ilm Al Hadith* (Brown, 2009).
[495] *Sunnah* - meaning the 'well-worn' path, based upon how the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) lived his life (Brockopp, 2010, p. 15).

- The Imam.

- Islamic Calendar and Key Dates.

- Holy Month of Ramadan.

- Islamic Festivals.

- Mosques.

INTRODUCTION

Aim. For the purposes of this thesis, this appendix will provide sufficient information about the religion of Islam in order to understand why it is crucial to the lives of Arab *Sunni* Muslims. Furthermore, by so doing, it is intended to provide a glimpse into their possible *weltanschauung* or world view.

Scope. The scope of this appendix is limited to providing a brief outline of some of the key elements of *Sunni* Islam that are considered helpful to Westerners in general and non-Muslims in particular. Therefore, the beliefs of different branches such as *Shi'a*,[496] *Sufi, Ibadis*[497] *and the* four leading will not be covered. Even within *Sunni* Islam there are schools of Islamic legal thought (*Maliki, Hanafi, Hanbali* or *Shafie*) which differ on a wide range of matters, including some beliefs and religious practices.

What is Islam? Islam (*Al-Islam* in Arabic) is a monotheistic religion (*Dīn*), which means belief in one indivisible God (*Allāh*[498]), to the exclusion of all others (Armstrong, 2002). For example, Brockopp stresses that "the Qur'an is simply unrelenting, unaccommodating and outright despising of paganism" (2010, p. 35). Muslims consider the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) to be the Last Prophet and Messenger[499] of *Allāh*[500] and that the Holy Qur'an is the unaltered and final revelation of *Allāh*. Islamic concepts and practices are enshrined in the Five Pillars of Islam and *Fiqh*[501] (Islamic

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[496] *Shi'a (Shi'at Ali* - the party of Ali) has branches such as *Isma'ilism*, *Jafri, Zaidiyyah* and *Alawites*.
[497] Such as in the Sultanate of Oman.
[498] Allāh - the Arabic word for God or sole deity in ancient Abrahamic religions and used throughout the modern Islamic world and by Arab Christians.
[499] *Rasool Allah* – The Messenger of *Allah*.
[500] In Islam, *Allāh* has 99 attributes or 'Names' (*Asmā᾽ Allāh al-Ḥusnā*), such as *Al-Haqq* meaning 'The Truth' (Islamic Book Service, 2018) and The Only Quran, 2018, '*Al-h Haqq'*, [online]. Available at: http://www.theonlyquran.com/99names.php?nameid=51 [Accessed 5 Mar. 2018].
[501] *Fiqh* – Islamic jurisprudence is the human interpretation (*ijtihad*) of the Holy Qur'an, Sunnah and *Shari'a* by Islamic jurists (*Ulama*). This interpretation can be promulgated as *Fatwā* (rulings) or through approved publications.

Jurisprudence) including obligatory acts of worship, and the religion touches upon virtually every aspect of life. Therefore, for many Muslims, Islam is the prism through which the world is viewed. Furthermore, Islam is not only based upon faith but also tolerant 'right action' (Harrison, 2013). One cannot be at the detriment of the other. 'Right knowledge' should be transferred into tolerant 'right action' and this should produce 'right results'. It is an organic unity (Harrison, 2013). Therefore, monastic like religious contemplation and praying is not sufficient and there should not be a disparity between belief, behaviour or tolerant right action. For example, His Highness Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al-Nahyan[502] said:

"Every Muslim should reflect to others his tolerant religion and good manners, and Islam is not a religion of violence and compulsion and Allah created people free in minds"

and

"Muslim is prohibited to kill his brother, whether he is a Muslim or non-Muslim" (Al-Kaabi, 2003).

Global Muslim Population. Islam is the second-largest religion in the world and is the world's fastest-growing[503] religion[504]. Although it may appear self-evident, it is still worthy of statement that that most Muslims are not Arab and that being Arab is not synonymous with being Muslim. The current global population of Muslims is considered to be 1.8 Billion, which equates to about 24% of the global population (Lipk, 2017). Muslims are dispersed across the globe as follows:

- About 25% in South Asia.
- About 20% in the Middle East.
- About 15% in Sub-Saharan Africa.
- About 13% in Indonesia.
- About 4% in the remaining South East Asian countries.
- About 2% in Central Asia.

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[502] President and first ruler of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and regarded as 'Father of the Nation'.
[503] Predominately due to demographics rather than conversion.
[504] Burke, D. (2015). 'The world's fastest-growing religion is ...', *CNN*, [online]. Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2015/04/02/living/pew-study-religion/index.html [Accessed 25 Jan. 2017].

- The remaining Muslims are spread across China, Western, Eastern and Central Europe, and in almost every country in the world.

Sunni and Shi'a Population. The majority of global Muslims are *Sunni* and therefore a minority *Shi'a*. The demographic breakdown is difficult to assess accurately and statistics vary but between 85%-90% are thought to be *Sunni* and between 10%-15% are thought to be *Shi'a*. Therefore, these statistics are expressed as broad ranges and should be treated as approximate (Lipka, 2017). Moore is slightly more specific and indicates Sunni being 87% of the global Muslim population and the *Shi'a* comprising 13% (Moore, 2015, p. 230). *Shi'a* are significant in Iran (95%), Azerbaijan (65-75%), Bahrain (65-75%), Iraq (51%) and Lebanon (45-55%) (Moore, 2015, p. 230).

Sunni and Shi'a Schism. Although it would add little value to adumbrate the complicated history and beliefs that define or separate *Sunni* and *Shi'a*[505], it is worth touching upon the schism. The origins of the schism relate primarily to a dispute over the line of succession[506] following the death of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in 632 AD / CE. In his tribal culture, succession would ordinarily have passed to the leader' s son but the Prophet (PBUH) had no son, only a daughter and he had not appointed a legitimate successor (Armstrong, 2002). The majority of the followers supported the Prophet's (PBUH) closest 'Companion' (Abu Bakr who was also father of the Prophet's (PBUH) widow Aisha) (Moore, 2015). This largest group became the Sunnis. But a minority thought the Prophet's closest relative, his son-in-law and nephew Ali, should succeed (Moore, 2015). These became the *Shi'a*.

As the dispute intensified across much of the caliphate, battles ensued such as the battles of *Jamal*, *Siffin* and *Karbala. Ali,* his son *Hussein ibn Ali* and his entire household were killed by the ruling Umayyad Caliph Yazid I, which resulted not only in an outcry for revenge but persecution and martyrdom becoming ingrained in the *Shi'a* psyche (Corbin, 2014). As time passed the rift hardened into schism and the seeds of civil war and future sectarian conflict had been sown. Although *Sunni* and *Shi'a* agreed on the Holy Qur'an they had different interpretations of *hadith* and *sunnah* resulting in diverging

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[505] *Shi'a* or *Shi'at Ali* means 'followers of Ali' (Ali Ibn Abu Talib) or 'Party of Ali'.
[506] The First *Fitna*, or crisis of leadership.

traditions of law, practice and precedent. Also, a clerical hierarchy of imams and ayatollahs emerged in *Shi'a* Islam (Corbin, 2014)[507]. By contrast, *Sunni* Muslims held to the position that there was no requirement for intermediaries or for clerics to intercede between man and Allah. In the contemporary world, the schism between the two great denominations runs like a 'tectonic fault-line' along the *Shi'a* Crescent, starting with Lebanon in the north and curving through Syria and Iraq to the Gulf and then to Iran and further east.

The Books and 'Unbroken Message'. Muslims believe that there is a consistent and 'unbroken message' that has been brought by a sequence of messengers[508] who were prophets, from the time of the Prophet Adam (PBUH), through to the Prophet Ibrahim[509] (Abraham) (PBUH) and Prophet *Īsā*[510] (Jesus[511]) (PBUH), until the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (Katheer, 2006, pp. 5-9[512]). This is the main reason why converts to Islam are referred to as 'reverts' as they are considered to be reverting to the original message. This message was revealed in the great books of the Torah (*Tawrah*[513]) revealed to the Prophet Mosa (Moses) (PBUH), Psalms (*Zabour*) revealed to the Prophet Daoud (David) (PBUH), Gospel (*Injīl*[514]) revealed to the Prophet *Īsā* (Jesus) (PBUH) and the Holy Qur'an revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Such books are revered in Islam. In Islam, the believers of the great Abrahamic faiths of Judaism and Christianity are referred to as *Ahl al-Kitāb* the 'People of the Book' (Brockopp, 2010, p. 9).

Pebbles in a Pond. Some Islamic theologians compare the concept of the 'unbroken message' to pebbles being thrown into a pond. They compare mankind to a still pond and each of the three great Abrahamic religions as pebbles being thrown into that pond. When the ripples of enlightenment caused by the message of the first pebble of the great Jewish prophets became weaker with time and started to fade away and

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[507]   Shia Islam also separated into two main branches of 'Twelver' and 'Sevener' - Corbin (2014).
[508] In Islam, each messenger, of which there were 25, was a prophet but not each prophet was a messenger.
[509] Also spelt *Ibraheem*.
[510] Also spelt *Eesa* and *Isa*.
[511] In Islam, *Īsā* (PBUH) is understood to be the penultimate prophet and messenger of Allah.
[512] Katheer, I. (2006). *Stories of the Prophets*. Riyadh: International Islamic Publishing House.
[513] Also spelt *Taurat*.
[514] *Injīl* - The Gospels of Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The *Injīl* are considered by Muslims as one of the four Islamic holy books which was revealed by Allah (God) - Holy Qur'an, *Injīl, Zabur* (Psalms) and *Tawrat* (Torah).

finally disappear, the second pebble of the message of the Prophet *Īsā* (Jesus[515]) (PBUH) took effect until that message started to fade or was corrupted by mankind over time requiring another prophet to come. Finally, the Last Prophet and Messenger, the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was sent.

A Way of Life. For many Muslims, Islam[516], is a comprehensive belief system that has requirements of belief, religious practice and right action. Ultimately, it is a way of life. For many, Islam permeates every aspect of life; the seen and unseen, minds, 'souls', thoughts, words, deeds, the conscious and subconscious, as may have been the case for many in Europe prior to the Renaissance[517] and the Enlightenment[518] (Harrison, 2013, p. 39). This combined with preexisting cultural beliefs results in many Arab Muslims viewing the world in an entirely different manner to that of many Western non-Muslims.

THE 6 ARTICLES OF FAITH

In Islam, there are six articles of faith (*Imaan*) or key elements of belief. They differ from the Five Pillars of Islam (see below) in that they are beliefs rather than actions or obligations. They are belief in:

- Allah.
- His Angels (*Malaekah*).
- His Books (*Al-Kotob*).
- His Messengers (*Rusul*).
- The Day of Resurrection (*Yawm Al-Baath*) and Hereafter (*Yawm Al-Akherah*).
- Divine Preordainment (*Qada*) and Divine Decrees (*Qadar*).

THE FIVE PILLARS OF ISLAM

The Five Pillars of Islam (*Arkān al-Islām*) come from the Holy Qur'an and *Hadith* of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). To be precise, the specific term 'pillar' is an English

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[515] In Islamic belief, Allah has no sons and *ipso facto Īsā* / Jesus (PBUH) cannot be the Son of God (or God incarnate).
[516] Despite having separate elements and schools.
[517] European classical revival in art and literature during the 14th–16th centuries.
[518] European intellectual movement of the late 17th and 18th centuries. Prominent figures included Descartes, Goethe, Kant, Locke, Newton, Rousseau and Voltaire.

transliteration which is used to explain the general Arabic meaning. The pillars are compulsory actions or obligations for Muslims:

- One – Profession of faith (*Shahada*).
- Two – Prayer (*Salat*).
- Three – Obligatory Charity (*Zakat*).
- Four – Fasting (*Saum*).
- Five – Pilgrimage (*Hajj*).

PILLAR ONE - SHAHADA

Shahada (Profession of Faith). The acceptance and declaration of the *Shahada* is the basis of the Islamic creed which is known to all Muslims and repeated by the 'faithful' frequently. This *Shahada* or profession of faith is, "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his Messenger" (*Lā ʾilāha ʾillā-llāhu muḥammadun rasūlu-llāh*). The acceptance of this forms the irreducible minimum belief for all Muslims in the world. In the Arab world, old men can frequently be heard uttering the *Shahada* to themselves in doctor's and dentist's waiting rooms or before praying with their *Misbahah* (Islamic prayer beads). Others will say it in gatherings or indeed at almost any time. There is no self-consciousness or embarrassment about uttering Islamic words or phrases in public within the Arab world because Islam is not just regarded as part of everyday life, but the most important part. Many will say the *Shahada* when in any form of difficulty. Some will say it in dark or lonely places, as protection against *Shayṭān* (also known as *Iblīs*[519] or the devil[520]) and *Jinn*[521] (spirits). Most commonly it is said before Islamic prayer (salat) by the person leading the prayer or if praying alone. It is widely accepted that anyone who utters the *Shahada* with intention (*niyah*), sincerity and belief, is or becomes a Muslim.

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[519] The etymology of *Iblīs* comes from 'confusion'.
[520] Wensinck, A. and Gardet, L. (2012). 'Iblīs', [online] Available at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/iblis-SIM_3021 [Accessed 12 Jan. 2017].
[521] *Jinn* (also spelt *Djinn*) are believed to be spiritual creatures that inhabit an unseen world. They may also be physical and interact with man. In the West, these have become known as Genie as a result of French translators of the book One Thousand and One Nights translating *Jinn* as Genie. *Jinn* are mentioned in the Holy Qur'an and especially in *Sura Al Jinn* (Sura 72).

Allāhu Akbar. The *Shahada* is preceded by the two Arabic words *Allāhu Akbar* Islamic meaning 'Allah is greater' or 'Allah is greatest'. This statement is referred to as *Takbīr*[522] in Arabic. Allāhu Akbar[523] appears prominently in the Islamic call for prayer (*Adhān*)[524].

PILLAR TWO - SALAT

Salat (Prayer). Islamic prayer in the Arab world is mostly referred to as *Salat* but some refer to it as *Namaz*. *Salat* should be performed five times per day; at dawn, around midday, in the afternoon, at sunset and at night (Badawi, 2007, pp. 81-87). As a principle, Islamic *Salat* should be prayed on time, in line and in unison (Saqib, 2016). Some Arab Imams call this type of praying in unison:

"Praying with a single beating heart".

The names of the five prayers are:

- **Fajr** - early morning (*Salat Al-Fajr*).
- **Zuhr** - around midday (*Salat Al-Zuhr*).
- **Asr**– afternoon (*Salat Al-Asr*).
- **Maghrib** –evening (*Salat Al-Maghrib*).
- **Isha**–night (*Salat Al-Isha*) (Saqib, 2016, p. 20).

Although *Salat*[525] may be prayed at home, in the *masjid* or indeed anywhere, attending Friday prayer (*Salat Al-Jummah*) in congregation is compulsory. *Salat* may also take the form of individual *salat* called *Dua* which is personal or spontaneous prayer. Men do not pray with women due to the distraction caused by bending in front of each other. But there are separate prayer rooms provided for ladies and girls in most *masjids*. Muslims are called to prayer five times per day by the *Adhān* the Islamic 'Call to Prayer'. When Muslims pray, it is always in the direction of *Al-Ka'ba* (the black covered cube[526]) in *Masjid Al- Ḥaram* in *Makkah* (Mecca). Every day it is thought that over a billion Muslims

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[522] Also transliterated *Tekbir* or *Takbeer*.
[523] From *kabīr*, meaning great.
[524] Tristam, P. (2016). 'Allahu Akbar', *Middle East News,* [online] Available at: http://middleeast.about.com/od/a/g/allahu-akbar-definition.htm [Accessed 21 Jan. 2017].
[525] Those who deny the obligation of *salat* (no longer pray *salat*) are considered by Islamic *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) to be no longer Muslim (Badawi, 2007, pp. 78-81).
[526] The black cover is called the *Kiswa* and is embroidered with the *Shahada* or Islamic declaration of faith.

pray towards this holiest site in Islam. Traditionally, the call to prayer was done by the *Muezzin*[527], who would climb the steps of the *masjid* minaret and call the faithful to prayer by his lyrical chant which is always commenced with the *Takbīr* in Arabic, *Allāhu Akbar* (Saqib, 2016, p.23). Within the contemporary Arab world, this is conducted electronically through loudspeakers mounted on the minarets with an approved *Adhān* (in content)[528]. Gertrude Bell[529], one of the great travellers of Arabia, called the *Adhān* the:

"Alpha and Omega of Islam" (Al-Yahya, 2006, p.31).

Wudhu - Islamic Ritual Washing. Muslims are taught that before entering the *masjid* for *salat* their body and clothes should be free from dirt and that they should undertake *Wudhu* which is Islamic ritual washing. This is normally conducted at the ablutions area within the *masjid* compound but it can also be done at home before departure for *salat*. But without *Wudhu*, *salat* is not valid (Badawi, 2007, pp. 103-105). *Wudhu* washing is done systematically as follows: hands, mouth, nostrils, face, right arm, left arm, head, ears, neck, right foot and then left foot (Saqib, 2000, pp. 12-14).

PILLAR THREE - ZAKAT

Zakat (Obligatory Charity). The third pillar of Islam is *Zakat* which is an obligatory annual charity and is a mandatory requirement for Muslims. He who has wealth of a certain amount is required to spend one fortieth of it at the end of every twelve months on the poor, needy or wayfarer (Badawi, 2007, pp. 281-290). Traditionally, this is payable by anyone who possesses 612 grams[530] of silver or 88 grams of gold that remains unused for an annual period. It is not payable on a wife's dowry (*Mahr*) which remains her absolute property at all times. In modern terms this not only applies to holdings of silver and gold but also currency held in banks or elsewhere. Interestingly, people who habitually do not pay *Zakat* or pray salat are considered by many Arabs not to be Muslim. There is a strong and common Arab belief that those

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[527] Also spelt *Muʾadhdhin*, *Moadhen* or *Muazzin* in some texts.
[528] Raleigh Masjid (2015). The Times of the Five Daily Prayers and Adhān (The Call to Prayer). *Raleigh Masjid*, [online] Available at: http://raleighmasjid.org/how-to-pray/times.htm [Accessed 19 Jan. 2017].
[529] Gertrude Margaret Bell (1868-1926). British Arabist, traveller and writer.
[530] This was expressed as Dinars and Dirhams during the time of the Prophet (PBUH) (Badawi, 2007, pp. 286-287).

whom Allah has made wealthy, have an absolute duty to give not just annual mandatory Zakat but also voluntarily charity (*Sadaqah*). According to Islamic belief, this should be done both regularly and generously (Badawi, 2007, pp. 299-301).

PILLAR FOUR - SAUM

Saum (Fasting). *Saum* (also spelt *Sawm*) during the Holy Month of Ramadan is the fourth pillar of Islam and obligatory for Muslims. Primarily, it teaches self-restraint and helps Muslims empathize with those less fortunate than themselves. During the fast a Muslim abstains from eating, drinking and the pleasures of legitimate carnal satisfaction (Badawi, 2007, pp. 257-261). Intention (*niyah*) is important and the *saum* must be done for the sake of Allah. Failure to observe the fast during Ramadan is considered to be a great sin, unless one is sick or for a legitimate reason. *Saum* is also seen as a shield against the fire of hell (*Jahannam*[531]) (Islamic Terminology, 2011). It is believed that all previous sins are forgiven for a person who fasts during Ramadan with faith and good intention. Abu Hurayrah narrated that the Prophet (PBUH) said:

"*Whoever fasts the month of Ramadan with faith and hoping for its reward shall have all of his previous sins forgiven for him*" (Abu Hurayrah cited in Badawi, 2007, p. 258).

It is a common saying amongst Arab Sunni Muslims that:

"*When a person fasts during Ramadan he gains some of the qualities of an angel*".

PILLAR FIVE - HAJJ

Hajj (Pilgrimage). The fifth and final pillar is *Hajj* or pilgrimage to *Al-Ka'ba*[532] and adjacent sites in and around *Masjid Al- Ḥaram* in *Makkah*[533]. *Hajj* occurs during the Islamic month of *Dhul Hijjah*. *Makkah* is also where the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was born. Muslims regard it as the holiest place on earth and only Muslims are permitted to enter *Makkah* and *Al-Madīnah*. *Hajj*[534] is an obligatory duty owed by all

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[531] Elias, A. (1997). Conditions and Stages of Jahannam (Hell), *Discovering Islam*, [online]. Available at: http://www.discoveringislam.org/jahannam.pdf [Accessed 17 Jan. 2017].
[532] Also spelt *Al-Kaaba* or *Al-Ka'aba*.
[533] *Makkah* is sometimes referred to by Arab Muslims as *Al-Balad Al-Ameen* (the Secure City), *Al-Balad Al- Ḥaram* (the Sacred City) and *Umm Al-Quara* (Mother of Cities).
[534] Males who complete the *Hajj* are called *Hijji* and females *Hajja.*

Muslims (men and women) who are sane, physically and financially able to make the journey and perform its obligations (Badawi, 2007, pp. 310-311). Many Muslims believe that those who have the means to conduct *Hajj* and do not do so before their death will be deprived of Allah's benevolence and will receive a lamentable fate.

Muslim Belief. It is a common Muslim belief that those who make the pilgrimage of the *Hajj* or *Al-Umrah*[535] (the lesser *Hajj* commonly referred to as *Umrah* (Davids, 2006 p.9)) are the guests of Allah and that their petitions to Allah shall be granted. *Hajj* is believed to be a time to remember the imperfections of mankind and is an opportunity for redemption. Forgiveness for sin is sought through repentance and by sincerity of intention not to re-offend. Those who undertake the *Hajj* must ensure that there is no outstanding or ongoing animosity between them and others. It is a common Arab Muslim belief that he who makes the *Hajj*, and commits no evil deed during it and worships Allah, will be as guiltless as the day when they were born. For many Arabs and Muslims across the world, *Hajj* is very special. It can be spiritually uplifting, an opportunity for redemption and a chance to start life afresh.

Types of Hajj. There are four different types of *Hajj* (Badawi, 2007). These are:

- Performing *Hajj* first and then *Umrah* (called *Hajj Ifrad*).
- Performing *Umrah* before *Hajj* (called *Hajj Tamatu*).
- Performing *Hajj* without performing *Umrah*, either before or after.
- Performing *Hajj* and *Umrah* without an interval (called *Hajj Quiran*) (Badawi, 2007).
- The detail of these is unimportant to non-Muslims and has not been included.

Ihram. Before commencing the religious obligations of the *Hajj*, all must be clean and dressed in the *Ihram*. This consists of two pieces of basic inexpensive white cloth that prevents any man from showing his status and wealth. In so doing, all are believed to be equal in the eyes of Allah and man. One part of *Ihram* covers from the ankles to the waist (*Izār*) and the other covers one shoulder and the majority of the torso (*Riḍā*). The part that goes around the waist (*Izār*) is just wrapped around and rolled down.

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[535] *Umrah* is derived from Arabic term *Al-I'timar* meaning the visit (Davids, 2006, p.9).

There are no buttons, clips or fasteners on the *Riḍā* or *Izār*. The ladies will tend to wear a white version of the *abaya* and *Khimār* (head covering)[536]. Some even complete the *Hajj* in the traditional black coloured *abaya* and *shayla or Ḥijāb*. *Ihram* must be put on at certain designated points far outside *Makkah* called *Miqat*[537] (Badawi, 2007, p. 313). This often involves Muslims having to change on flights or travelling to their airports of departure already dressed in *Ihram*. Some Arab Muslims drive to *Makkah* and change their clothing before or at the *Miqat* points *en route*. *Ihram* also refers to being in the state of *Ihram* (religious purity) and having the pure intention of performing *Hajj* (Badawi, 2007).

Hajj – Key Elements. *Hajj* has four key elements which must be carried out. If any of these are missing, then *Hajj* is invalidated. These are:

- Being in a state of purity, cleanliness and wearing Ihram.
- Standing on Mount *Arafat*.
- Carrying out the circuits of *Al-Ka'ba* (*Tawaf*).
- Hastening between *Safa* and *Marwah*.

Hajj – Practice and Procedure. There are numerous and complicated religious duties and practices[538] of *Hajj.* Coverage of them would add little to this thesis and consequently they have been intentionally omitted.

Arab Women on the Hajj. Arab women tend not to travel to *Hajj* on their own. Normally they will travel to and from the pilgrimage as part of a family group. This is culturally and Islamically compliant and much safer. In the past, the threats came from bandits in the desert and *harammi* (thieves) and the need to protect their virtue and reputation. Today, the threats are road traffic accidents and also protection of reputation. Furthermore, *Hajj* is one of the greatest concentrations of human beings in a single place on planet earth and this brings its own challenges and dangers. Therefore, travelling in a group is preferred. Some Arab ladies will undertake the *Hajj* as part of a women's group, which is acceptable to the Saudi authorities, as long as they each have

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[536] *Khimār* - head-covering (*Khimār* – Holy Qur'an 24:31).
[537] Also spelt *Meeqat.*
[538] As prescribed by the four leading Sunni schools of Islamic legal thought - *Maliki, Hanafi, Hanbali* or *Shafie.*

a formal letter of consent from their husband. However, the norm for Arab ladies is to carry out the *Hajj* as part of their family and under the protection of their husband.

Zamzam Water. Zamzam water is a type of 'holy water' and is taken for spiritual and even medicinal purposes. It comes from the *Zamzam* well in *Masjid Al- Ḥaram*, *Makkah*. Many Arabs will bring *Zamzam* water back to their home countries, following *Hajj.*

PROPHET MUHAMMAD (PBUH)

Introduction. There is much that could be written in this section about the Prophet Muhammad[539] (PBUH) and there are numerous Middle Eastern and Western works of scholarship[540] about him. However, in the interests of brevity, elements will only be included which are considered to inform to a certain level and explain the importance of him to Arab Sunni Muslims, their lives and beliefs. Many in the West may have limited knowledge or even preconceived ideas about him and some of these may be genuinely believed but yet remain incorrect or incomplete. This matter is not made any easier by a plethora of conflicting sources and an understandable Western caution in asking Muslims about the Prophet (PBUH), in case it causes offence or even some emotional response, which can occur from time to time, in certain parts of the world. However, it remains a legitimate field of academic enquiry to ask who was this man and why does he remain so important to Arab Sunni Muslims, their beliefs, culture and arguably, why they think the way they think?

Historical View. The historical view of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in the West by Christian theologians, historians or writers has not always been positive. This is partly because Islam was often viewed as an Eastern religion competing with Christianity for the souls of European societies such as in Spain, the Balkans and Russia. This led to some Western writers taking an adversarial position in order to preserve what they viewed as European Christian society from the 'March of Islam'. This was particularly the case as a result of the various invasions of 'Islam'

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[539] Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn ʾAbd Allāh ibn ʾAbd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim.
[540] Such as Andrae, Brockopp, Buhl, Ernst, Gleave, Haykal, Lowry, Robinson, Rubin, Tolan, Watt and others.

(predominately Ottomans) that made a deep impact on parts of the European psyche[541]. Gibbon identifies this adversarial Western perspective in 'The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' when he states, "A pernicious tenet has been imputed to the Mohammededans, the duty of extirpating all other religions by the sword. This charge of ignorance and bigotry is refuted by the Koran, by the history of the Musssulman conquers, and by their public and legal tolerance of Christian worship" (1850, p. 545). Furthermore, Rao states that even Thomas Carlyle[542] in his book *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History* wrote, "The lies which well-meaning zeal has heaped round this man (Muhammad) are disgraceful only to ourselves" (1992, p. 4). When dealing with this historical dimension, Said adds that "hostility to Islam in the modern Christian West has historically gone hand in hand with anti-Semitism and has stemmed from the same source and been nourished at the same stream" (1985: pp. 8-9).

A Brief Overview. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was born[543] on the twelfth day[544] (Monday) of the month of Rabia Al-Awwal[545] (570 AD[546] or 53 BH[547]) in the anarchic *Hijaz* region of Arabia (Brockopp, 2010, p. 22). His name at birth was Muhammad bin[548] Abdullah (son of Abdullah[549]). In essence, he was an illiterate orphan[550] born to the desert tribe of *Quraysh*, who was to become, according to Islamic faith, the Last Prophet and Messenger[551] of Allah (Mubarakpuri, 2010, p. 18). Muslims believe that he received the divine revelations in the form of the text of the Holy Qur'an and brought Islam to the ancient Near East and what is today about 1.8 billion people globally (Lipka, 2017). He became an Islamic role model through his *Hadith*[552] and *Sunnah*[553] and influenced beliefs and actions. He can also be regarded as a successful

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[541] 711 - Islamic conquest of Iberia by the Umayyad Caliphate, Reconquista (718-1492), Battle of Tours (732), The Fall of Constantinople (1453), Siege of Vienna (1529), Siege of Malta (1565) and Battle of Vienna (1683).

[542] Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), acclaimed philosopher, historian and author of numerous works such as *The French Revolution.*

[543] At *She'eb Banu Hashim* in *Makkah* (Mubarakpuri, 2010, p. 21).

[544] Some sources suggest that the date may have been ninth day of *Rabia Al-Awwal*.

[545] His birthday is known as *Mawlid Al-Nabawi* (Birthday of the Prophet (PBUH)).

[546] AD – *Anno Domini* – used in the Gregorian Calendar.

[547] BH – Before Hijra – used in the Islamic Calendar.

[548] *Ibn* or *Bin* may be used for son of.

[549] *Muhammad Bin Abdullah Bin Abdulmuttalib Bin Hashim Bin Abdumanaf Bin Qussai Bin Kilab Bin Murra.*

[550] His father died before his birth and his mother died when he was 6 years old.

[551] And considered the 'Seal of the Prophets' in particular by the *Ahmadiyya* Muslim Community.

[552] *Hadith* - the sayings and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Such Hadith are generally taken from the *Sihah as Sittah* ('Six Correct Ones') - *Al Bukhari, Muslim, Ibn Majah, Abu Dawud, At-Tirmidhi* and *An Nasa'i.* Such *hadith* have been scrutinized, tested and validated for authenticity by a process known as *Ilm Al Hadith.*

[553] The manner in which he lived his life.

statesman, politian, military and religious leader and yet he remained illiterate all of his life (c 570–632 AD / CE[554]). Within the Arabian Peninsula[555], he brought Islam to tough and ruthless desert tribesmen and found a way to penetrate these constantly warring tribes and laid the foundations of what was to become a global religion.

Clarification. Muslims often stress that the Prophet (PBUH) was not the creator of Islam but the Last Messenger and Prophet of Allah, through which Islam was brought to mankind. Muslims also emphasise that he was not the author of the Holy Qur'an but it was revealed to him in a series of revelations, over twenty-two years by the Angel Jibreel (Angel Gabriel), which were then recorded and have remained unaltered to this day. It is also a general Muslim belief that the Prophet (PBUH) was the restorer of the original, uncorrupted monotheistic faith of Adam (PBUH), Ibrahim (PBUH), Mosa (PBUH), Issa (PBUH) and the other prophets. Furthermore, the primary reason why Muslims do not depict, draw, paint or carve images of Allah or the Prophet (PBUH) is to 'prevent the worship of idols' or in modern terms, prevent people praying to statues or paintings rather than to Allah.

The Prophet's Early Life. The Prophet's (PBUH) father (*Abdullah*) died before his birth. It is worth making that when his father died, Muhammad (PBUH) was considered (culturally) to be an orphan, even though his birth mother was still living. His grandfather (*Abdul Muttalib*) took guardianship of the child. His mother *Amneh*[556] died when he was six years old and his grandfather died when he was eight. From that point, he came under the guardianship of his uncle *Abu Talib*. At the age of thirteen, he journeyed with his uncle to Syria in a caravan of camels where *en route*[557] it is reported that a Christian Monk[558] noticed signs of prophethood in him (Mubarakpuri, 2010, p. 26). He later travelled to Syria with goods for a businesswoman and widow[559] *Khadejah*[560]. When they later married, she was forty years old and he was twenty-five. She remained his only wife until her death (Mubarakpuri, 2010, p. 128). He later married again.

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[554] CE – Common Era.
[555] Covering over one million square miles.
[556] Also spelt *Aaminah* in some texts.
[557] At *Al-Basra*.
[558] The monk was named - Bahira.
[559] Twice-widowed to *Ateeq bin Ayed* and *Abu Hala*.
[560] *Umm Al-Mu'mineen* – Mother of the Believers. This is a title of respect given to the Prophet's wives.

It is reported that from the age of twenty-five to forty, Muhammad (PBUH) was increasingly aware of the disparity between rich and poor and growing exploitation and enslavement. This period before Islam is known to Muslims as the 'Period of Ignorance'. During this time, Muhammad (PBUH) had gained the name *Al-Ameen*[561] and *As Saadiq*[562]. He was also chosen to carry out the most sensitive arbitration in disputes between tribes and individuals. Over a period of about three years, he would frequently retire to a cave on the top of Mount Hira near Makkah for prayer and contemplation. Muslims believe that when he was aged forty (in 610 AD / CE) he was alone in the cave on one night in the last week of Ramadan and he was visited by the Angel Jibreel[563] and received and memorised the first part of what was to become the Holy Qur'an which was then also memorised and recorded by his companions (Brockopp, 2010, p. 32). Muslims also believe that he was also informed that he was Allah's Last Messenger (Rasool Allah). According to Islam, he kept receiving these revelations until his death.

The Last Twenty Years. In the interests of brevity, the last twenty-two years of the Prophet's life[564] (*Sira*) will be summarised. Following the revelations, he preached to the people of Makkah and implored them to abandon polytheism (*Shirk*). Although some converted to Islam, the Prophet (PBUH) and his followers were persecuted by the leaders of Makkah. After twelve years of preaching, he and his followers carried out the *Hijra* ('migration') to *Al-Madīnah*[565] in 622 AD / CE. It was in *Al-Madīnah* that the Prophet (PBUH) assisted by the Medinan converts (*Al-Ansar*) and the Meccan migrants (*Al-Muhajirun*), established his political and religious authority.

He fought two battles against the Meccan forces; one, the Battle of Badr in 624 AD / CE was a Muslim victory and the other, the Battle of Uhud in 625 AD / CE ended inconclusively. By 629 AD / CE the Muslims were victorious in the nearly bloodless conquest of Makkah. By the time of his death in 632 AD / CE (at the age of 62) he had proved himself to be a social reformer, diplomat, merchant, philosopher, orator, legislator, military leader, philanthropist and had united the tribes of Arabia into a single

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[561] 'The Trustworthy'.
[562] 'The Truthful'.
[563] Initial revelation – Holy Qur'an 96:1-5.
[564] From the age of 40.
[565] Formerly known as *Yathrib*.

religious polity under Islam. By any standard, he was an exceptional person who has directly affected the lives of over one billion people living today and many more over history, and yet, much of the public in the West know little about him. The Prophet (PBUH) died on the twelfth day of *Rabia Al-Awwal* in the eleventh year of the Islamic calendar - 11 AH[566] (632 AD / CE).

Arab Muslim Context. In an Arab Muslim context, the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) is considered to be a role model resulting from religious and cultural beliefs based upon moderate Islamic principles and the hadith of the Prophet (PBUH). When Arab Muslims refer to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), which can be many times each day, they tend to say in Arabic, 'May Peace be Upon Him' (PBUH), as a sign of respect and this has also become a behavioural norm.

THE HOLY QUR'AN

For Muslims, the words of the Holy Qur'an[567] (which means 'the recitation',) are at the very core of Islam. Muslims believe that the Holy Qur'an is the final book of Allah and that it contains the pure, clear and unaltered message and revelations of Allah (McAuliffe, 2017, p. 23). Therefore, for many Muslims, the Holy Qur'an is viewed not just as an instruction book on how they should lead their lives but it teaches that each person has a stark choice in life, between the path that leads to heaven (*Jannah*) or hell (*Jahannam*) on the Day of Judgement (*Youm Al-Qiyamah*). The Holy Qur'an is also seen as the written record of the original revelation to the Prophet (PBUH) over 14 centuries ago, and they believe that not a single word has been altered in all of that time. Rao highlights that even the hostile critic of Islam Sir William Muir[568] speaking about the Holy Qur'an said, "There is probably in the world no other book which has remained twelve[569] centuries with so pure a text" (1992, p. 3). To many Arab Muslims the Holy Qur'an is the most important and sacred book in their lives. Most will have memorized some of its chapters and have read the whole book on numerous occasions, especially during Ramadan.

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[566] AH – Anno Hijra (also spelt *Hejira* and *Hegira*).
[567] Sometimes spelt Koran.
[568] Sir William Muir (1819-1905), Principal of Edinburgh University and specialist on the life of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).
[569] Now 14 centuries.

Structure. The Holy Qur'an is divided into 114 Suras[570] (chapters) which begin with Bismillahir Rahmanir Raheem, meaning 'In the name of Allah the most Gracious the most Merciful' more commonly translated as 'In the name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful' (Ali, 2006, p.2). The earlier Meccan suras are often described as visionary in nature and the later Medinan suras can be described as theological, legal and a guide to life (McAuliffe, 2017).

Translations. Translations of the Holy Qur'an into other languages are regarded in Islam are being 'translations of the <u>meaning</u> of the Holy Qur'an and are therefore not the actual Holy Qur'an. This is for a number of important reasons. The Holy Qur'an is considered to be the original text from fourteen centuries ago, unaltered in any way. During the process of translation, human thought is required to consider the meanings in other languages and this can often result in subtle differences in tone, setting and even ultimately the meaning itself. Over time, through an incremental and accumulative process, this could result in multiple but different versions of the Holy Qur'an across the world, all being regarded by their owners as the only correct version. It would also then be possible for these different versions to be culturally altered to make the contents more appealing to a local population and less Middle Eastern in style.

Additionally, the Arabic text of the Holy Qur'an was for a long time considered to be almost 'untranslatable' because of its unique style, the totality of its meaning and the difficulty in finding words in another language that could equally capture the original. In addition, Qur'anic Arabic is considered by some to be almost three-dimensional in its style and that translations of the meaning can appear almost 'flat' by comparison and lacking in depth and beauty (McAuliffe, 2017).

HADITH & SUNNAH

Hadith[571] are the recorded teachings and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Of the various hadith collections[572], it is the collection of *Sahih Bukhari*[573] that

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[570] Also spelt *Surah* and *Surat.*
[571] Plural – *ahadith.*
[572] Such as *Sahih Muslim, Sahih Bukhari, Sunan Abu-Dawud* and *Malik's Muwatta.*
[573] Translation of *Sahih Bukhari, Center for Muslim-Jewish Engagement*, [online] Available at: http://www.cmje.org/religious-texts/hadith/bukhari/ [Accessed 25 Jan. 2017].

many Sunni Muslims consider the most authoritative (Center for Muslim-Jewish Engagement, 2017). *Hadith* are categorised as *Sahih* (correct), *Hasan* (accepted) or *Dha'eef* (weak) and validated for authenticity by a process known as Ilm Al Hadith. The most respected sources in Sunni Islam are known as *Sihah as Sittah* (the 'Six Correct Ones') - *Al Bukhari, Muslim, Ibn Majah, Abu Dawud, At-Tirmidhi* and *An Nasa'i*. For example, according to one *hadith*, mankind will be held accountable for - their lives and how lived them, their knowledge and how they acted upon it, their wealth and how they acquired and spent it and their bodies and how they used them.

Sunnah means literally the "well-worn path[574]" ('Brockopp, 2010, p. 15) and refers to the way in which the Prophet (PBUH) lived his life. As the 'Islamic role model' many Sunni Muslims attempt to emulate his behaviour and even appearance. To some degree, this is the essence of *Salafism* in a 'nutshell'. For example the Prophet (PBUH) would eat with his right hand and this practice has continued until the present day.

ISLAMIC PRINCIPLES OF BEHAVIOUR

Many Arab Sunni Muslims try to live their lives according to Islamic principles of behaviour (*Ahkram*). Although many knowledgeable about Islamic belief, practice, precedence and even Islamic jurisprudence (*Fiqh*), others are not and will seek advice from their local imam at the *masjid* or the *Fatwā*[575] Centre[576]. The principles that govern the behaviour of Muslims are: Wajib (a duty), *Haram* (forbidden), *Sunnah* (highly advisable), *Mandoub* (preferred) and *Makruh* (inadvisable). These are defined as follows:

- **Wajib**. *Wajib* is a duty. It includes what must be done or what is obligatory. This duty is derived from the Holy Qur'an and direction of the Prophet (PBUH).
  - For example, all of the Five Pillars of Islam are *Wajib*.
- **Ḥarām**. *Ḥarām* is what is forbidden or prohibited in Islam. The general Islamic principle is that everything is permitted (*Ḥalāl*) unless it is stated as *Ḥarām*, in

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[574] Sometimes known as 'the direct path' or 'straight path'.
[575] *Fatwā* – An Islamic ruling based on Islamic law (*Sharia*) and issued by a *Muftī* (an Islamic scholar) who is qualified in and capable of issuing a fatwā (plural - *fataawā*).
[576] Examples of fatwā centres - Al-Azhar University Fatwā Committee / centre in Cairo and the UAE Fatwā Centre in Abu Dhabi.

the Holy Qur'an[577], *hadith*[578] or by Islamic scholars. Examples of *Ḥarām* activities are:

- o Drinking alcohol (*Khamr*)[579] taking illegal drugs, or gambling (*Qumar*).
- o Eating pork[580], blood products or animals killed in a non-Islamic manner.
- o The lending of money for gaining interest (*Riba*).
- o Earning bank interest. *Amanah* Banking is an *Ḥalāl* alternative (without interest).
- o The wearing of gold and silk by men.

- **Sunnah**. *Sunnah* is something which is highly advisable. It is based on the actions of the Prophet (PBUH). For example:
  - o Giving charity (*sadaqah*) on a regular basis.
  - o Sacrificing an animal during *Eid Al-Adha* and giving one third to the poor.

- **Mandoub**. *Mandoub* is something which is preferred. This is sometimes also referred to as *Mustahab*. Examples are:
  - o Fasting on any Monday or Thursday, as practiced by the Prophet (PBUH).
  - o Carrying out a 2nd or 3rd *Hajj*. Fasting on *Tasuaa*- 9th day of *Moharram*.
  - o Sharing food (such as cakes) with your neighbours.

- **Makruh**. *Makruh* is something inadvisable but not prohibited (*Ḥarām*). For example:
  - o Closing eyes during *salat*.
  - o Praying additional prayers after *Asr salat*.

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[577] 'Holy Qur'an 2:173 - "He has forbidden you only dead animals, and blood, and the swine, and that which is slaughtered as a sacrifice for other than God".
[578] (Brockopp, 2010, p. 15).
[579] Holy Qur'an *Surah Al-Mia'idah* – 'The Table' where prohibited (*hijji*) items and activities are stated.
[580] Stacey, A. (2011). Why Pork is Forbidden in Islam (part 1 of 2): Obeying the laws of God, *The Religion of Islam*, [online]. Available at: http://www.islamreligion.com/articles/2513/viewall/why-pork-is-forbidden-in-islam/ [Accessed 12 Jan. 2017].

THE IMAM (SHEIKH)

Islam can be said to be a religion without hierarchy and the imam is not a priest. He does not stand between man and Allah (God) and he does not intercede on behalf of man. Nor does he hear confession nor grant absolution on behalf of Allah (God). He simply leads the salat. If the imam is not present in the *masjid* he can be represented by anyone who can recite the salat from memory. Although many imams (referred to as Sheikhs in some Arab countries) have considerable training in Islamic studies and *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), they have no higher status than the poorest and most illiterate member of the congregation. In reality, their monthly remuneration is small and the majority lead modest lives, which is in keeping with their chosen way of life. Therefore, being an imam is not a career choice, it is a vocation.

Contrary to the stereotypical image of imams in some countries in the West, many Arab imams in the Middle East are educated, well selected, quietly spoken, modest, contemplative and they seem to have the ability to interpret and deliver their teachings in an understandable way within a modern context. Furthermore, in many Arab states, their performance and output tends to be closely monitored by appropriate government entities in order to maintain quality control and ensure that their message remains moderate.

ISLAMIC CALENDAR AND KEY DATES

The Islamic Calendar. The Islamic calendar determines the dates of Islamic festivals and other key religious events in the Middle East, as it does for the rest of the Islamic world. The Islamic calendar began on the first day when the Prophet (PBUH) started his journey from Makkah to *Al-Madīnah* (*Hijra*) in July 622 AD / CE. This became year '1 AH' (*Anno Hijra*) in the Islamic calendar. Therefore, the year 2019 in the Gregorian Calendar is the year 1440 in the Islamic calendar. Any years before the *Hijra* are referred to as BH (Before *Hijra*).

Calendar Conversion. The Islamic calendar is based and calculated on the lunar cycle and therefore each day's duration is from sunset to sunset. The duration of each month is either twenty-nine or thirty days but never twenty-eight or thirty-one

unlike the Gregorian Calendar. Therefore, it differs from the Gregorian Calendar (by about 10 days each year) which is based on solar cycles. Islamic holy days fall on fixed dates of the lunar calendar, which means that they take place in different seasons over different years in the Gregorian Calendar. Such Islamic festivals include *Eid Al-Fitr* on the 1st of Shawwal, marking the end of the Holy Month of Ramadan and *Eid Al-Adha* on the 10th of *Dhul Al-Hijjah*, coinciding with the *Hajj* (the pilgrimage to *Makkah*). *Masjid* clocks display the Islamic Calendar date and then switch to the Gregorian Calendar every few seconds. It also displays the salat times, which is its primary purpose.

Islamic Months. The months of the Islamic calendar are:

- 1 – *Muharram*.
- 2 – *Safar*.
- 3 - *Rabia Al-Awwal*.
- 4 - *Rabia Al-Thani*.
- 5 - *Jamada Arawak*.
- 6 - *Jamada Akhara*.
- 7 – *Rajab*.
- 8 – *Sha'ban*.
- 9 – *Ramadan*.
- 10 – *Shawwal.*
- 11 – *DhulAl-Qaida*.
- 12 – *Dhul Al-Hijjah*.

Islamic Key Dates. There following are the main Islamic key dates:

- **Birth of the Prophet (PBUH)**. 12th day of *Rabia Al-Awwal* 53 BH in Makkah. This is Monday 20th April 570 AD / CE in the Gregorian Calendar.
- **'Birth of Islam'**. 27th day of Ramadan 13 BH or 17th August 609 AD / CE at Mount *Hira*.
- **Hijra**. Migration from *Makkah* to *Al-Madīnah* – *Muharam* 1 AH - 622 AD / CE.

- **The Night Journey**. 17 *Rajib* is the night journey (*Al-Ishra Wal Mearaj*) of the Prophet (PBUH), from *Al-Madīnah* to *Al-Aqsa*[581] to heaven (*Jannah*) and back to *Al-Madīnah*.

- **Death of the Prophet (PBUH)**. 12th day of *Rabia Al-Awwal* 11 AH in *Al-Madīnah* - 6 June 632 AD / CE.

HOLY MONTH OF RAMADAN

To Arab Muslims, the Holy Month of Ramadan is the most special month of the year. During this month, many Muslims take 'a step back' from this world and its delights and temptations and reflect through prayer and reading the Holy Qur'an. Ramadan is also a catalyst to free the spirit and put a stop to conspicuous consumption of earthly possessions or what Marxists call 'conspicuous waste'. Muslims believe that by freeing oneself from the 'pull of possessions' one can achieve a state of mind and spirit which shows that all men are brothers. The Holy Month brings an opportunity to pause, with a degree of simplicity, inner peace, enhanced focus and concentration. This is a chance for self-reflection, to do good deeds and help become a better person. For many Arab Muslims, it is possible to do this for one whole month of the year and aspire to it for the remainder. Ramadan also helps generate an enhanced focus on the divine and heightened awareness of mortality and how fragile and brief life really is. Ramadan often creates calmness and a quiet that befalls many parts of the Middle East, especially before last light.

The Three Parts of Ramadan. Ramadan is divided into three distinct parts. The first ten days are for seeking Allah's mercy, and sharing mercy with others, the second ten days are for requesting forgiveness and the third for seeking salvation and avoidance of hell through *salat*, and doing good deeds. Some Arabs refer to the Holy Month as the 'Month of Blessing'.

What Ramadan Means to Arab Muslims. Ramadan is seen by many Arabs as an opportunity to change one's life and become a better person. This means being

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[581] In *Al-Quds* or Jerusalem.

more tolerant and not judgmental of others' frailty and weaknesses. It is also a time for fasting (during the hours of daylight), enhanced prayer, giving charity, reading the Holy Qur'an, contemplation and doing good deeds. From a deeper Islamic perspective, the Islamic imams teach that the reason Ramadan is so special is that during the Holy Month, "The doors of paradise open and the gates of hell close".

Saum (Fasting). In Islam, there is a deep theological meaning behind *Saum* or fasting. It is not just about going without food and drink during the hours of daylight. It is about relating to the poor of the world who even in this present day still have little to eat. *Saum* is considered to assist in providing focus on the true meaning of Ramadan and is an ever-present reminder of the mortality of mankind. For many Muslims, *Saum* transcends the practical aspects of hunger and thirst in that it also relates to thoughts, words and deeds. *Saum* for Muslim children under the age of puberty is not compulsory. If a day of fasting is missed during Ramadan for any reason (due to short term ill health) then that fast day must be carried out as soon as is possible. The following Arab Muslim saying is often uttered during the Holy Month: "There is a door in paradise only for those who fast during this month. When all are through who fasted, it is closed and none shall enter".

Sadaqah. Charity (*Sadaqah*) plays an enhanced role during Ramadan. The Holy Month provides a catalyst for a greater focus on charity and giving to others and has a deep Islamic origin. Therefore, many Muslims will practice random acts of kindness during Ramadan.

Zakat Al-Fitr. Many Arab Muslims pay *Zakat Al-Fitr* (a charity payment) during the last three days of Ramadan. Some will pay it within the last ten days. This is to ensure that the poor have sufficient to celebrate the *Al-Fitr* Festival and is obligatory (Badawi, 2007, p.302). This type of *Zakat* should not be confused with annual *Zakat* or general charity or *Sadaqah* (Badawi, 2007). Islam holds that the fasting in Ramadan is not acceptable to Allah until *Zakat Al-Fitr* is paid. An Arab Muslim man as head of the family is responsible for paying the *Zakat Al-Fitr* for his wife and children. He is also responsible for paying on behalf of anyone who works within his household. This is not a responsibility by law but by Islamic tradition and local culture and it is deeply rooted

and much followed. Many Arabs will also pay *Zakat Al-Fitr* for their dead parents. The intention (*niyah*) and sincerity are all important. It is commonly held that a rich man who pays much publicly whilst having bad intentions, is less acceptable to Allah than a poor who pays a small amount but with good intention. Imams will often emphasise this point by quoting the Prophet (PBUH): "The prostitute who once gave a handful of water to a dog was rewarded with paradise".

Reading the Holy Qur'an. An important part of Ramadan is reading the Holy Qur'an. Many Arab Muslims will try to read the whole Qur'an at least once during the Holy Month. Others will try to read it as many times as possible. This is because it is believed that reading the Holy Qur'an brings a man back to the 'heart of Islam' and removes sins.

Taraweeh. *Taraweeh* is a prayer which is only prayed during Ramadan. It immediately follows the *Isha* evening *salat*. Although this is an optional *salat*, it is one of the most important prayers within Ramadan. Arab Sunni Muslims will pray *Taraweeh*, either at home or in the *masjid*, but mainly in the *masjid*. The length of the *Taraweeh* can vary, according to each particular imam. Some imams will pray eight units of prayer, which can take around thirty minutes and some imams pray twenty units of prayer which can take well over one hour. Across the Arab world, many will arrive in the masjid early, long before the *Isha salat* to read the Holy Qur'an. As the *Taraweeh* begins, rich and poor alike stand 'toe to toe' in brotherhood and pray with a 'single beating heart', at this special time of year. After *Taraweeh* concludes, many people will greet one another outside the *masjid* and invite each other back to their homes. The exception to this is during the last ten days. This is when many are in the *masjid* for long periods as they seek *Lailat Al-Qadr* ('The Night of Determination').

Tahajud (Late Night Prayer). The late night salat (*Tahajud*) must involve breaking sleep and getting up to pray *salat*. Such *salat* should take place during the 'third part' of the night at about 3am. It can be prayed at home or any appropriate place. But many Arabs prefer to pray *tahajud* in the *masjid* as many believe that *Shaytan* (the devil) will try to temp people not to pray but to continue sleeping. Praying in congregation is viewed as a defence against this.

Lailat Al-Qadr. Emiratis generally refer to *Lailat Al-Qadr* as 'The Night of Determination' or The Night of Power' because Muslims believe that this is when Allah determines the future and fate of his creations and grants forgiveness. This is seen as a very special night as it reminds Muslims of the night when the Hold Qur'an was first revealed to the Prophet (PBUH) during the pre-Islamic month of Ramadan (which became the Holy Month of Ramadan of fasting). It is often said by imams in the Middle East that the Muslim Nation is honoured by this night. *Lailat Al-Qadr* occurs within the last ten days of Ramadan. This is known because the Prophet (PBUH) said, "Find it in the last ten days of Ramadan". However, it is thought that he deliberately left the exact date ambiguous so that the people would pray hard during the last ten days of Ramadan.

27th Night. The Companions of the Prophet (PBUH), who travelled with and studied under him, concluded that most probably *Lailat Al-Qadr* occurs on the night of the 27th of Ramadan. The imam will normally make public announcements about special arrangements for the 27th night. These special arrangements will normally include, gathering to pray *Tahajud* (late night salat) from midnight. This will continue from around midnight until the dawn prayer. Therefore, after *iftar* Emiratis will pray *Isha* and *taraweeh* and read the Holy Qur'an. Then go home, sleep a little, return to the *masjid* after midnight to pray *tahajud*. Throughout this period, people will come and go from the masjid according to their needs.

Iftar. Iftar in the Middle East is quite a flexible meal. For many Arabs it is no more than a light meal which is eaten to break the fast. This is eaten after the *Adhān* (the call to prayer) for *Maghrib salat* just as the sun is setting on the horizon. Wherever it is, all should wash their hands before eating. Those present will say *Bismillah* before eating and *Al-Hamdulillah* after finishing their brief meal. All will then move to the wash rooms where they will wash their hands and mouth.

Suhour. *Suhour* relates to the 'late meal' which is the last food consumed before fasting. The origin of the Arabic word *suhour* comes from the same etymology of the Arabic word *sahar*, meaning the last third of the night. This light meal is normally taken within the early hours of the morning before sunrise and the dawn prayer (*Fajr*). If *Fajr*

salat is at 4am then *suhour* is normally around 3am. It is generally made of light foods, which are high in water and low in salt, for obvious reasons. In many Arab Sunni Muslims homes such food is often prepared by the wife and is eaten together as a family. However, Arabs who eat a substantial late dinner (11pm-2am), will generally not eat suhour as well.

The Legacy of Ramadan. When Ramadan is finished and this concentrated period of: fasting, praying, reflection and doing good deeds is over; what is the legacy for Arab Sunni Muslims? One imam told me that it was a "type of redemption, infinite hope, belief and perhaps a fresh start, which may be beyond secular comprehension"[582].

ISLAMIC FESTIVALS

EID AL FITR

What is Eid Al Fitr? *Eid Al-Fitr* (breaking the fast) marks the end of the Holy Month of Ramadan, the breaking of the month of fasting and the start of the Islamic month of *Shawal.* In the Middle East, it is sometimes called *Eid Al-Saghir* (the small Eid) and is considered to be a time of joy, forgiveness, kindness, giving and hospitality. Eid is 'first and last' an Islamic festival and to mark this special occasion, across the Middle East there will be additional early morning congregational *salat* held in local *masjids*. Many Arab families will sacrifice (*Audheya*) an animal for *Eid Al-Fitr*. This is detailed in Sacrifice (*Audheya*) of Animals during *Eid Al-Adha* below.

Announcement and Greetings. The actual date of Eid is announced by a Fatwa and the accompanying national holiday promulgated through the media. It will have been determined by authorized imams (in Makkah) using the lunar cycle and lunar sightings (Umm Al-Qura Calendar of Saudi Arabia, 2017). *Eid* really starts at dawn and is accompanied by dawn prayer on the first day of the declared *Eid.* Most Arab Muslims will greet each other with '*Eid Mubarak'* and the reply is most commonly '*Allah yubarak feek'* (May Allah bless you).

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[582] Imam – Sheikh Saleh Abdul Majid from Al-Azar Islamic University, Cairo.

New Clothes and *Eidiya*. *Eid* also means new clothes for all the family. This will also include footwear, headdress, underwear and a whole range of items for the ladies and girls. The tradition is one of making a fresh start. Visiting adults will often compliment and congratulate children on their new clothes with the cry *Mabrook* (congratulations), before dispensing *Eidiya* gift money to the children.

EID AL-ADHA

Eid Al-Adha means the festival of sacrifice (*Audheya*). For Muslims, it commemorates the saving of the Prophet Ismail (PBUH) from being slaughtered by his father Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) (PBUH) through the intervention of Allah, who directed that a ram be slaughtered in his place. Therefore, during this festival animals are sacrificed[583] as a sacrifice to Allah and a religious commemoration of the faith and actions of the Prophet Ibrahim (PBUH). This ceremony is steeped in many centuries of religious practice and precedent. As with *Eid Al-Fitr*, *Eid Al-Adha* is also referred to by many Arab Muslims simply as '*Eid*'. *Eid Al-Adha* in the Arab world tends to be a much calmer affair than the frantic preparations for *Eid Al-Fitr*. There is no accumulative fatigue before *Eid Al-Adha* which occurs at the end of Ramadan and before *Eid Al-Fitr*. During the days preceding both Eid festivals, it is common to hear Arab Sunni Muslims say, "*Al-Eid ala Al-Abawab*" (meaning '*Eid* is on the door'). This most important Islamic festival occurs about two months nine days after the end of Ramadan. The actual date of *Eid Al-Adha* on any given year will be announced around nine days in advance by *Fatwa* which will be issued by the imams from Makkah.

Salat Eid Al Adha. Eid begins early in the morning at the local *masjid* for *Salat Eid Al-Adha*. The ladies and girls normally remain in the home to pray salat and prepare for the busy day ahead. This takes place around the time of sunrise when *Fajr salat* is prayed. After *salat*, outside the *masjid*, friends, relatives and strangers will warmly greet each other with cries of '*Eid Mubarak*' and replies of '*Allah yubarak feek*' (May Allah bless you). After brief pleasant exchanges, many then hurry home for the busy day ahead.

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[583] Mostly lambs and sheep but in some Arab countries it can be camels or cows.

Procurement of Animals. There is much variety across the Arab world in how and from where animals are procured for this important sacrifice. In the smaller towns and villages, many will hold permanent stocks of sheep and goats within their farms (*mazraah*) and even within their *isbah* (small desert camp). These animals should be free from disease or deformity.

Sacrifice (Audheya) of Animals. There is much variety across the Arab world in relation to where and by whom the animals are slaughters. Some are killed by a butcher or slaughterman at residences, in farms or at government abattoirs. Wherever, they are killed emphasis is placed on the animals being killed quickly, humanely and by someone who is experienced. It is normal Islamic *Eid* practice for the slaughtered animal to be divided into three equal parts. One third is for the owner of the slaughtered animal, another third is for relatives and friends and the final third is for the poor and needy. The final third is cut into pieces. The meat is then bagged and generally distributed to the poor by family members. Many Arab families will donate much more than one third to the poor.

MOSQUES (MASJIDS)

Contemplation of the Divine. In the West for centuries it was widely held that man could rise to the contemplation of the divine through his senses and it was this idea that drove the decoration of cathedrals and churches in pre-reformation Europe (Harrison, 2013). These decorations included statues, paintings, mosaics, stained glass windows and much more. This was particularly important at a time when there were high levels of illiteracy within the common people and it was important to convey religious beliefs through visual art and depictions of the Prophets, Saints and even God (Clark, 1987). By contrast, within Islam this was not the case. Because the direct representation of Allah or any living being was and is prohibited, *masjids* have never had statues, paintings of people or animals (animate forms). The origin of this was to prevent displays of 'graven images', or have the people praying to the images rather than to Allah, thus deterring the possibility of people being drawn back to polytheism

(*Shirk*) (Barry, 1996)[584]. In masjids, geometric patterns and Qur'anic calligraphy were to be elevated to a true art form, where 'less was more' (Hillenbrand, 1999)[585].

Another aspect where the development of *masjids* contrasts with that of churches is that sectarian divisions have not affected the architectural design or appearance of the exterior or interior of the buildings (Barry, 1996). In the West, this difference most certainly applies to many pre and post reformation churches. But in Islam it is almost impossible to differentiate between *Sunni* and *Shi'a masjids*. Whether the *masjid* be large or small, it is a space which is designed to create harmony and to be free from distractions, in order to aid contemplation (Hillenbrand, 1999). The entire focus is on *salat* and the Holy Qur'an. In Islam, the spiritual world is invisible to the human eye and therefore not accessible through the senses (Barry, 1996). The decline of the popularity of churches in the secular West has not been matched by the decline of the use of masjids in the Islamic world; and in the many Arab countries the numbers of *masjids* are growing. Actually, it was sometimes said by European historians and social commentators that 'opera houses and music halls came into fashion when churches went out'. This comment has a serious element to it and points to the move away from the importance of daily ritual, religious observance and claims of absolute truth, towards one of self-fulfillment, entertainment and secularism.

The Common Elements of a Masjid. There may be utility in providing an overview about the common elements of a *masjid*. A *masjid* in its simplest terms is a place of prayer for Muslims. But it is also the outward and visible symbol of Islam. The style and early development of the general design of masjids were based upon the house of the Prophet (PBUH) in *Al-Madīnah* which had an enclosed space and outer walled courtyard. For practical reasons, it became the first *masjid* in Islam. This very house is the site of the present Mosque of the Prophet (PBUH) (*Masjid Al-Nabawi*) in *Al-Madīnah* (Hillenbrand, 1999). Although *masjids* vary in design the majority will have common elements or component parts (Frishman, 2007) These are: *Ḥaram* (prayer hall), *Sahn* (courtyard), ablutions area to conduct washing (*Wudhu*) before *salat*,

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[584] Barry, M. (1996). *Colour and Symbolism in Islamic Architecture.* London: Thames and Hudson.
[585] Hillenbrand, R. (1999). *Islamic Art and Architecture*. London: Thames and Hudson.

minaret[586], *Qibla* Wall[587], *Mihrab*[588], *Mosala Al-Nissa* (Womens' Prayer Hall), *Minbar*[589] (pulpit) and the *Kursi* (the 'X' shaped lectern upon which the Holy Qur'an is placed, (Frishman, 2007).

Masjid Life. Although praying at home or almost anywhere is permissible, praying in the *masjid* remains an important part of the structure of Arab life and daily routine. This is especially the case for *isha salat*[590]. In many places, it brings Arabs together within a local context and provides a public meeting place (outside the *masjid* and after *salat*) to exchange pleasantries, catch up on family developments and other issues.

The Three 'Holy Mosques'. Although there are many 'great' masjids in the world; from an Islamic perspective, the most important are the three 'Holy Mosques' - *Masjid Al- Ḥaram* in *Makkah* (where Al-Ka'ba is located), the Mosque of the Prophet (PBUH) known as *Masjid Al-Nabawi* which is in *Al-Madīnah* and finally the *Masjid Al-Aqsa* in *Al-Quds* (Jerusalem). Many Arab Muslims have visited the first two *masjids* normally during *Hajj* or *Al-Umrah*. The third *masjid*, *Masjid Al-Aqsa* in *Al-Quds* presents a greater challenge to Arab Muslim pilgrims.

Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques (*Ḥādim al-Ḥaramayn aš-Šarīfayn*). The monarch of Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, King Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, holds the title and responsibility of *Ḥādim al-Ḥaramayn aš-Šarīfayn* and it is believed that Saladin[591] was the first holder of this title (Fakkar, 2015). The 'Two Holy Mosques' are the *Masjid Al-Ḥaram* in *Makkah* and *Masjid Al-Madīnah* in *Al-Madinah*.

Masjid Al-Ḥaram – Makkah. The *Masjid Al-Haram* in *Makkah* is the most important *masjid* in Islam. At its centre is *Al-Ka'ba*[592] which is the hollow stone cube that is said to pre-date the time of the Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) (PBUH) (Mubarakpuri,

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[586] Minaret - introduced in 673. The vertical tower which was originally intended for the *Muezzin* (or *Moadhen*) to call the faithful to prayer (*Adthan*), five times per day.
[587] Which indicates the direction of the Ka'ba in *Makkah*.
[588] *Mihrab* - is a niche which is semicircular in design and has an arched top, which is set into the centre of the *qibla* wall. This recess is where the imam stands to lead the *salat* and its shape helps to spread his words across the *masjid.*
[589] The *Minbar* is where the imam delivers his Friday (*Al Jummah*) sermon (*Khuṭbah*).
[590] Evening prayer.
[591] *Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb*.
[592] Also spelt *Al-Ka'bah*.

2010, p. 34). It is covered with a large black cloth (*Kiswa*[593]) that is heavily embroidered with the Islamic statement of faith (*Shahada*). If any place can be described as the 'beating heart of Islam' this is it. The large number of porticos surrounding *Al-Ka'ba* were first conceived under the Ottomans during the 16th century (Frishman, 2007, p. 77). Because of the growing numbers of global Muslims visiting *Masjid Al- Ḥaram,* major construction works have been undertaken to accommodate their numbers. This construction work[594] is a significant logistical task which is being carried out whilst the *masjid* is in full use. Some who see *Al-Ka'ba* for the first time burst into tears, due to a combination of the totality of the experience, previous expectations, and relief at finally achieving their religious goal.

As *Al-Ka'ba* looms into focus, pilgrims can be seen moving around it anti-clockwise completing the required circuits[595] dressed only in *Ihram*, the basic two pieces of white cloth that prevents any man from showing his status or wealth. Here, all are believed to be equal in the eyes of Allah and man. As they complete the circuits, they try to touch the 'Black Stone[596] (*Al-Hajar Al-Aswad*). Many of the poor who have travelled for thousands of miles for the religious experience of their lives and expended all of the money that they have, simply sleep in this 'holy' place. Some will have made long and arduous journeys from across the world and this can be the culmination of a life's ambition. Others, the very sick and old actually come to *Masjid Al- Ḥaram* in the hope of dying in that place, and quite a number do. When this happens, the bodies are removed with efficiency, humanity and respect. For many Arab Muslims, *Masjid Al- Ḥaram* is the most special place in the world.

Masjid Al-Nabawi. *Masjid Al-Nabawi*[597] (the *Masjid* of the Prophet (PBUH)) in *Al-Madīnah*[598], is sometimes referred to as the 'Green Mosque', because of its green coloured dome. Some Arabs call it the 'Dome of Islam' and it is the second most important *masjid* in the Islamic world. *Al-Madīnah* was an oasis town which was the

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[593] *Kiswa* (or *Kiswah*) is a cognate of the Hebrew word *Kisui*.
[594] This major construction project is being carried out by companies owned by the Bin-Laden family.
[595] *Tawaf* - circuits (circumambulating) of *Al-Ka'ba* and Islamic ritual (*Manasik of Hajj*).
[596] *Al-Hajar Al-Aswad* - the black coloured cornerstone of the *Al-Ka'ba* (Mubarakpuri, 2010, pp. 34-35).
[597] Also known as *Masjid Al-Rasool* (PBUH).
[598] *Al-Madīnah* – was known during the time of the Prophet (PBUH) as *Yathrib* and was later renamed *Madinat Al-Nabi* or *Al-Madīnah* (Medina).

place of residence[599] of the Prophet (PBUH) until his death (Frishman, 2007, p. 89). It was also the destination of the *Hijra* during the migration from *Makkah*. Although it is not a requirement of *Hajj* or *Al-Umrah* to visit the *Masjid Al-Nabawi*, many people do so. In Islam it is considered to be highly desirable, for the following reasons:

- Praying in this *masjid* will bring one thousand times more Islamic rewards than in most *masjids*.
- This site was formally the home of the Prophet (PBUH).
- This became the first ever *masjid* in Islam.
- This is where the Prophet (PBUH) is buried and the location of his mausoleum.
- Here is located what is regarded by Sunni Muslims as a 'small piece of paradise' on earth (*Al-Rhouda*[600]).

Arabs tend to feature highly amongst the visitors to this *masjid*. Many will fly to Jeddah and stay in *Al-Madīnah* before departing for the road trip which takes five hours to reach *Makkah*. Other *masjids* commonly visited by pilgrims whilst in *Al-Madīnah* are *Masjid Ali Ibn Taled*, *Masjid Musterah*, *Masjid Abu Bakr*, *Al-Siddiq* and *Masjid Qibletayn*. These are sometimes referred to in KSA as the *Masjids* of *Al-Madīnah Munawara*.

Al-Masjid Al-Aqṣā (Al-Aqṣā Mosque). *Al-Masjid Al-Aqṣā* (the Farthest Mosque[601]) is located in the Old City of Jerusalem (*Al-Quds*) and is the third holiest site in Islam[602]. It was built in 690-692 AD / CE with Byzantine architectural influences as it has a hexagonal scheme (Frishman, 2007, pp. 56-57). Commentators often refer to it as *Al-Aqṣā* Mosque. It forms part of the *Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* complex (The Noble Sanctuary). This site is also revered by Jews and known as the Temple Mount, as it is the site of the Second Temple, which was destroyed by the Romans in 70 AD / CE. Muslims believe that it is from this location that the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)

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[599] The Prophet's (PBUH) house and *masjid* were demolished by Caliph Al-Walid I who build a new *masjid* on the site (707-709). (Frishman, 2007, p. 89)
[600] The Prophet (PBUH) is reported to have said "The spot between my Minbar (pulpit) and my house is one of the gardens of paradise".
[601] Also known as 'the faraway sanctuary'.
[602] *Arab World Books*, (2015). Al-Aqsa Mosque. *Arab World Books*, [online] Available at:
http://www.arabworldbooks.com/Readers2010/articles/aqsa_mosque_history.htm [Accessed 10 Jan. 2017].

ascended to heaven[603]. Today, Muslims pray (*salat*) in the direction of *Makkah* (*Qibla*), but for 16½ months following the Prophet Mohammad's (PBUH) 'miraculous journey', the *Qibla* was the site of *Al-Aqṣā*. Because it is located in *Al-Quds* and 'occupied', external Arabs tend not to travel from across the Arab world to visit it.

Road Side and Smaller Masjids. There are many road side *masjids* dotted around the Arab world that help the traveller to pray salat either on time or close to it. These are often located at motorway rest areas for ease of use. Many cities, towns, villages and residential areas will have small *masjids* located within them. These often become the focal point for many in the local community. Arab Muslim men will often gather outside these after salat to talk before going to the *majlis* to continue the conversation or start afresh.

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[603] BBC, (2009). '*Lailat al Miraj*', BBC [online] Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/holydays/lailatalmiraj.shtml [Accessed 10 Jan. 2017].

Appendix 2

Meaning of Islamic Terms

Notes:

1.   **Verification**. Unless indicated with a specific reference, all meanings of Islamic terms have been verified with the General Authority for Islamic Affairs and Endowments (GAIAE), Fatwa Centre and Official Centre for Religious Research and Rulings (Ifta) and where appropriate, *Al-Azhar* Islamic University in Cairo.

2.   **Scope**. Only a limited number of Islamic terms and meanings are shown in order to provide clarity for this particular thesis. It is not intended to be comprehensive.

3.   **Islamist Misuse**. Where appropriate, the misuse and misinterpretation of Islamic terms and concepts by Islamists has been indicated. This in no way provides any form of credibility or legitimacy to their misinterpretation but intentionally highlights how Islamists misuse and corrupt long established Islamic terms and concepts, *via* their extremist interpretation.

Adhān – The call to prayer (salat). This may also appear in texts as Azan, Athan and Adhan. Traditionally, the Adhān was carried out by the Muezzin[604], who would climb the steps of the minaret, face the Qiblah[605], raise his hands to his ears and call the faithful to prayer. When the Adhān is called, it follows a specific format. Gertrude Bell, one of the great travellers of Arabia, called the Adhān the "Alpha and Omega of Islam"[606] (Al-Yahya, 2006, p.31). Within the contemporary Arab world, this is conducted electronically through loudspeakers mounted on the minarets with an approved Adhān (in content).

Ahl al-bayt (Ahlul Bayt) - The literal meaning of the Arabic term Ahl al-bayt is 'People of the House' or 'Family of the House' refers to the family or people of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him (PBUH)). This is often interpreted to include the Prophet (PBUH), his wives, daughters, relatives[607] and descendants, including the family up until Hasan ibn Ali and Husayn ibn Ali. Others interpret Ahl al-Bayt to mean the Prophet's (PBUH) tribe (Al-Quraysh) rather than proven descendants, whilst others refer to them as the "Godly ones" or "Pure Personalities" (Sayeeda, 2017).

Ahl al-Kitāb - People of the Book. This complimentary term is often used by Muslims to refer refers to Jews, Christians or followers of pre-Islamic religions with a scripture adhering to monotheism. The term derives its credibility and authority from the Holy Qur'an.

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[604] Also known as Muʾadhdhin or Moadhen.
[605] Direction of the Ka'ba in Makkah (Mecca).
[606] Cited in Al-Yahya, E. (2006). *Travellers in Arabia, British Explorers in Saudi Arabia.* London: Stacey International.
[607] Including paternal uncles such as Abu Talib and Al-Abbas.

Al-Azhar – The leading Islamic University (Jami'ah) in Cairo which supplies qualified and validated imams across the Arab world. It is reputed to be one of the oldest universities in the world, where it is believed that studies began in 975 CE[608].

Al-Kaʿba (Al-Ka'bah) – The large hollow stone cube in *Masjid Al-Haram* in *Makkah*[609]. Muslims believe that the site dates from the time of the Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) (PBUH) and some Muslims refer to it as the 'beating heart of Islam'. *Al-Ka'ba* is considered to be the most sacred site in Islam. It is covered by a large black cloth (Kiswa[610]) which is heavily embroidered with the Islamic statement of faith (Shahada). When Muslims pray, it is always in the direction of *Al-Ka'ba* and this direction is known as the Qiblah (*Qibla*) and Islamic mosques contain a wall niche, known as the *Mihrab*, which indicates to all the direction of *Al-Ka'ba* (*Qibla*).

Allāh (Al-ilah) - The Arabic word for God or sole deity in ancient Abrahamic religions and used throughout the modern Islamic world and by Arab Christians[611]. In Islam, Allāh has 99 attributes or 'Names', such as Al-Haqq meaning 'The Truth'[612].

Allāhu Akbar - The Islamic phrase meaning '*Allāh* is greater' or '*Allāh* is greatest'. This statement is referred to as Takbīr[613] in Arabic. *Allāhu Akbar*[614] appears prominently in the Islamic call for prayer (*Adhān*) and as an informal expression of faith during times of distress. The phrase *Allāhu Akbar* was also used during the 1979 Iranian Revolution, as large numbers of politicised Iranians shouted 'Allāhu Akbar' in public and private areas, in defiance of the Shah's regime[615]. *Allāhu Akbar* is also frequently uttered by Islamist extremists and terrorists prior to commencing attacks and appears frequently in the Islamic State (IS) online journal Dabiq[616].

Al-Madīnah (Medina) – The literal translation is 'the city'. Al-Madīnah[617] in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) is the second holiest site in Islam (after Masjid al-Ḥarām (the Sacred Mosque) in Makkah)). Muslims often refer to Al-Madīnah as Medinat-un-Nabi means (the City of the Prophet). It was in Al-Madīnah that the Prophet (PBUH) assisted by the Medinan converts (al-Anṣār) and the Meccan migrants (Al-Muhajirun), established his political and religious authority. See Hijra.

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[608] Islamic Landmarks (2016). 'Al-Azhar University', *Islamic Landmarks* [online]. Available at: http://www.islamiclandmarks.com/egypt/al-azhar-university [Accessed 5 Mar. 2016].
[609] It is often referred to by Muslims by the name Al-Ka'ba Al-Musharrafah (The Holy Ka'ba).
[610] Kiswa (or Kiswah) is a cognate of the Hebrew word Kisui.
[611] Oxford Dictionaries (2017). 'Allah Definition', *Oxford Dictionaries* [online]. Available at: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/Allah [Accessed 11 Jan. 2017].
[612] Islamic Book Service, (2018). *Ninety Nine Names of Allah*, p.55, New Delhi: Islamic Book Service and 'Al-h Haqq', *The Only Quran* [online]. Available at: http://www.theonlyquran.com/99names.php?nameid=51 [Accessed 5 Mar. 2016].
[613] Also transliterated Tekbir or Takbeer.
[614] From kabīr, meaning great.
[615] Tristam, P. (2016). 'Allahu Akbar'. *Middle East About News* [online]. Available at: http://middleeast.about.com/od/a/g/allahu-akbar-definition.htm [Accessed 21 Jan. 2017].
[616] Warning, *Dabiq* is an Islamist electronic journal / site and subject to lawful surveillance and tracking by international and national intelligence agencies such as the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ). GCHQ is the UK intelligence and security organisation responsible for providing signals intelligence (SIGINT) to the British Government and Armed Forces.
[617] Formerly known as Yathrib.

Al-Masjid Al-Aqṣā (Al-Aqṣā Mosque) – Al-Aqṣā Mosque (the Farthest Mosque) is located in the Old City of Jerusalem and is the third holiest site in Islam[618]. Muslims believe that it is this location where the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) ascended to heaven[619]. Al-Aqṣā Mosque is situated on a holy site (or wider compound) known as Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf (The Noble Sanctuary). This site is also revered by Jews and known as the Temple Mount, as it is the site of the Second Temple, which was destroyed by the Romans in 70 Common Era (CE). Today, Muslims pray (salat) in the direction of Makkah (Qibla), but for 16½ months following the Prophet Mohammad's (PBUH) 'miraculous journey', the Qibla was the site of *Al-Aqṣā*.

Al-Muhajirun - The Meccan converts and migrants. The term is most commonly applied to the group of converts (al-Muhajirun) who accompanied the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) on the Hijra (journey or migration) taken from Makkah to Al-Madīnah. See Hijra.

Al-wala' wa-l-bara'– Is an Arabic Islamic term meaning 'loyalty and disavowal'. It is often understood to mean the exclusive allegiance to *Allāh* and Islam, and repudiation of unbelief and unbelievers (*Kafirs*). Islamists often misuse it to justify brutal acts against those whom they view as unbelievers (*Kafirs*).

Alayhi as-Salām – Means 'Peace be upon him'. By Islamic convention, this phrase or Durood is uttered when speaking the names of the Prophets of Islam who came before the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). It is abbreviated in writing to AS. It is also applied to the mothers of those prophets (the feminine form is ʿAlayha s-salām).

Anfāl - Spoils of war. This is outlined in the eighth chapter of the Holy Qur'an at Sūrat al-ʾAnfāl[620] (8:1)), which is a Medinan sūrat completed after the Battle of Badr[621]. It forms a pair with the next Sūrat, At-Tawba.

Anno Hegirae (AH) - Anno Hegirae is the Latin phrase meaning 'in the year of the Hijra'. It is used in the Islamic Calendar which begins in the year of the Hijra[622] (the journey of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and his followers from Makkah (Mecca) to Yathrib (later known as Al-Madinah (Medina)). The first day of the first Islamic year is 1 Muḥarram 1 AH which corresponds to 16 July 622 CE. Because the Islamic calendar is based on the lunar cycle[623], this means that it differs greatly from the Gregorian solar calendar. For example, the year 2017 CE corresponds to 1438 – 1439 AH.

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[618] Arab World Books (2015). '*Al-Aqsa* Mosque', *Arab World Books* [online]. Available at:
http://www.arabworldbooks.com/Readers2010/articles/aqsa_mosque_history.htm [Accessed 10 Jan. 2017].
[619] BBC (2009). 'Lailat al Miraj', *BBC* [online]. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/holydays/lailatalmiraj.shtml [Accessed 10 Jan. 2017].
[620] Which has 75 verses.
[621] Battle of Badr fought on 17 Ramadan, 2 AH (13 March 624 CE) in the Hejaz region of Western Arabia (Kingdom of Saudi Arabia).
[622] Note that the date of the actual Hijra has been calculated as occurring around the 8th day of Rabi al-Awwal, 66 days into the first year.
[623] The Islamic Calendar only has 354 days in its year.

Anṣār or al-Anṣār – 'The Supporters' or Medinan converts. The term Anṣār is sometimes translated as 'helpers'. This is an Islamic term for the local inhabitants[624] of Al-Madīnah who converted to Islam and supported the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The term Anṣār or al-Anṣār is used by some Islamist jihadist groups, such as Anṣār al-Islām (Supporters of Islam) (AAI)) or Anṣār Bayt al-Maqdis (Supporters of the Holy House) (ABM)). See also Al-Muhajirun (the Meccan migrants).

Arkān al-Islām - The Five Pillars of Islam. These are five fundamental acts required of a Muslim[625]. In Islam they are mandatory and form the foundation of Muslim life. They are:

- *Shahādah*[626] (profession of faith).
- *Ṣalāt* (prayer).
- *Zakāt* (obligatory charity).
- *Saum*[627] (fasting during the Holy Month of Ramadan).
- *Hajj* (major pilgrimage to *Makkah*).

Asmāʾ Allāh al-Ḥusnā – The collective term for 99 names of *Allāh*. An example is *Al-Haqq*[628] meaning 'The Truth'.

As-salāmu Alaykum - The Islamic Arabic greeting meaning 'Peace be upon you', spoken by Muslims across the world. This is often be abbreviated to Salam Alaykum.

Awqaf – Islamic Endowments.

Bid'ah - In Islam, bid'ah generally means religious innovations[629]. It is also used by some Muslims (such as Salafists) to mean heresy or heretical doctrine. However, in classical Arabic literature (adab), the term has also been used as a form of praise for particularly creditworthy compositions of prose and poetry.

Bismillah Ar Rahman Ar Rahim – Means 'In the Name of *Allāh*, the Merciful, the Compassionate' This Islamic phrase is commonly uttered by Muslims before any endeavour, great or small. An example would be as uttered by of King Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein of Jordan, prior to delivering his speech to the United Nations (UN) General Assembly[630] in 2015. It can also appear in writing[631] at the top of important official documents within the Middle East.

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[624] They belonged to the tribes of Azd, Banu Khazraj and Banu Aus.
[625] Encyclopædia Britannica (2017). 'Pillars of Islam', *Encyclopædia Britannica* [online]. Available at: https://global.britannica.com/topic/Pillars-of-Islam [Accessed 11 Jan: 2017].
[626] Lā ʾilāha ʾillā-llāhu muḥammadun rasūlu-llāh.
[627] Also spelt ṣawm.
[628] Islamic Book Service, (2018, p 55). *Ninety Nine Names of Allah*. New Delhi: Islamic Book Service and 'Al-h Haqq', *The Only Quran*, [online]. Available at: http://www.theonlyquran.com/99names.php?nameid=51 [Accessed 5 Mar. 2016].
[629] Ala Hazrat International Islamic Web (2017). 'Concept of Bid'ah in Islam', *Ala Hazrat International Islamic Web,* [online]. Available at: http://www.alahazrat.net/islam/concept-of-bidah-in-islam.php [Accessed 11 Jan. 2017].
[630] His Majesty King Abdullah II Ibn Al Hussein (2015). 'Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II

Dāʿī – An Islamic missionary. One who conducts Islamic proselytising (Daʿwah or Da'wa).

Dār al-Islām – 'House of Islam' or Dar As Salam – 'House of Peace'. Muslim scholars use these terms to denote countries where Muslims can practice Islam as the ruling religion.

Dār al-ḥarb – 'House of War' meaning those lands where Muslim law is not predominant. Islamists often use the term to refer to the US.

Dār al-Kufr – 'House of disbelief'. The term originally referred to the Quraish-dominated society of Makkah (Mecca) during the period of the Prophet Mohammad's (PBUH) flight to Al-Medina (the Hijra) and the city's ultimate conquest. It is often misused by contemporary Islamists.

Daʿwah – Islamic proselytising. A Muslim who practices daʿwah, is called a dāʿī. Also spelt Da'wa in some texts.

Dhimmi – A 'protected person'. These are Jews and Christians[632] and sometimes others (Buddhists, Sikhs, Hindus, and Zoroastrians), living in an Islamic state who must pay special religious taxes in order to practice their religion.

Dīn - 'Religion'. Dīn is often used to mean the faith and religion of Islam.

Diyyah[633] – 'Blood money'. This type of compensation is enshrined in Sharia and is paid to the families of the victim in recompense for loss of life. These cases normally involve murder and loss of life but can also involve grievous bodily harm or property damage. Diyyah compensation rates can vary according to the gender and religion of the victim. Muslim female victims generally get compensated at half the rate as Muslim male victims, while non-Muslim compensation rates are considerably lower (US Department of State, 2012).

Durood – Is the traditional Islamic complimentary Arabic phrase which is spoken following uttering the name of any of the Prophets of Islam. An example is 'Alayhi as-Salām', meaning 'Peace be upon him'.

Eid al-Fitr – 'The Islamic Festival of al-Fitr (Breaking the fast). This festival marks the end of Holy Month of Ramadan (the Islamic month of fasting (sawm)) and falls on the first day of the month of Shawwal. The date of Eid al-Fitr will be determined by an actual

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At the Plenary Session of the 70th General Assembly of the United Nations
 New York, US', *United Nations Speeches,* (2015), [online] Available at:
http://kingabdullah.jo/index.php/en_US/speeches/view/id/565/videoDisplay/0.html [Accessed 16 Mar. 2016].
[631] It is traditionally written in the following format - بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
[632] Known as 'people of the book'.
[633] Also spelt diya or diyeh and the plural – *diyāt.*

lunar citing by Islamic authorities or less commonly by using the Umm al-Qura Calendar of Saudi Arabia (Umm Al-Qura Calendar of Saudi Arabia, 2017).

Fajarah - Wicked or evil doers. This also appears as Fujjār[634]. Islamists often misuse this term to refer to their enemies.

Fard Al-Ayn (Fard Ayn) – Means a religious obligatory duty for a Muslim. The collective obligation is referred to as Fard Kifayya.

Fatwā[635] – An Islamic decree, interpretation or announcement by a qualified Sheikh, Muftī (an Islamic scholar) or fatwā committee, based on Islamic law (*Sharia*) or Islamic practice. An example of a fatwā committee is the famous Al-Azhar University Fatwā Committee[636].

Fee Sabeel Allāh – Means 'in the cause of *Allāh*' or 'for the sake of *Allāh*'. Another common transliteration version is *Fi Sabilillah*. See also *Uhibbuka fil-llaahi* (I love you for the sake of *Allāh*).

Fitna[637] - Trial or tribulation. It also refers to any period of disorder, civil strife, chaos, civil war, or the period immediately before the end of the world (Wehr, 1980, p. 696). In general terms it can refer to the persecution of Muslims or the spread of disinformation causing chaos or a rift between Muslims (Islamic Terminology 2011). According to Glasse (2008, p.158) "any sedition or rebellion against a rightful ruler is fitna". Fitna was much spoken of by 'Islamic State' within their apocalyptic propaganda.

Fiqh – Islamic jurisprudence. It is in essence, the human interpretation (ijtihad) of the Holy Qur'an, *Sunnah* and *Shari'a* by Islamic jurists (*Ulama*). This interpretation can be promulgated as Fatwā (rulings) or through approved publications.

Ghanīmah – The spoils of war. This term is much misused by 'Islamic State' fighters to attempt to justify their theft, rape and enslaving of women.

Ghāzi – A fighter, raider or holy warrior. A more common term is Mujahid.

Hadith[638] - The recorded teachings and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Of the various hadith collections[639], it is the collection of *Sahih Bukhari* that many Muslims consider the most authoritative (Center for Muslim-Jewish Engagement, 2017). Hadith are categorised as Sahih (correct), Hasan (accepted) or Dha'eef (weak).

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[634] Plural – fājir.
[635] Plural - *fataawā*.
[636] Located in Cairo.
[637] Also spelt fitnah or fitnat.
[638] Plural – ahadith.
[639] Such as Sahih Muslim, Sahih Bukhari, Sunan Abu-Dawud, Malik's Muwatta.

Ḥādim al-Ḥaramayn aš-Šarīfayn ('Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques') - The monarch of Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA). (King Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud) holds the title and responsibility of *Ḥādim al-Ḥaramayn aš-Šarīfayn* and it is believed that Saladin[640] was the first holder of this title (Fakkar, 2015). The 'Two Holy Mosques' are the *Masjid Al-Haram* (the Sacred Mosque) in *Makkah* and the 'Mosque of the Prophet (PBUH)' known as *Masjid Al-Nabawi* in *Al-Madinah* (Medina) in KSA.

Hajj – The *Hajj* (meaning 'to intend a journey') is the annual Islamic 'major pilgrimage' to *Makkah* and forms one of the Five Pillars of Islam. It is a "compulsory" religious duty (Phillips, 1995, p.33[641]) for all adult Muslims[642] and should be carried out at least once during their lifetime[643]. Also, they should be able to support their family during their absence on the Hajj. The pilgrimage occurs from the 8th to 12th (or in some cases 13th) of the last month of the Islamic calendar (*Dhu al-Hijjah*). As the Islamic calendar is lunar, the Islamic year is shorter than the Gregorian year[644]; therefore, the date of Hajj in the Gregorian calendar changes every year.

Ḥalāl - Lawful, permitted, beneficial or praiseworthy in Islam. It is most commonly applied to food and its preparation.

Ḥarām – Unlawful, sinful or prohibited in Islam. An example is the consumption of pork[645], which is forbidden in the Holy Qur'an[646].

Ḥaram – Sanctuary or place of sanctuary, such as Masjid Al Haram (the Sacred Mosque) in Makkah.

Ḥijāb – A cloth 'cover' used by Muslim women to cover their head hair[647] for the purposes of modesty and dignity. Its shape and style varies widely due to cultural and historical factors and this garment has numerous names. It may also form part of an entire ensemble garment which covers much of the body.

Hijji – The name given to Muslims who have completed the Hajj.

Hijra - The journey (migration) taken by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and his Meccan converts (al-Muhajirun) when they fled from Makkah (Mecca) to Yathrib (later known as Al-Madinah (Medina)). Anno Hegirae (AH) is the Latin phrase meaning 'in the

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[640] *Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb*.
[641] Phillips, B. (1995). *Hajj and Umrah*. 3rd ed. Riyadh: International Islamic Publishing House (IIPH).
[642] So long as they are physically and financially capable of doing so.
[643] Males who complete the Hajj are called Hijji and females Hajja.
[644] By about eleven days.
[645] Stacey, A. (2011). Why Pork is Forbidden in Islam (Part 1 of 2): Obeying the laws of God, *The Religion of Islam,* [online]. Available at: http://www.islamreligion.com/articles/2513/viewall/why-pork-is-forbidden-in-islam/ [Accessed 12 Jan. 2017].
[646] 'Holy Qur'an 2:173 - "He has forbidden you only dead animals, and blood, and the swine, and that which is slaughtered as a sacrifice for other than God".
[647] Head-covering (Khimār – Holy Qur'an 24:31).

year of the Hijra'. It is used in the Islamic lunar calendar which begins in the year of the Hijra[648].

Hikmah – Wisdom.

Hudā - Guidance.

Hudna[649] – Truce or armistice. It is on occasions translated as cease-fire. An example of an ancient Islamic hudna is the Treaty of Hudaybiyyah between the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the Quraysh tribe. More modern examples are the various hudna[650] between the Palestine and Israel.

Ḥudūd - *Ḥudūd*[651] means boundaries, limit or restriction. It is an Islamic concept which posits that punishments under Sharia are mandated by *Allāh*. Sharia separates crimes into those against *Allāh* and those against man. Crimes against *Allāh* are considered to have violated His *Ḥudūd*. The penalties are outlined in the Holy Qur'an and *Sunnah* (Lau, 2007). However, it should be noted that the evidential standards required for *Ḥudūd* offences[652] are extremely high and therefore penalties[653] may be overturned by the slightest of doubts (*Shubuhat*).

Iblīs - A jinn banished to hell for his hubris and disobedience; in essence Iblīs is the devil[654] otherwise known as Shayṭān, Lucifer or Satan to name but a few.

Iḥrām – The name given to the special spiritual state of consecration into which a Muslim must enter in order to perform Hajj (major pilgrimage) or Umrah (minor pilgrimage). A pilgrim must enter into this state, perform cleansing rituals, abstain from certain actions, and wear the prescribed Ihram clothing (see below) before crossing the pilgrimage boundary. The boundary point is known as a Miqat.

Iḥrām Clothing – Are special inexpensive garments worn by male and female Muslims during Hajj (major pilgrimage) and Umrah (minor pilgrimage). The intention of this dress is that all appear the same, rich and poor alike, without attracting attention. Men's garments consist of two white un-hemmed sheets of cloth (usually towelling material). The top (the *Riḍā*) is worn over the torso and the bottom piece (the *Izār*) is simply wrapped around the abdomen and rolled down until secure. There is variation in the female clothing due regional and cultural influences.

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[648] The date of the actual Hijra has been calculated as occurring around the 8th day of Rabi al-Awwal, 66 days into the first year.
[649] Meaning calm or quiet in Arabic.
[650] Al-Ahram (2003). 'Is the hudna over?' *Al-Ahram Issue 651* [online] Available at:
https://web.archive.org/web/20030823061937/http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2003/651/re1.htm [Accessed 12 Jan. 2017].
[651] Also transliterated hudood, hadud or had (singular).
[652] Such as adultery, fornication, illicit sex or consuming intoxicants.
[653] These penalties include public lashing, amputation of hands, publicly stoning to death, and crucifixion.
[654] Wensinck, A. and Gardet, L. (2012). *'Iblīs'*, [online] Available at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/iblis-SIM_3021 [Accessed 12 Jan. 2017].

Ilāh – Deity or god/gods worshiped by polytheists.

Imām – A person who leads the community or group in Islamic prayer. However, the Imām is not a priest; he does intercede between man and *Allāh*.

Imān - Personal Islamic faith.

Injīl[655] - Arabic term for the Christian holy text 'The Gospels' of Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The *Injīl* is described by the Holy Qur'an as one of the four Islamic holy books which Muslims believe were revealed by *Allāh* (God) - Holy Qur'an, *Injīl, Zabur* (Psalms) and *Tawrat* (Torah).

In shāʾa -Ilāh (**Insha'Allah**) – 'If *Allāh* wills'. In Islam, this is more than a much used term but it underpins the Islamic philosophical concept that 'nothing shall happen except by the will of *Allāh*' and the concept of preordination.

Irja – Postponing. It is an Islamic theological principle formulated by Muslim scholars[656] during the first century of Islam to resolve the matter of who is and is not a Muslim? The scholars concluded that the answer to this question should be postponed (*Irja*) until the afterlife as only *Allāh*, not man could truly and justly determine such a matter[657]. It was the subject of a lengthy[658] article in *Dabiq*[659] (entitled – '*Irja*': The Most Dangerous *Bid'ah*'[660]). ISIS frequently accuse other rebel groups in Syria of being *Irja* because they do not kill 'apostates'.

Irtidād – Apostasy. See also Kafir and Takfir.

Īsā - Jesus (PBUH). In Islam, Jesus (PBUH) is much respected and regarded as a holy man and a prophet[661] but not the Son of God. This is chiefly because the Holy Qur'an states that *Allāh* has no sons and *ipso facto* Jesus (PBUH) cannot be the Son of God[662] (*Allāh*). Arab Muslims sometimes refer to Jesus (PBUH) as *'Īsā ibn Maryām'* (Jesus son of Mary). This is a matronymic name since Muslims believe that Jesus (PBUH) had no biological father.

Islam – Islam is a global religion that is articulated through the Holy Qur'an (which is considered by Muslims to be the word of God (Allāh). Muslims also believe the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) to be the last prophet and messenger of Allāh. Islam is the fastest

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[655] Also spelt Ingil.
[656] Who became known as the Murjia. They were eventually condemned as a heretical sect by more orthodox groups.
[657] This was particularly relevant at that time as Islam was being torn asunder by a civil war, where this question lay at its very centre.
[658] Consisting of 18 x pages.
[659] The so called Islamic State monthly digital English-language journal.
[660] Warning, *Dabiq* is an Islamist electronic journal / site and subject to lawful surveillance and tracking by international and national intelligence agencies such as the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ). GCHQ is the UK intelligence and security organisation responsible for providing signals intelligence (SIGINT) to the British Government.
[661] In Islam, Īsā (PBUH) is understood to be the penultimate prophet and messenger of Allah.
[662] Or God incarnate.

growing global religion (currently 1.6 billion people) and it is estimated that the number of Muslims will reach 2.76 billion by 2050[663].

Islamophilia - is a not an Islamic term but is a controversial neologism that describes an uncritical admiration of the values of Islam and admiration of Islamic culture and civilisation.

Isnad - The 'chains' of the narration of Hadith. Hadith are segregated into *isnad* and *matn* (the actual wording of the hadith); therefore, the genealogical space between the *hadith* and the Prophet (PBUH), and the text itself (Brown, 2009).

Istishhād - Martyrdom. It is closely linked to the Islamic term *Shahīd*[664] which can mean 'witness', but almost always means 'martyr'. Islamists often apply the terms *Istishhād* and Shahīd to Islamist fighters who have been killed whilst fighting in a *jihād* or '*jihād fī sabīl Allāh*' (jihad for the sake of *Allāh*).

Jahannam - Hell or 'hell-fire'. It is closely connected to the Arabic word An-Nar, which literally means fire, but is commonly understood to mean the 'fire of Jahannam' and the 'seven levels of Hell-fire' (Islamic Terminology, 2011). The conditions and dwellers of Jahannam were usefully summarised by Mufti Afzal Hoosen Elias in 'Conditions and Stages of Jahannam (Hell)'[665].

Jahiliyyah - The term used by Muslims meaning 'a state of ignorance of the guidance of *Allāh*' or for any period in history prior to the coming of Islam. It is also referred to as the 'Period of Ignorance'.

Jannah – Heaven or paradise.

Jazāka-llāhu khayran – 'May God reward you with good'. This is an Islamic expression of gratitude.

Jihād – Struggle. In Arabic, the word jihād means 'striving, struggling or persevering'. In Islam, this may be any sincere striving against wrongdoing (for *Allāh*s' sake). It is also interpreted as the duty of Muslims to maintain and spread their religion. Those who conduct jihad are referred to as *Mujahideen* (singular – *Mujahid*). The term Jihad appears in the Holy Qur'an such as Chapter 2:190-192.

Jihād aṣ-ṣaghīr - Offensive jihad declared by a caliph.

Jihād ad-dafʿa - Defensive jihad.

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[663] Burke, D. (2015). The world's fastest-growing religion is ..., *CNN*, [online]. Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2015/04/02/living/pew-study-religion/index.html [Accessed 25 Jan. 2017].
[664] Also known as Sahīd or Shaheed.
[665] Elias, A. (1997). Conditions and Stages of Jahannam (Hell), *Discovering Islam*, [online]. Available at: http://www.discoveringislam.org/jahannam.pdf [Accessed 17 Jan. 2017].

Jihād bis-saif - 'Struggle by the sword' or holy war.

Jinn (Djinn) – Spiritual creatures that inhabit an unseen world. They are sometimes described as an 'invisible being of fire' that occupy dark, lonely or unclean places. Jinn are mentioned in the Holy Qur'an and especially in Sura Al Jinn (Sura 72). In the West, these have become known as Genie because French translators of the book One Thousand and One Nights translated Jinn as Genie.

Jizya - A religious tax which is to be paid by non-Muslim males who are living in a state (caliphate) under Muslim political control. It is specified in the Holy Qur'an[666] and is intended to provide an unhindered 'right to worship'.

Jumuʿah (Al-Jumu'ah) - Friday prayer, which is compulsory for all Muslims.

Kāfir – The term for a Muslim who is accused of or becomes an apostate or unbeliever. The plural of Kāfir is Kuffār. See also Takfir. Kāfir[667] is commonly used by Islamists and others as a derogatory term for non-Muslims. It is also used by different Islamic factions such as *Sunni* and *Shi'a* (*Shi'ites*) to denounce each other as non-Muslims.

Khadi al-Ḥaramayn aš-Šarīfayn (Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques). This title is bestowed on the King of Saudi Arabia, who is currently King Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud who inherited it from his father King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al Saud[668]. The 'Two Holy Mosques' are Masjid Al-Haram (the Sacred Mosque) in Makkah (Mecca) and Masjid Al-Nabawi (The 'Mosque of the Prophet (PBUH)' in Al-Madinah (Medina), which is the site of the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The title Khadi al-Ḥaramayn aš-Šarīfayn (Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques) has been used by numerous Islamic rulers over the centuries including Saladin (Fakkar, 2015) the Ayyubids, the Mamelukes, Ottomans and finally the Saudi rulers[669].

Kiswa – The large black cloth (pall) which covers Al Ka'ba (large hollow stone cube) in Masjid Al Haram in Makkah. It is heavily embroidered with the Islamic statement of faith (Shahada). Kiswa (or Kiswah) is a cognate of the Hebrew word Kisui. The history of covering Al Ka'ba with a cloth covering dates back to 220 years before the birth of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). King As'ad Tubba of the Himyar tribe[670] "was the first to place a cloth covering on the Ka'ba" (Phillips, 1995, p.21[671]).

Khamr – Alcohol or intoxicant (wine).

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[666] Holy Qur'an (9:29).
[667] The plural of Kāfir is Kāfirūn and this term appears frequently in the IS online journal (Dabiq) and Islamist social media sites.
[668] Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, (2010). 'Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz', *Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia in Tokyo,* [online]. Available at: http://www.saudiembassy.or.jp/En/SA/custodian2.htm [Accessed 09 Jan. 2017].
[669] Wood, P. (2005). 'Life and legacy of King Fahd', *BBC* [online] Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4734505.stm [Accessed 09 Jan. 2017].
[670] In what is today south Yemen.
[671] Phillips, B. (1995). *Hajj and Umrah*. 3rd ed. Riyadh: International Islamic Publishing House (IIPH).

Khilafah – Meaning Caliphate (also spelt Khilaafah). It is the comprehensive Islamic system of governance such as: religious, legal, economic, educational, social and domestic and foreign policy. It also assumes leadership over all Muslims in the world. It should rule according to and implement Shari'a law and convey the Islamic Message to the rest of the world.

Khuṭbah - The Islamic sermon which is delivered at Friday prayer known as Al-Jumu'ah Khuṭbah.

Kitāb – Book. The Holy Qur'an is often referred to as 'Al-Kitāb' (The Book).

Kufr – Refusal to accept Islamic belief and blasphemy[672]. Some Muslims use the term to apply to hubris. See also Kāfir and Takfir.

Labbayk – In a general sense it means 'at your service' but in a purely Islamic sense, it is the call of the pilgrim to *Allāh* during *Hajj*; '*Labbayk Allāh umma labbayk*[673]' meaning, 'Here I am O Allāh, here I am'. This is also known as the *Talbiyah*.

Lā ilāha illā-llāh - 'There is no god but *Allāh*'. This is arguably the most important expression in Islam and forms part of the first pillar of Islam.

Laylat al-Qadr - The 'Night of Power' or 'Night of Determination'. This occurs towards the end of the Holy Month of Ramadan. Muslims believe that this is when *Allāh* determines the future and fate of his creations and grants forgiveness. This is seen as a very special night as it reminds Muslims of the night when the Hold Qur'an was first revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) during the pre-Islamic month of Ramadan (which became the Holy Month of Ramadan of fasting).

Ilm Al-Hadith – The process of scrutinizing, testing and validating the authenticity of *Hadith* (the sayings and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)). Examples are *Sihah as Sittah* ('Six Correct Ones'), *hadith* as narrated by Al Bukhari, Muslim, Ibn Majah, Abu Dawud, At-Tirmidhi and An Nasa'i.

Madrasah – School. This does not have to mean an Islamic school of a place for the study of Islam.

Mahdi – One who guides. Muslims are taught that Al-Mahdi (the guide) is a figure who will appear with the Prophet Īsā[674] (Jesus) (PBUH) before the end of the world, to bring peace and justice to the world.

Majlis ash-shūrā – The advisory council in an Islamic Caliphate.

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[672] Kathir, I. (2017). Types of Kufr (Disbelief), *Sunnah Online,* [online] Available at: http://sunnahonline.com/library/beliefs-and-methodology/87-types-of-kufr-disbelief [Accessed 12 Jan. 2017].
[673] Another variant is Labbayka –llāhumma (Allah, I obey you).
[674] Known to Muslims as the Prophet Īsā ibn Maryām (PBUH).

Makkah (Mecca) - The holiest city in Islam.

Malāʾikah – Angels. Muslims believe that it was *Mala'ika Jibril* (Angel Gabriel) who delivered *Allāh's* revelation (the Holy Qur'an) to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

Manar-ul-Islam – The official journal of the General Authority for Islamic Affairs and Awqaf (GAIAA).

Ma Salama – Meaning 'With peace' used to end letters, emails or uttered to someone who is departing.

Mā shāʾAllāh (Masha-Allāh) – 'What *Allāh* wills' or '*Allāh* has willed it' is an expression of joy or appreciation of an event or person that has just been mentioned. Common examples are when someone's children are mentioned or success at exams. Muslims chiefly mention it as a reminder that 'all accomplishments are by the Will of *Allāh*'.

Masjid – Mosque.

Masjid al-Ḥarām (Masjid Al Haram). Masjid al-Ḥarām (the Sacred Mosque) in Makkah[675] (Mecca) is the site of the hollow stone cube Al Ka'ba which is said to date from the time of the Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) (PBUH). Masjid al-Ḥarām is the mosque and area which surrounds Al Ka'ba.

Masjid Al Nabawi - The 'Mosque of the Prophet (PBUH)' is located in Al Madinah[676] (Medina), which is the site of the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). It is also important to Muslims because the Prophet (PBUH) is reported to have said "The spot between my Minbar (pulpit) and my house is one of the gardens of paradise" (Al Rhouda). Many Muslims visit Masjid Al Nabawi and Masjid Al Haram whilst conducting Hajj (pilgrimage) and Umrah (mini-pilgrimage). The immediate area surrounding Masjid Al Nabawi is currently undergoing large scale redevelopment in order to facilitate increased numbers of pilgrims and visitors[677].

Matn - The actual wording of the *hadith*. *Hadith* are segregated into *isnad* (the 'chains' of the narration of *Hadith*) and *Matn*; therefore, the genealogical space between the *hadith* and the Prophet (PBUH), and the text itself (Brown, 2009).

Mawlā – The Arabic term for Muslims who are not Arabs. The plural is *mawālī*.

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[675] Makkah is sometimes referred to by Muslims as Al-Balad Al-Ameen (the Secure City) and Al-Balad Al-Haram (the Sacred City).
[676] Formerly known as Yathrib and Madinat Al Nabi.
[677] Arab News, (2012). Prophet's Mosque to accommodate two million worshippers after expansion, *Arab News*, [online]. Available at: http://www.arabnews.com/prophet%E2%80%99s-mosque-accommodate-two-million-worshippers-after-expansion [Accessed 24 Jan. 2017].

Mihrab – The Mihrab is a wall niche in Islamic mosques which indicates to all Muslims at prayer the direction of Al-Ka'ba in Makkah. This direction is known as the Qiblah (Qibla).

Mīqāt – The six points or stations at which pilgrims to Makkah (Mecca) are required to put on Ihram (pilgrim garments). Five Mīqāts were established by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), with a sixth added later to facilitate pilgrims from India and elsewhere. The six Mīqāts are located at: Dhu'l-Hulayfah, Juhfah, Qarnu 'l-Manāzil, Yalamlam, Thaneim and Zāt-i-'Irq.

Mufassir - An author of *Tafsir*, interpretations of *Hadith*.

Muftī - An Islamic scholar who is qualified in Islamic law (Sharia) and capable of issuing a 'fatwa'[678].

Muhajirun - The followers of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) who fled with him from Makkah to Al Madinah (al-hijra).

Mujahideen – Those who conduct Jihad[679].

Mujāhid - A fighter for Islam[680].

Mullah – An Islamic cleric. They should have studied the Holy Qur'an, hadith and Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh).

Mutʿah – Enjoyment. Compensation paid to a divorced woman; when used in the phrase *nikāḥ al-mutʿah*. It refers to temporary marriage (*Mutashābihāt*) in *Shi'a* Islam.

Muslim – The term for a person who follows the religion of Islam and submits to the Will of *Allāh*. This is sometimes spelled Moslem, and referred to in some historic texts as Muhammadan. A breakdown of global Muslim populations per country is outlined in the Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017).

'Muslim Nation' – A common term used by Middle Eastern Muslims and others to refer to the 'Muslim World'. It is popular due to its inferred unity, which transcends state boundaries and creates a transnational appeal. It is closely connected to the term *Ummah* (*Umma*).

Muṭawwaʿūn[681] - Religious police. The Muṭawwaʿūn enforces Sharia law in respect of behaviour (such as public morality) on behalf of some Middle Eastern states. In 2016, Saudi Arabia removed the powers of arrest from the Muṭawwaʿūn (Al-Jazeera, 2016).

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[678] Plural – fataawa.
[679] Singular - mujahid.
[680] Plural - mujāhidūn.
[681] Singular - muṭawwa.

Nabī - Prophets. A Nabi is a man sent by God to give guidance to mankind, but not given scripture. The Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) (PBUH) is an example. This is in contrast to Rasul, or Messenger.

Nakīr and Munkar - Two angels who test the faith of the dead in their graves.

Niqāb – A head veil covering the head and most of the face of an Islamic woman, who chooses to wear it by tradition or inclination. The eyes are normally open to view.

Niyyah – Intention.

Period of Ignorance – The term Period of Ignorance is used by Muslims for any period in history prior to the coming of Islam, such as in Arabia prior to the 'dawn of Islam'. Many refer to it as *Jahiliyyah*, 'a state of ignorance of the guidance of *Allāh*'.

Qadar – Islamic predestination.

Qiblah (Qibla) - The direction in which Muslims face during Islamic prayer is known as the Qiblah. This direction is always *Al-Ka'ba* in *Makkah*. Islamic mosques have a wall niche known as the *Mihrab* which indicates the direction of the *Qibla* or *Qiblah*.

Qiyāmah[682] – Resurrection or the return of the dead on the *Yawm al-Qiyāmah* (Day of Resurrection[683]) In the Islamic faith, the approach and arrival of *Yawm al-Qiyāmah* can be recognised through a number of signs or indications[684].

Qur'an - Is the closest approximation to the Arabic title of the Islamic Holy Book of God (*Allāh*). Many other variant spellings exist. It is generally referred to as the Holy Qur'an as a sign of respect. The word Qur'an means recitation and Muslims believe that it is the literal word of *Allāh* revealed to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in 610 CE, in the cave on Mount *Hira*, by the Angel *Jibril*.

Rajm - Stoning. Rajm is the term commonly used to refer to the stoning of a convicted individual until that person dies in relation to a Ḥudūd punishment (See Ḥudūd) under Islamic law. However, it should be noted that death by stoning or stoning to death does not appear anywhere in the Holy Qur'an[685]. The practice is that an organised group throws stones at the convicted person until they are dead. This type of punishment is prescribed in cases of adultery. The conviction requires a confession from either the adulterer/adulteress, or the testimony of four witnesses[686] (as prescribed by the Holy

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[682] It forms part of Islamic eschatology.
[683] Also known as Day of Judgment.
[684] Inter-Islam (2001). Major Signs before the Day of Judgement, *Inter-Islam,* [online]. Available at: http://www.inter-islam.org/faith/Majorsigns.html [Accessed 21 Jan. 2017].
[685] Meherally, A. (2012). 'Stoning to Death does not appear in the Qur'an', *Islamic Research Foundation International* [online]. Available at: http://www.irfi.org/articles/articles_51_100/stoning_to_death_does_not_appear.htm [Accessed: 26 Jan. 2017].
[686] The Holy Qur'an (2016). 'An-Nur', *The Holy Qur'an* 24:4, 24:13, [online]. Available at: https://quran.com/24 [Accessed 27 Jan. 2017].

Qur'an in Surah An-Nur[687] 24:4, 24:13). Stoning still takes place in a range of countries including Afghanistan, Pakistan (extrajudicial), Saudi Arabia and Somalia[688]. However, in the interests of balance, it is worth noting that in the Old Testament of the Holy Bible (Deuteronomy 22:13-21), if a woman is engaged (betrothed) to a man and he subsequently discovers that she is not a virgin, then she may be stoned to death for prostituting herself[689].

Rāshidūn / Rashidun Caliphs 632–661 CE (**Al-Khulafāʾu ar-Rāshidūn**) – 'Rightly Guided or Righteously Guided'. This Islamic term is most commonly applied to the first four 'caliphs' who ruled following the death of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). These were Abu Bakr[690], Umar ibn al-Khattab[691], Uthman ibn Affan[692], and Ali[693] (Rashidun Caliphate). It is on occasions also used by some to refer to the disciples of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

Rasool Allāh – The Messenger of *Allāh*. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) is considered to be the 'Last Messenger of *Allāh'*.

Riba – Interest on financial assets. The charging and paying of *Riba* is forbidden to Muslims.

Riddah – Apostasy or abandoning Islam for another faith or no faith at all.

Sabb – Blasphemy or insulting *Allāh*[694], Prophet Muhammad[695] (PBUH).

Ṣadaqah – Islamic charity which exceeds the required amount for *zakat*.

Ṣaḥābah or Aṣ-Ṣaḥābah - Companions of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) who were closest to him during his lifetime'. It is interpreted by some more widely to include anyone who met or followed the Prophet (PBUH)[696]. An individual companion is known as Ṣāḥib.

Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī. Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī is one of the six major hadith collections[697] of Sunni Islam. The Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī collection was compiled by Muhammad al-Bukhari[698]. Sunni Muslims consider it to be one of the two most trusted collections of hadith[699].

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[687] Meaning the 'Light Verse'.
[688] Batha, E (2013). FACTBOX: Stoning - where does it happen? *Thomson Reuters Foundation News,* [online]. Available at: http://news.trust.org//item/20130927165059-w9g0i/ [Accessed 25 Jan. 2017].
[689] Elwell, W. (1996). Baker's Evangelical Dictionary of Biblical Theology - Prostitution, *Baker's Evangelical Dictionary of Biblical Theology,* [online]. Available at: http://www.studylight.org/dictionaries/bed/p/prostitution.html [Accessed 25 Jan. 2017].
[690] Abu Bakr (632–634).
[691] Umar ibn al-Khattab (634–644).
[692] Uthman ibn Affan (644–656).
[693] Ali ibn Abi Talib (656–661).
[694] Sabb Allah.
[695] Sabb ar-rasūl or Sabb an-nabī.
[696] There is also Islamic academic debate about which other Caliphs may be included in the term Rāshidūn such as Hasan ibn Ali (eldest grandson of the Prophet (PBUH) who abdicated to prevent civil war).
[697] Known as Kutub al-Sittah.

Salafism - The etymology of Salafism is derived from the term Salaf meaning 'pious predecessors' referring to the earliest Muslims. Many within Sunni Islam relate the term Salaf to the first three generations of Muslims. In essence, it is trying to live a way of life, similar to that lived by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), 'uncluttered' by modernity.

Salam Alaykum – The abbreviated form of As-salāmu Alaykum which is the - Islamic Arabic greeting meaning 'Peace be upon you', spoken by Muslims across the world.

Salam-o Allah Alayha – Meaning 'Peace be upon her' (SAA). This is spoken when mentioning the names of historical Islamic females such as Fatima (SAA) daughter of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) or Asiya (SAA) wife of the Prophet (PBUH).The abbreviation appears in writing following the person's name.

Ṣalāt – The term given to Islamic prayer. It is also referred to as *Namaz* in some regions. *Salat* should be performed five times per day. These are: *Fajr* - early morning (*Ṣalāt Al Fajr*), *Zuhr* - around midday (*Ṣalāt Al Zuhr*), *Asr* – afternoon (Ṣalāt Al Asr), Maghrib – evening (*Ṣalāt Al Maghrib*) and *Isha* – night (*Ṣalāt Al Isha*). As a principle, Islamic Ṣalāt should be prayed on time, in line and in unison. Some Arabs refer to this as 'Praying with a single beating heart'. The plural of *Ṣalāt* is *salawāt*. Sunnis regard *Ṣalāt* as the second Pillar of Islam.

Salawāt – Is the term in Islam given to the Arabic phrase, '*Salla llāhu Alayhi wa-alehe wa-Sallam* – Meaning' meaning 'Prayer of *Allāh* be upon him and his family and peace'. This is the extended variant of the phrase *Alayhi as-Salām* and is spoken after mentioning the name of a Prophet of Islam. It is abbreviated in writing to SAWS which appears in brackets following the person's name.

Salla llāhu Alayhi wa-alehe wa-Sallam - Meaning 'Prayer of *Allāh* be upon him and his family and peace'. This is the extended variant of the phrase *Alayhi as-Salām* (Peace be upon him) and is spoken after mentioning the name of a Prophet of Islam. It is abbreviated in writing to SAWS which appears in brackets following the person's name. In Islam, this Arabic phrase is given the name of Salawāt.

Shahīd[700] – Martyr. *Shahīd*[701] is the Islamic term for a person who is promised a place in paradise, because they have laid down their life fulfilling a religious commandment, died defending their country or protecting their family. It is covered in the following verses of the Holy Qur'an, Sura 3 (Al-i-Imran), Ayat 169 – 170[702] and Sura 9 (*At-*

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[698] Persian Muslim scholar.
[699] The other being the collection of Sahih Muslim.
[700] Plural - šuhadā.
[701] Also known as Sahīd or Shaheed.
[702] Holy Qur'an, Sura Al-i-Imran 3:169-170 – "Think not of those who are slain in Allah's way as dead. Nay, they live, finding their sustenance in the presence of their Lord; They rejoice in the bounty provided by Allah: And with regard to those left behind, who have not yet joined them (in their bliss), the (Martyrs) glory in the fact that on them is no fear, nor have they (cause to) grieve" cited in Islamic Terminology (2011). 'Istish'hād martyrdom Shaheed martyr; witness', *Islamic Terminology,* [online] Available at:

Tawba), Ayah 111[703]. Islamists often apply this term to Islamist fighters who have been killed whilst fighting in a jihād or '*jihād fī sabīl Allāh*' (*jihad* for the sake of *Allāh*). The term *Shahīd* is also linked to the term *Istishhād* (martyrdom).

Shahada - The Shahada is the Islamic declaration of faith. It is, *lāʾilāha ʾillā-llāh, muḥammadur-rasūlu-llāh* - 'There is no God but God and Muhammad is the Messenger of *Allāh*'. It is the Islamic creed declaring belief in the oneness of *Allāh* (*Tawhid*) and the acceptance of Muhammad (PBUH) as God's prophet[704]. Making this declaration (in Arabic) is an essential part of becoming a Muslim convert.

Shari'a - Islamic Shari'a (Sharia) or Shari'a Law is the religious legal system governing the Islam. The Arabic term Shari'a means religious law derived from the Holy Qur'an and Hadith. There are aspects of this complex subject matter that are often misunderstood by Muslims and non-Muslims alike[705].

Shayṭān - The Devil, Satan or Iblīs[706].

Sheikhs (Shaykh) – The term given to Muslim Imams in many Arab countries. It is also an inherited honorific term given to many Arab tribal leaders and Gulf Emirs and some Arab royals.

Shī'a - *Shīʿa* Islam.

Shirk – Polytheism, idolatry and believing in any divinity except *Allāh*.

Sīra - The literature written about the Prophet (PBUH) by his companions and followers (Brockopp, 2010).

Sihah as Sittah ('Six Correct Ones') - *Hadith* (the sayings and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)) as narrated by Al Bukhari, Muslim, Ibn Majah, Abu Dawud, At-Tirmidhi and An Nasa'i. Such hadith have been scrutinized, tested and validated for authenticity by a process known as *Ilm Al-Hadith*.

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http://islamic-dictionary.tumblr.com/post/3766246489/istishh%C4%81d-%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%B4%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%AF-martyrdom [Accessed 15 Jan. 2017].

[703] Holy Qur'an, Sura At-Tawba 9:111 – "Allah hath purchased of the believers their persons and their goods; for theirs (in return) is the garden (of Paradise): they fight in His cause, and slay and are slain: a promise binding on Him in truth, through the Law, the Gospel, and the Qur'an: and who is more faithful to his covenant than Allah? Then rejoice in the bargain which ye have concluded: that is the achievement supreme" cited in Islamic Terminology (2011). 'Istish'hād martyrdom Shaheed martyr; witness', *Islamic Terminology*, [online] Available at:
http://islamic-dictionary.tumblr.com/post/3766246489/istishh%C4%81d-%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%B4%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%AF-martyrdom [Accessed 15 Jan. 2017].

[704] This is sometimes called the 'the testimony (aš-šahādah), 'the two testimonials' (aš-šahādatān) or Kalima Shahadat, 'the testimonial word'.

[705] El Fadl, K. (2011). 'What is Shari'a?' *Religion and Ethics,* [online] Available at:
http://www.abc.net.au/religion/articles/2011/03/22/3170810.htm [Accessed 15 Jan. 2017].

[706] Wensinck, A. and Gardet, L. (2012). *Iblīs*, [online]. Available at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/iblis-SIM_3021 [Accessed 17 Jan. 2017].

Sunnah (Sunna) – Refers to the teachings, actions and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). It also includes various reports about the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) companions (Sahabah). Following the Holy Qur'an, Sunnah makes up the second primary source of Islamic theology and law. The word Sunnah also means 'a direct or straight path'. Many Muslims view life as a journey where one must follow the 'straight path' of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

Subḥānahu wa taʿāla (SWT) – An Islamic expression used following the written name or when speaking *Allāh*. Its meaning is highly praised and glorified.

Subḥān Allāh - Glory to God. This phrase is often used when praising God.

Sūrah – A chapter from the Holy Qur'an, which contains 114 suras.

Tafsir - Commentary on and interpretation of the Holy Qur'an.

Tajdīf – Blasphemy.

Tajwīd - A special manner of reciting the Holy Qur'an.

Takbīr[707] – The declaration of *Allāhu Akbar* meaning '*Allāh* is greater' or '*Allāh* is greatest'. It is said at the beginning of and many times during Islamic prayer (*Salat* or *Namaz)* and the *Adhan*[708] (call to prayer). It is also used by Islamist terrorists prior to commencing attacks and appears frequently in numerous Islamist extremist websites.

Takfir– In *Shari'a takfir* refers to the declaration by one Muslim that another Muslim is an apostate or *Kāfir*[709].

Talbiyah – This is the name given to the call or prayer of the pilgrim to *Allāh* during *Hajj*; '*Labbayk Allāh umma labbayk'* meaning, 'Here I am O *Allāh*, here I am'. It is uttered on many occasions during *Hajj*.

Tarāwīḥ - Additional prayers said during the Holy Month of Ramadan after the Isha prayer.

Tawhid – The Islamic belief in the oneness of God (*Allāh*).

Tawrāh[710] - The Torah books of the Holy Bible, as revealed to the Prophet Musa (Moses) (PBUH) or the Pentateuch.

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[707] Also spelt *Takbeer*.
[708] Raleigh Masjid (2015). The Times of the Five Daily Prayers and Adhan (The Call to Prayer), *Raleigh Masjid,* [online]. Available at: http://raleighmasjid.org/how-to-pray/times.htm [Accessed 19 Jan. 2017].
[709] The plural of Kāfir is Kāfirūn and this term appears frequently in the Islamic State online journal (Dabiq) and website.
Warning: Dabiq is an Islamist journal and website and subject to lawful surveillance and tracking by intelligence agencies such as the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ). GCHQ is the UK intelligence and security organisation responsible for providing signals intelligence (SIGINT) to the British Government. Great caution should be used when accessing Dabiq.
[710] Also Tawrah or Taurat is the Arabic word for the Torah (Hebrew word for scripture).

Uhibbuka fil-Ilaahi - Uhibbuka fil-Ilaahi is the Islamic statement I love you for the sake of *Allāh.* Its meaning is that love (in this context) is not based on appearance or knowing the person well, but because of their efforts to please *Allāh*[711]. Islamist fighters have taken this conventional Islamic phrase and have often been filmed in Iraq and Syria declaring "Uhibbuka fil-Ilaahi" (I love you for the sake of *Allāh*). This is normally said by one fighter to another, whilst holding assault rifles and flanked by ISIS iconography.

'Two Holy Mosques' – These are Masjid Al Haram (the Sacred Mosque) in Makkah (Mecca) and the 'Mosque of the Prophet (PBUH)' known as Masjid Al Nabawi in Al Madinah (Medina) in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA). The monarch of KSA (King Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud) holds the title and responsibility of 'Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques' (Ḫādim al-Ḥaramayn aš-Šarīfayn) and it is believed that Saladin was the first holder of this title (Fakkar, 2015).

Ulamāʾ - Muslim scholars who are recognised as having specialist knowledge of Islamic Shari'a, Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) and theology. However, it has a wider meaning which includes leaders, scholars, judges, jurists and imams (Sheikhs).

Ummah (Umma) – Its general meaning is nation or community. However, in a religious sense, the Islamic Ummah refers to those who adhere to the teachings of Islam. In a cultural sense, the Islamic Ummah refers to Islamic civilisation. In a modern geopolitical sense, the term 'Islamic Nation' usually refers collectively to Muslim-majority countries or the global community of all Muslim believers.

Ummīyun – Gentiles.

Umrah – Umrah is the "minor pilgrimage" (Phillips, 1995, p.71[712]) to Makkah (Mecca). This can be performed by Muslims at any time of the year. The meaning in Arabic is 'to visit a crowded place'. Umrah is not compulsory for Muslims but it is highly recommended.

Wa Alaykum as-salām - Meaning 'and upon you be peace', uttered in response to the Islamic greeting As-Salamu Alaykum.

Wahhabism - Wahhabism is an Islamic reform movement found predominately in Saudi Arabia, in which it is influential. The etymology of Wahhabism is derived from the name of the school of thought originated by Muhammad ibn Abd Al Wahhab[713] although this term is generally disliked by its followers, who prefer it to be known as the Salafi[714] movement. Wahhab strove to return Islam to what he believed were the original Islamic

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[711] Khawlah, Y. (2014). *Understand The Quran Academy,* [online]. Available at: http://understandquran.com/love-sake-allah.html [Accessed 12 Jan. 2017].
[712] Phillips, B. (1995). Hajj and Umrah. 3rd ed. Riyadh: International Islamic Publishing House (IIPH).
[713] Abd Al Wahhab (1703-1792).
[714] From the word Salaf referring to the first three generations of Muslims and their practices.

principles that the Salaf would have practiced. Modern Wahhabism encompasses a strict code of morality and conduct[715] which is monitored and enforced by the Mutawa[716] (religious police). The Mutawa govern many facets of Saudi life, including gender segregation. Wahhabi law also prohibits the practice of any other faith[717] within the kingdom and imposes the death sentence for crimes such as witchcraft and sorcery.

Wasaṭ - Wasaṭ[718] in Arabic means the centre or middle ground. In Islamic theology, it is used to capture the concept of the middle way or moderation. This middle way is normally rational, evenly balanced, just and not extreme.

Wuḍū[719] – Means Islamic ritual washing prior to prayer (salat). It should also be done before handling the Holy Qur'an. Muslims are taught that before entering the mosque (masjid) for salat their body and clothes should be free from dirt and that they should undertake wuḍū. This is normally conducted at the ablutions area within the masjid compound but it can also be done at home before departure for salat. Muslims believe that without wuḍū, salat is not valid. Wuḍū can be invalidated by a range of activities such as vomiting or sleeping[720]. Wuḍū is done systematically as follows:

- Hands.
- Mouth.
- Nostrils.
- Face.
- Right arm.
- Left arm.
- Head.
- Ears.
- Neck.
- Right foot.
- Left foot.

Yarḥamuk-Allāh – 'May God have mercy on you', said when someone sneezes. The Islamic reason for this is that it is believed that when someone sneezes their heart stops and only through the Will and Mercy of *Allāh* does it begin again.

Yawm ad-Dīn - Day of Reckoning.

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[715] In accordance with a strict interpretation of Sharia.
[716] Also spelt Muṭawwi.
[717] Or other form, branch or interpretation of Islam.
[718] Also known as Wasatiyyah.
[719] Also spelt *Wudhu* and *Al-wuḍū*.
[720] Dikmen, M. (2011). What are the things that invalidate and break wudu? *Questions on Islam,* [online]. Available at: http://www.questionsonislam.com/article/what-are-things-invalidate-and-break-wudu [Accessed 25 Jan. 2017].

Yawm al-Qiyāmah[721] – 'Day of the Resurrection' or Judgement Day. In the Islamic faith, the approach and arrival of Yawm al-Qiyāmah can be recognised through a number of signs or indications[722].

Zabīḥa[723] **(Dhabīḥah) –** The Islamic method of slaughtering an animal, using a sharp knife. In doing so the animal's windpipe, throat and blood vessels of the neck are severed without cutting the spinal cord to ensure that the blood is thoroughly drained before removing the head.

Zabūr - The Psalms revealed to King Daoud (David).

Zaidi – An Islamic sub-sect of *Shi'a* Islam, commonly found in Yemen.

Zakāt – An Islamic tax or 'tithe' which is a Muslim duty. Sunnis regard this as the fourth Pillar of Islam.

Zakāt al-Fiṭr[724] – A charity which is given at the end of the Holy Month of Ramadan. This is a duty[725] all Muslims, provided that they have the means to pay it. However, the head of the household may pay the required amount for the other members and many frequently do so.

Ẓālimūn - Polytheists, wrong-doers, and the unjust.

Zamzam Water – Zamzam water originates from the Zamzam Well located within the Masjid al-Haram in Makkah[726]. Many millions of pilgrims visit the well each year while performing Hajj or Umrah, in order to drink its water. According to Islamic belief, it is a miraculously generated well that dates to the time of the Prophet Ibrāhīm (Abraham) (PBUH).

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[721] It forms part of Islamic eschatology.
[722] Inter-Islam (2001). Major Signs before the Day of Judgement, *Inter-Islam,* [online]. Available at: http://www.inter-islam.org/faith/Majorsigns.html [Accessed 21 Jan. 2017].
[723] Also known as *Dhabīḥah*.
[724] In Arabic, Fitr has a similar meaning to Iftar or breaking the fast. It also has similar origins to the Arab word Futoor meaning breakfast.
[725] In Arabic – Wajib. This term is commonly used to refer to any form of duty.
[726] Saudi Geological Survey (2013). Zamzam Studies and Research Centre, *Saudi Geological Survey,* [online]. Available at: http://www.sgs.org.sa/english/earth/pages/zamzam.aspx [Accessed 12 Jan. 2017].

Appendix 3

Schmidt and Jongman's - Most Frequently Recurring Phenomena in Terrorism (Schmidt and Jongman, 1988, pp. 5-6)

Serial	Element	Frequency %
1.	Violence, force	83.5
2.	Political	65
3.	Fear, terror emphasised	51
4.	Threat	47
5.	(Psychological) effects and (anticipated) reactions	41.5
6.	Victim - target differentiation	37.5
7.	Purposive, planned, systematic, organised action	32
8.	Method of combat, strategy, tactic	30.5
9.	Extranormality, in breach of accepted rules, without humanitarian constraints	30
10.	Coercion, extortion, induction of compliance	28
11.	Publicity aspect	21.5
12.	Arbitrariness; impersonal, random character; indiscrimination	21
13.	Civilians, non-combatants, neutrals, outsiders as victims	17.5
14.	Intimidation	17
15.	Innocence of victims emphasised	15.5
16.	Group, movement, organisation as perpetrator	14
17.	Symbolic aspect, demonstration to others	13.5
18.	Incalculability, unpredictability, unexpectedness of occurrence of violence	9
19.	Clandestine, covert nature	9
20.	Repetitiveness; serial or campaign character of violence	7
21.	Criminal	6
22.	Demands made on third parties	4

Appendix 4

Arab Islamist Groups and Organisations

Notes:

1.   **Abbreviations**. The abbreviations used in this glossary for Islamist groups, such as Foreign Terrorist Organisations (FTOs – US term) and Proscribed Terrorist Organisations (PTOs – UK term) are consistent with those used by the US Department of State and UK Home Office.

2.   **Flags and Logos**. The related Islamist flag or logo is shown above the organisation, where it is known and confirmed[727]. The flags and logos have been sourced through original Islamist sites and the US Department of Defence and cross-referenced with the US Army G2 Intelligence (Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) Intelligence Support Activity (TRISA)) open sources, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas and certain British sources.

3.   **Islamist Sites**. Some of the websites shown in the references below are Islamist sites and subject to lawful surveillance and tracking by intelligence agencies such as the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ[728]), pursuant to the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015[729]. Therefore, great care should be used in accessing such sites.

4.   **Organisations Included and Excluded**. Significant Arab Islamist organisations and those worthy of note have been included. Those groups and organisations which are broadly deemed not to be Arab Islamist in ideology, orientation or operation have been excluded. This is not withstanding the fact that some of the personnel of these excluded organisations may have been or are currently belonging to Arab Islamist groups.

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[727] The Islam*ist* flags and logos shown have been sourced through original Islamist sites and the US Department of Defence and cross-referenced with the US Army G2 Intelligence (Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) Intelligence Support Activity (TRISA)), Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

[728] GCHQ is the UK intelligence and security organisation responsible for providing signals intelligence (SIGINT) to the British Government.

[729] The National Archives (2015). Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015, *The National Archives,* [online]. Available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2015/6/contents/enacted/data.htm [Accessed 10 Nov. 2016].

5.   **Classification**. The classification of this glossary is UNCLASSIFIED and no part of it (or its totality) is considered to be classified. Therefore, it is open for full public access.

Abdullah Azzam Brigades (AAB).   The Abdullah Azzam Brigades is a Sunni Islamist militant organisation[730] and Al-Qaeda AQ's (AQ) branch in Lebanon[731]. AAB was founded in 2009 by Saleh Al-Qaraawi (a Saudi citizen) and has networks in Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Jordan, the Gaza Strip and Lebanon[732]. The organisation is named after the late Sheikh Abdullah Azzam, a popular Palestinian Imam from Jordan who was one of the first Arabs to volunteer for the Afghan Jihād against Soviet forces in the 1980s. After being severely injured in a drone strike and by captured by Saudi authorities, Al-Qaraawi was replaced as leader by Majid al-Majid[733] in June 2012[734]. He was captured by Lebanese authorities in 2013 and died in 2014. Al-Majid was succeeded by Sirajuddin Zureiqat[735]. AAB has been designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organisation (FTO) by the US[736], UK, UN, UAE, NZ, and the State of Israel (IL).

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[730] Department of Homeland Security & University of Maryland, (2016). 'Big, Allied and Dangerous (BAAD)', *START National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism* [online]. Available at: http://www.start.umd.edu/baad/database [Accessed 01 Nov. 2016].

[731] Baker, A. (2013). The Abdullah Azzam Brigades: Behind the Terrorist Group That Bombed Iran's Beirut Embassy, *Time,* [online]. Available at: http://world.time.com/2013/11/20/the-abdullah-azzam-brigades-behind-the-group-that-bombed-irans-beirut-embassy/ [Accessed 01 Nov. 2016].

[732] Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, (2010). The Abdullah Azzam Brigades, *The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center,* [online]. Available at: http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/article/18033 [Accessed 01 Nov. 2016].

[733] A Saudi citizen affiliated with Fateh Al-Islam and AQ.

[734] Roggio, B. (2012). Abdullah Azzam Brigades names leader, advises against attacks in Syria's cities, *The Long War Journal,* [online]. Available at: http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/06/abdullah_azzam_briga.php [Accessed 01 Nov. 2016].

[735] Joscelyn, T. (2014). 'Abdullah Azzam Brigades leader calls on Lebanese people to attack Hezbollah', *The Long War Journal,* [online]. Available at: http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2014/10/abdullah_azzam_briga_3.php [Accessed 02 Nov. 2016].

[736] US Department of State, (2012). 'Terrorist Designations of the Abdallah Azzam Brigades', *US Department of State* [online]. Available at: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/05/190810.htm [Accessed 02 Nov. 2016].

Abu Nidal Organisation (ANO). ANO is named after its Palestinian founder Abu Nidal (father of struggle), which is a *nom de guerre*. His real name was Khalil Al-Banna[737]. ANO was created following a split from Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) in 1974[738]. It is opposed to any form of compromise or agreement with the State of Israel[739]. It has been assessed that Abu Nidal ordered terrorist attacks in over 20 countries, killing in excess of 300 people and injuring over 650[740]. The Abu Nidal Organisation has been designated a terrorist organisation by a range of states including the US[741].

> **Comment**. Although the flag above is used by both US Military Intelligence[742] and the Swedish police[743] as the designated flag or logo of the terrorist Abu Nidal Organisation; in reality, it is the flag of the legitimate State of Palestine (Dawlat Filasṭīn[744]). As a consequence, this thesis does not link the flag of the legitimate State of Palestine with any terrorist organisation but in the interests of clarity, notes that others do so.

Ajnad Misr (Soldiers of Egypt). Ajnad Misr is an Egyptian Salafist jihadist group which is believed to have broken away from Ansar Bayt al Maqdis (ABM[745])[746]. Ajnad Misr was

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[737] Fisk, R. (2008). Abu Nidal, notorious Palestinian mercenary, was a US spy, *Independent,* [online]. Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/abu-nidal-notorious-palestinian-mercenary-was-a-us-spy-972812.html [Accessed 09 Nov. 2016].

[738] Randal, J. (1990). Abu Nidal Battles Dissidents, *Washington Post,* [online]. Available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/world/terror/abunidal/abunidal061090.htm [Accessed 09 Nov. 2016].

[739] The State of Israel is still referred to by many Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims as the *Al-Kayan Al Sahyun*i (Zionist Entity). This carries with it the unspoken declaration that Israel is in effect an occupying power in the State of Palestine.

[740] Hudson, R. (1999). 'The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes A Terrorist and Why?' *Library of Congress, Federal Research Division* [online]. Available at: http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/Soc_Psych_of_Terrorism.pdf [Accessed 09 Nov. 2016].

[741] US Department of State (2016). 'Foreign Terrorist Organizations', *US Department of State* [online]. Available at: http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm [Accessed 09 Nov. 2016].

[742] US Army G 2 Intelligence (2009). 'Terrorist, Insurgent & Militant Group Logo Recognition Guide', *TRISA – TRADOC Intelligence, Support Activity* [online]. Available at: https://info.publicintelligence.net/USArmy-TerroristLogos.pdf [Accessed 09 Nov. 2016].

[743] The Local SE (2015). 'Police list Palestine flag as terror symbol', *The Local SE* [online]. Available at: http://www.thelocal.se/20150502/swedish-police-list-palestine-flag-as-terror-logo [Accessed 09 Nov. 2016].

[744] The State of Palestine (Dawlat Filasṭīn) is recognised by 136 UN members and since 2012 has a status of a non-member observer state in the UN, which amounts to a *de facto* recognition of statehood.

[745] ABM is an AQ inspired militant Islamist group based in the Sinai region of Egypt. See ABM below.

[746] Barnett, D. (2014). 'Ajnad Misr, Egypt's latest jihadist group', *Threat Matrix A Blog of The Long War Journal,* [online]. Available at: http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2014/02/ajnad_misr_egypts_latest_jihad.php [Accessed 10 Nov. 2016].

establishment on 23 January 2014 and has carried out a range of terrorist attacks against the Egyptian Security Forces, which it claims is in retaliation for alleged abuse against Egyptian Muslims[747]. The group remains active within Egypt.

Al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah al-Musallaha (Armed Islamic Group (GIA)). GIA was one of the two main Islamist insurgent groups that fought the Algerian government during the Algerian Civil War, which has been covered much in Algerian and French literature[748]. Many of its commanders were killed including Antar Zouabri[749]. Over time, the group suffered large scale desertions, internal feuds and the formation of splinter groups[750]. Although the GIA still exists and remains a proscribed organisation by Algeria and France, it is ineffective and non-operational in real terms. The US Department of State delisted the GIA as a Foreign Terrorist Organisation (FTO) in 2010[751].

Al-Jama'a al-Islamiyyah al-Muqatilah bi-Libya (Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG)). The LIFG is an Islamist group that seeks to replace the current Libyan regime with an Islamic state. The group is part of the wider global Islamist extremist movement,

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[747] Home Office (2016). 'Proscribed Terrorist Organisations', *Home Office,* (online). Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/538297/20160715-Proscription-website-update.pdf [Accessed 10 Nov. 2016].
[748] Ajami, F. (2010). 'The Furrows of Algeria', *New Republic* [online]. Available at: https://newrepublic.com/article/72807/the-furrows-algeria [Accessed 14 Nov. 2016].
[749] BBC World Middle East (2002). 'Antar Zouabri: A violent legacy', *BBC World Middle East,* [online]. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1811194.stm [Accessed 14 Nov. 2016].
[750] Whitlock, C. (2006). 'Al-Qaeda's Far-Reaching New Partner', *Washington Post Foreign Service,* [online]. Available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/10/04/AR2006100402006.html [Accessed 14 Nov. 2016].
[751] US Department of State (2016). 'Foreign Terrorist Organisations', *US Department of State* [online]. Available at: http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm [Accessed 14 Nov. 2016].

however, there is some debate whether it is a formal affiliate of AQ[752]. LIFG has mounted several operations inside Libya, including a 1996 attempt to assassinate Colonel Abu Minyar Mu'ammar Gadhafi[753] (Qadhafi)[754]. Following the 2011 civil war, the group allied itself with the National Transitional Council.

Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn (Muslim Brotherhood (MB)). The Society of the Muslim Brothers)Jami'ah al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn), commonly known as the Muslim Brotherhood (Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn), is a Sunni Islamist organisation which was founded in Egypt by Islamic scholar Sheikh Hassan al-Banna in 1928[755]. This transnational Islamist organisation has gained supporters across the Arab world and influenced other Islamist organisations such as Hamas[756]. Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn combines religion with Islamist political activism and attempts to fill the vacuum which some governments create in social services and the economy by conducting Islamic charity work and sponsoring businesses[757]. Following the 'Egyptian Revolution[758]' in 2011, the MB successfully sponsored Mohamed Morsi as the presidential candidate. However, following widespread demonstrations in relation to discrimination, disenfranchisement and economic instability, he was subsequently overthrown and arrested[759]. The MB has had

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[752] Fitzgerald, M. (2011). 'Islamic militant group pledges support to anti-Gadafy rebels', *The Irish Times,* [online]. Available at: http://www.irishtimes.com/news/islamic-militant-group-pledges-support-to-anti-gadafy-rebels-1.585344 [Accessed 19 Dec. 2016].
[753] Chairman of the Libyan Arab Republic (1969-1977) and then as the 'Brotherly Leader' of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (1977-2011).
[754] Gambill, G. (2005). 'The Libyan Islamic Fighting Group', *The Jamestown Foundation* [online]. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20060718051648/http://www.jamestown.org/publications_details.php?volume_id=411&issue_id=3275&article_id=2369477 [Accessed 19 Dec. 2016].
[755] Al-Mahdy, A. (2005). 'The Muslim Brotherhood and the Egyptian State in the Balance of Democracy', *Middle East Transparent,* [online]. Available at: http://www.metransparent.com/old/texts/amin_el_mahdi_the_muslim_brotherhood_and_the_egyptian_state.htm [Accessed 10 Nov. 2016].
[756] US Department of State (2008). 'Chapter 6 - Terrorist Organizations - Country Reports on Terrorism', *US Department of State* [online]. Available at: http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2007/103714.htm [Accessed 10 Nov. 2016].
[757] BBC World Middle East (2013). 'Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood', *BBC World Middle East,* [online]. Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405 [Accessed 10 Nov. 2016].
[758] The term 'Arab Spring' is disliked in much of the Middle East and tends to be used by Western commentators and analysts.
[759] Ibish, H. (2013). 'Is this the end of the failed Muslim Brotherhood project?' *The National,* [online]. Available at: http://www.thenational.ae/thenationalconversation/comment/is-this-the-end-of-the-failed-muslim-brotherhood-project [Accessed 10 Nov. 2016].

a number of prominent Islamist thinkers and authors such as Sayyid Qutb who was a highly influential thinker and the author of Milestones. Within the Gulf region, the MB is seen as a clear terrorist threat[760] and has been designated a terrorist organisation by states such as Bahrain[761] Saudi Arabia[762] and United Arab Emirates[763].

Al-Jabhat al-Islāmiyyah (Islamic Front (IF)). Al-Jabhat al-Islāmiyyah is a Sunni Islamist rebel group involved in the Syrian conflict that formed on 22 November 2013 and is an amalgam of a number of groups[764]. These groups included: Jaysh al-Islam, Ahrar al-Sham, Ansar al-Sham, Ahrar al-Sham and the Liwa Asifat al-Shamal (Northern Storm Brigade) and were estimated in 2014 to have up to 70,000 personnel[765]. According to Hassan Abboud who was the charismatic leader of Ahrar al-Sham, Al-Jabhat al-Islāmiyyah "is an independent military, political, and social formation striving to completely overthrow the Assad regime and to build an Islamic state in which God's law alone rules sovereign"[766]. On 9 September 2014, Hassan Abboud and Abu Abdulmalek al-Sharei, the head of the Islamic Front's Sharia Council, were killed along

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[760] Bahrain News Agency (2014). 'Bahrain backs Saudi Arabia, UAE, Foreign Minister says', *Bahrain News Agency,* [online]. Available at: http://www.bna.bh/portal/en/news/609752 [Accessed 10 Nov. 2016].

[761] Anadolu Agency (2014). 'Bahrain FM reiterates stance on Muslim Brotherhood', *Anadolu Agency,* [online]. Available at: http://aa.com.tr/en/archive/bahrain-fm-reiterates-stance-on-muslim-brotherhood/172889 [Accessed 10 Nov. 2016].

[762] BBC World Middle East (2014). 'Saudi Arabia declares Muslim Brotherhood 'terrorist group', *BBC World Middle East,* [Online]. Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26487092?print=true [Accessed 10 Nov. 2016].

[763] Bloomberg (2014). 'UAE supports Saudi Arabia against Qatar-Backed Brotherhood', *Bloomberg* [online]. Available at: http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-03-09/u-a-e-supports-saudi-arabia-against-qatar-backed-brotherhood?cmpid=yhoo [Accessed 10 Nov. 2016].

[764] Lund, A. (2013). 'Syria's Salafi Insurgents: the Rise of the Syrian Islamic Front' *Swedish Institute of International Affairs* UI Occasional Paper 17 [online]. Available at: http://www.ui.se/eng/upl/files/86861.pdf [Accessed 28 Aug. 2016].

[765] Hassan, H. (2014). 'Front to Back - The most powerful rebel alliance in Syria -- the Islamic Front -- is on the verge of collapse', *Foreign Policy* [online]. Available at: http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/03/04/front-to-back/ [Accessed 30 Oct. 2016].

[766] Lund, A. (2013). 'Say Hello to the Islamic Front' *Carnegie Middle East Center, Diwan Middle East Insights* [online]. Available at: http://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/53679?lang=en [Accessed 24 Aug. 2016].

with other senior Ahrar ash-Sham commanders, when an explosion occurred at a high-level meeting in Idlib province[767].

جبهة فتح الشام

Al-Jabhat Fateh al-Sham (Front for the Conquest of the Levant (JFS)). JFS was formerly known as Al-Jabhat al-Nusra or Al Nusra Front (JaN)[768]. The group is led by Abu Mohammed al-Julani[769] which is a *nom de guerre*. His birth name is Ahmed Hussein al-Shar'a. JFS consists of: Jaish al-Muhajireen wal-Ansar, Khorasan Group, Muntasar Billah Brigade, Katibat al Tawhid wal Jihad and Jaish Muhammad. The group changed its name due to their 'break' with AQ on 28 July 2016[770].

جبهة النصرة

Al-Jabhat al-Nusra (**Al Nusra Front (JaN))**. Al-Jabhat al-Nusra means 'the Support Front[771] for The People of Al Sham' and was often referred to as AQ in Syria, due to its former allegiance to AQ[772]. This fanatical jihadist organisation had a declared aim of establishing an Islamist state in Syria[773]. Hezbollah fighters have been quoted as saying that the Jabhat al-Nusra / AQ fighters were "crazy, carrying spoons in their pockets in preparation for a meal with the prophet"[774]. JaN was also viewed as a serious threat to

[767] Lund, A. (2014). 'Syria's Ahrar al-Sham Leadership Wiped Out in Bombing'. *Carnegie Endowment of International Peace* [online]. Available at: http://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/56581?lang=en [Accessed 31 Oct. 2016].

[768] Green, R. (2013). 'Al-Qaeda Upgrades Its Presence in Syria', *Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI),* Inquiry & Analysis Series Report No.1037 [online]. Available at: http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/207/0/7589.htm [Accessed 27 Oct. 2016].

[769] Abouzeid, R. (2012). 'TIME Exclusive: Meet the Islamist Militants Fighting Alongside Syria's Rebels', *Time* [online]. Available at: http://world.time.com/2012/07/26/time-exclusive-meet-the-islamist-militants-fighting-alongside-syrias-rebels/ [Accessed 2 Dec. 2016].

[770] BBC World (2016). 'Syrian Nusra Front announces split from al-Qaeda', *BBC World* [online]. Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-36916606 [Accessed 1 Dec. 2016].

[771] Sometimes translated as Victory Front.

[772] Green, R. (2013). 'Al-Qaeda Upgrades Its Presence in Syria', Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), Inquiry & Analysis Series Report No.1037 [online]. Available at: http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/207/0/7589.htm [Accessed 27 Oct. 2016].

[773] Benotman, N. and Blake, R. (2013). 'Jabhat al-Nusra li-ahl al-Sham min Mujahedi al-Sham fi Sahat al-Jihad. A Strategic Briefing', *Quilliam* [online]. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20140722191931/http://www.quilliamfoundation.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/publications/free/jabhat-al-nusra-a-strategic-briefing.pdf [Accessed 25 Oct. 2016].

moderate opposition groups[775]. As if to emphasise their AQ credentials, in 2015, JaN released a video celebrating the 9/11 attacks (The Heirs of Glory)[776]. On 28 July 2016, Al-Jabhat al-Nusra announced that it had split from AQ. Abu Mohammed al-Julani (leader of Al Jabhat al-Nusra) announced that the group's new name would be Al-Jabhat Fateh al-Sham (JFS), meaning the 'Front for the Conquest of the Levant'.

Al-jamā'ah al-islāmīyah[777] (The Islamic Group (GI)). Al-jamā'ah al-islāmīyah is an Egyptian Sunni Islamist movement and its primary aim is to overthrow the Egyptian government and replace it with an Islamic state[778]. During the 1990s, GI fought an insurgency against the Egyptian government and killed hundreds of Egyptian military and police personnel[779]. At the conclusion of the 2011 'Egyptian Revolution', GI formed a political party named the Building and Development Party, which gained 13 seats in the 2011-2012 elections[780]. GI has been designated as a terrorist organisation by the US, UK[781] and EU.

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[774] Mortada, R. (2014). 'Hezbollah fighters and the "jihadis:" Mad, drugged, homicidal, and hungry', *Alakhbqar* [online]. Available at: http://english.al-akhbar.com/content/hezbollah-fighters-and-jihadis-mad-drugged-homicidal-and-hungry [Accessed 27 Oct 2016].
[775] O'Bagy, E. (2012). 'Jihad in Syria', *Institute for the Study of War (ISW)*, Middle East Security Report 6 [online]. Available at: http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Jihad-In-Syria-17SEPT.pdf [Accessed 27 Oct. 2016].
[776] Joscelyn, T. (2015). 'Al Nusrah Front celebrates 9/11 attacks in new video', *The Long War Journal* [online]. Available at: http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/06/al-nusrah-front-celebrates-911-attacks-in-new-video.php [Accessed 27 Oct 2016].
[777] Sometimes transliterated as Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiyya or al-Jamaat al-Islamiya.
[778] Home Office (2016). 'Proscribed Terrorist Organisations', *Home Office* [online]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/538297/20160715-Proscription-website-update.pdf [Accessed 02 Nov. 2016].
[779] Uppsala Conflict Data Program (2015). 'The al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya insurgency, Government of Egypt', *Uppsala Conflict Data Program* [online]. Available at: http://ucdp.uu.se/#actor/1132 [Accessed 02 Nov. 2016].
[780] Al Jazeera (2012). 'Interactive: Full Egypt election results', *Al Jazeera* [online]. Available at: http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2012/01/20121248225832718.html [Accessed 02 Nov. 2016].
[781] Home Office (2016). 'Proscribed Terrorist Organisations', *Home Office* [online]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/538297/20160715-Proscription-website-update.pdf [Accessed 02 Nov. 2016].

Al-Qaeda (AQ).   AQ is one of the most famous Sunni Islamist multi-national terrorist organisations. It was founded in 1988 by Usama bin Mohammed bin Awad bin Laden (Osama bin Laden) and Sheikh Abdullah Azzam[782]. AQ was established (initially with Arab fighters) to combat the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the 1980s using Jihad and Mujahideen (those who conduct Jihad)[783].The term Al-Qaeda is most commonly translated as 'the base'. According to Wright (2007:302, see bibliography), AQ has a worldview (*weltanschauung*) underpinned by three objectives. These are, establishing the rule of Allah on earth, attaining martyrdom in the cause of Allah and purification of the ranks of Islam from the elements of depravity. AQ has been designated as a terrorist organisation by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), EU, US[784], Russian Federation (RU) and numerous other states. The US in particular continues to carry out airstrikes against selected AQ senior leaders such as Abu al-Farai al-Masri, aka Ahmad Salamah Mabruk[785]. AQ has the following direct affiliates:

- Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula.
- Al-Qaeda in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Al-Qaeda in Gaza.
- Al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS).
- Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).
- Al-Qaeda in Kurdistan.
- Al-Qaeda in Lebanon.
- Al-Qaeda in the Malay Archipelago.
- Al-Qaeda in Sinai Peninsula.
- Al-Qaeda in Somalia.
- Al-Qaeda in Spain.
- Al-Qaeda in Syria.

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[782] Moyers, B. (2007). 'A Brief History of Al Qaeda', *Bill Moyers Journal* [online]. Available at: http://www.pbs.org/moyers/journal/07272007/alqaeda.html [Accessed 25 Oct. 2016].
[783] BBC, (2004). 'Al-Qaeda's origins and links', *BBC* [Online]. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1670089.stm [Accessed: 06 Dec. 2016].
[784] US Department of State (2016). 'Foreign Terrorist Organizations', US Department of State [online]. Available at: http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm [Accessed 09 Nov. 2016].
[785] Cook, P. (2016). 'Statement by Pentagon Press Secretary Peter Cook on Strike against Al-Qaeda Leader', *US Department of Defence,* Release No: NR-347-16 [online]. Available at: http://www.defense.gov/News/News-Releases/News-Release-View/Article/962767/statement-by-pentagon-press-secretary-peter-cook-on-strike-against-al-qaida-lea [Accessed 24 Oct. 2016].

- Al-Qaeda in West Africa.

Anṣār Allāh ('Supporters of Allāh'). Anṣār Allāh, known in the West as Houthi is an Islam*ist*, predominately Zaidi sect militia that originated in Sa'dah (northern Yemen) during the 1990s. They are currently engaged in fighting the Saudi/UAE coalition within Yemen.

Anṣār al-Islām (Supporters[786] of Islam) (AAI)). AAI was established in Iraq in 2001 as a Salafist Islamist movement. Following the 2003 invasion of Iraq, Anṣār al-Islām became an insurgent group and fought the US forces and their allies[787]. The group continued to fight the Iraqi Government and has sent personnel to fight in the Syrian conflict. In 2014, the leadership of AAI announced that the group was merging with Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)[788]. However, some elements rejected this merger and continued to fight under the banner of Anṣār al-Islām[789].

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[786] The term Anṣār is sometimes translated as 'helpers'.
[787] Al-Tamimi, A. (2015). 'A Complete History of Jamaat Ansar al-Islam', *Pundicity* [online]. Available at: http://www.aymennjawad.org/2015/12/a-complete-history-of-jamaat-ansar-al-islam [Accessed 24 Nov. 2016].
[788] Halevy, D. (2014). 'Iraqi Jihadist Group Swears Allegiance to Islamic State', *Arutz Sheva Israel National News* [online]. Available at: http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/184544#.VAxa5xagSSk [Accessed 26 Nov. 2016].
[789] Suleiman, A. (2014). 'IS disciplines some emirs to avoid losing base', *Al Monitor* [online]. Available at: http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/security/2014/09/is-takfiri-caliphate.html# [Accessed 26 Nov. 2016].

Anṣār Bayt al-Maqdis[790] (Supporters of the Holy House) (ABM)). ABM is an AQ inspired militant Islamist group based in the Sinai region of Egypt. This jihadist style group recruited from within Egypt and abroad and aimed to create an Egyptian state ruled by Sharia law. During the period 2011 to 2013, it carried out attacks in the Sinai Peninsula attacking Israeli targets and the gas pipeline to Jordan. In 2013, ABM's focus of operations changed to attacking the Egyptian security forces[791]. Later, in 2014 the ABM joined the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)[792] and renamed itself ISIL-Sinai Province[793].

Anṣār Dine / Anṣār ad-Dīn (Supporters of the (Islamic) religion (AAD)). Anṣār ad-Dīn is a Tuareg based Islamist group linked to Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)[794].

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[790] Sometimes referred to as Anṣār al-Quds (Supporters of Jerusalem).
[791] Awad, M. and Tadros, S. (2015). 'Bay`a Remorse? Wilayat Sinai and the Nile Valley', *Combatting Terrorism Center* [online]. Available at: https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/baya-remorse-wilayat-sinai-and-the-nile-valley [Accessed 28 Nov 2016].
[792] Zelin, A. (2014). 'The Islamic State's Archipelago of Provinces', *Washington Institute for Near East Policy* [online]. Available at: http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-islamic-states-archipelago-of-provinces [Accessed 28 Nov. 2016].
[793] Kirkpatrick, D. (2014). 'Militant Group in Egypt Vows Loyalty to ISIS', *New York Times* [online]. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/11/world/middleeast/egyptian-militant-group-pledges-loyalty-to-isis.html?_r=3 [Accessed 28 Nov. 2016].
[794] Wiedemann, C. (2012). 'This is not Sharia, but banditry', *Qantara.de* [online]. Available at: http://en.qantara.de/content/ansar-dines-religious-leader-cherif-ousmane-haidara-this-is-not-sharia-but-banditry [Accessed 22 Nov. 2016].

Anṣār Al Sunna[795] (Supporters of Sunnah (AS)). AS was an Iraqi Sunni Islamist group which fought US forces and their allies following the invasion of Iraq. It was mostly based in central Iraq and parts of the Kurdish Autonomous Zone (KAZ) of Northern Iraq[796]. The group's aim was to expel all Western and foreign influences from Iraq and create an Islamic state. In 2007, Anṣār Al Sunna it split into two groups Anṣār al-Islam, and Anṣār al-Sunnah Shariah Committee. In 2011, the Anṣār al-Sunnah Shariah Committee changed its name to Anṣār al-Ahlu Sunnah. However, some fighters still carry out operations under the banner of Anṣār Al Sunna. AS remains a Proscribed Terrorist Organisation (PTO) as determined by the UK government, pursuant to the Terrorism Act 2000[797].

Anṣār al-Sham (Supporters of the Levant). **Anṣār** al-Sham is an armed insurgent organisation that has been active during the Syrian conflict. It was founded in 2012 by Abu Omar[798] who was a veteran of the Afghan Jihad. Anṣār al-Sham brings together a wide range of mostly Syrian fighters in North Latakia Governorate on a general Islamist platform. In December 2012, Anṣār al-Sham joined with other insurgent groups to found

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[795] Also known as Jama'at 'Anṣār as-Sunnah (Assembly of the Supporters of Sunnah).
[796] Khalil, L. (2007). 'The Hidden Hand of Iran in the Resurgence of Ansar al-Islam', *The Jamestown Foundation Terrorism Monitor Volume: 5 Issue: 11* [online]. Available at: https://jamestown.org/program/the-hidden-hand-of-iran-in-the-resurgence-of-ansar-al-islam/ [Accessed 28 Nov. 2016].
[797] Home Office (2016). 'Proscribed Terrorist Organisations', *Home Office* [online]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/538297/20160715-Proscription-website-update.pdf [Accessed 28 Nov. 2016].
[798] Hussein, T. (2014). 'The Al Ansar al-Sham Battalions', *Carnegie Middle East Centre*, *Diwan Middle East Insights* [online]. Available at: http://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/55066?lang=en [Accessed 31 Aug. 2016].

the Syrian Islamic Front[799] (SIF). In November 2013 SIF was dissolved and Liwa al-Haqq, Anṣār al-Sham and Ahrar ash-Sham joined the broader Islamic Front (IF)[800] alliance. It played a significant role in the 2014 Latakia offensive against the Syrian Government.

Anṣār al-Sharia-Benghazi (Supporters of Islamic Law of Benghazi (AAS-B)). AAS-B is a Sunni Islamist militia group that is linked to AQ[801]. It is anti-American and advocates establishing a state which has a strict adherence to Sharia Law. It is believed that Anṣār al-Sharia-Benghazi took part in the attack which killed the US Ambassador and three US members of staff[802] in Benghazi on 11 September 2012.

Anṣār al-Sharia in Libya (Supporters of Islamic Law in Libya (ASL)). ASL is a Libyan Salafist Islamist group and its primary aim is to implement strict Sharia law across the whole of Libya[803]. Anṣār al-Sharia was formed in 2011 and although its terrorist operations have been chiefly against Libyan and American civilians, it is

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[799] Sly, L. (2013). 'Syrian Islamists protest US strikes; Americans exit embassy in Beirut Syrian Islamists protest US strikes; Americans exit embassy in Beirut', *Washington Post* [online]. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/us-orders-partial-evacuation-of-embassy-in-beirut-as-tensions-rise-over-syria-strike/2013/09/06/6af006a8-16f5-11e3-804b-d3a1a3a18f2c_story.html?tid=pm_world_pop [Accessed 15 May.16].

[800] Lund, A. (2013). 'Syria's Salafi Insurgents: the Rise of the Syrian Islamic Front', *Swedish Institute of International Affairs*, UI Occasional Paper 17 [online]. Available at: http://www.ui.se/eng/upl/files/86861.pdf [Accessed 31 Aug. 2016].

[801] Global Security (2015). 'Ansar al-Shari'a – Benghazi, Libya', *Global Security* [online]. Available at: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/ansar-al-shariah.htm [Accessed 28 Nov. 2016].

[802] The US citizens killed in the attack were - US Ambassador Christopher Stevens, US Foreign Service (USFS) officer Sean Smith, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) contractors Glen Doherty and Tyrone Woods.

[803] Irshaid, F. (2014). 'Profile: Libya's Ansar al-Sharia', *BBC World News* [online]. Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-27732589 [Accessed 28 Nov. 2016].

believed that it took part in the 2012 attack of the US Embassy in Benghazi[804]. ASL has been designated as a terrorist organisation by a range of countries such as, Turkey, UK[805], UN and the US.
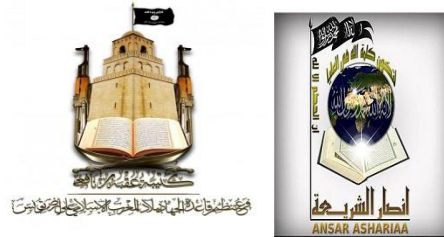
Anṣār al-Sharia-Tunisia (Supporters of Islamic Law of Tunisia (AAS-T)). AAS-T is a radical Islamist group that is trying to establish an Islamic caliphate ruled by Sharia Law in Tunisia[806]. The group has carried out numerous terrorist attacks and is thought to have participated in the mass shooting of British tourists near Sousse in 2015[807] even though ISIS claimed responsibility. Open source information about its clandestine structure and *modus operandi* is scarce[808].

Al-Jabhah al-Islāmiyya as-Sūriyyah (Syrian Islamic Front (SIF)). The SIF existed from December 2012 until November 2013. It was made up of Ansar al-Sham and other Islamist insurgent groups within the Syrian conflict. Ansar al-Sham led and dominated the front[809]. Al-Jabhah al-Islāmiyya as-Sūriyyah received funding and support from conservative Arabian Gulf Salafis such Hajjaj al-Ajami (Kuwaiti preacher), Hakim al-

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[804] US Department of State (2014). 'Terrorist Designations of Three Ansar al-Shari'a Organisations and Leaders', *US Department of State* [online]. Available at: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2014/01/219519.htm [Accessed 28 Nov. 2016].
[805] Home Office (2016). 'Proscribed Terrorist Organisations', *Home Office* [online]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/538297/20160715-Proscription-website-update.pdf [Accessed 28 Nov. 2016].
[806] Petré, C. (2015). 'Tunisian Salafism: The Rise And Fall Of Ansar Al-Sharia – Analysis', *Eurasia Review* [online]. Available at: http://www.eurasiareview.com/09102015-tunisian-salafism-the-rise-and-fall-of-ansar-al-sharia-analysis/ [Accessed 29 Nov. 2016].
[807] This terrorist attack took place on 26 June 2015 at the tourist resort of Port El Kantaoui, which is north of Sousse, Tunisia.
[808] Zelin, A. (2013). 'Meeting Tunisia's Ansar al-Sharia', *Foreign Policy* [online]. Available at: http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/03/08/meeting-tunisias-ansar-al-sharia/ [Accessed 29 Nov. 2016].
[809] Sly, L. (2013). 'Syrian Islamists protest US strikes; Americans exit embassy in Beirut Syrian Islamists protest US strikes; Americans exit embassy in Beirut', *Washington Post* [online]. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/us-orders-partial-evacuation-of-embassy-in-beirut-as-tensions-rise-over-syria-strike/2013/09/06/6af006a8-16f5-11e3-804b-d3a1a3a18f2c_story.html?tid=pm_world_pop [Accessed 15 May. 16].

Mutayri (Kuwaiti politician) and Adnan al-Aroor (Saudi-based Syrian preacher)[810]. In November 2013 it dissolved and joined the broader Islamic Front (IF) alliance which included groups such as Liwa al-Haqq and Ahrar ash-Sham.

Al-Ittihad al-Islami li-Ajnad al-Sham (Ajnad al-Sham Islamic Union). Al-Ittihad al-Islami li-Ajnad al-Sham (Ajnad al-Sham Islamic Union), is an alliance of some of the Islamist groups that have been fighting in the Syrian conflict. It is sometimes referred to as 'Islamic Union of the Soldiers of the Levant'[811]. It is a major Damascus-based Islamist rebel coalition which is led by Abu Mohammed al-Fateh. Ideologically, it is committed to sharia law being the only source for legislation, adding that the union's goal is to 'build the state on Islamic foundations' [812].

Anṣār al-Islām (Supporters of Islam) (AAI)). Anṣār al-Islām was established in Iraq in 2001 as a Salafist Islamist movement and imposed strict Shari'a amongst the populations of Biyara and Halabja[813]. Its ideology follows a literal interpretation of the Holy Qur'an and encouraged the Salaf way of life (as exemplified by the earliest Muslims). Following the 2003 invasion of Iraq, Anṣār al-Islām became an insurgent group which fought against the US led forces and their allies. The group continued to fight the Iraqi Government following the withdrawal of US ground troops from Iraq and

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[810] Zelin, A. and Lister, C. (2013). 'The crowning of the Syrian Islamic Front', *Foreign Policy* [online]. Available at: http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/06/24/the-crowning-of-the-syrian-islamic-front/ [Accessed 18 Jun. 2016].
[811] Lund, A. (2014). 'Damascus Preachers and the Armed Rebellion', *Carnegie Middle East Center Diwan Middle East Insights from Carnegie* [online]. Available at: http://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/54758?lang=en [Accessed 1 Sep. 2016].
[812] Ajnad al-Sham, (2014). 'Ajnad al-Sham Charter', *ISSUU* [online]. Available at: https://issuu.com/ajnad.alsham/docs/charter_of_ajnad_alsham [Accessed 2 Sep. 2016].
[813] Al-Tamimi, A. (2015). 'A Complete History of Jamaat Ansar al-Islam', *Pundicity,* [online]. Available at: http://www.aymennjawad.org/2015/12/a-complete-history-of-jamaat-ansar-al-islam [Accessed 26 Nov. 2016].

has sent personnel to fight in the Syrian conflict. Anṣār al-Islām is a known affiliate of AQ[814] and has been designated a terrorist organisation by the Australia, Canada, Israel, UK, UN[815] and US. In 2014, some of the leadership of Anṣār al-Islām announced that the group was merging with ISIL[816]. However, many elements within group rejected this merger, and continued to fight on under the banner of Anṣā r al-Islām[817].

Asala wa-al-Tanmiya (The Authenticity and Development Front). Asala wa-al-Tanmiya is a US backed alliance of rebel groups that have been active during the Syrian conflict[818]. It includes large numbers of Islamists, military defectors, and civilian rebels. The alliance does not identify itself as being part of the Free Syrian Army (FSA) despite on occasions using FSA flags and symbols[819]. One of the groups that was involved with Asala wa-al-Tanmiya was Harakat Nour al-Din al-Zenki, which was also part of the Army of Mujahedeen. Asala wa-al-Tanmiya has acquired American-made BGM-71 TOW weapons.

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[814] Schanzer, J. (2005). *Al-Qaeda's armies: Middle East Affiliate Groups & the Next Generation of Terror*, New York: Specialist Press International.

[815] The UNSCR 1267 Committee designated Anṣār al-Islām pursuant to UNSCRs 1267, 1390, and 1455 on 27 February 2003.

[816] Halevy, D. (2014). 'Iraqi Jihadist Group Swears Allegiance to Islamic State', *Arutz Sheva Israel National News* [online]. Available at: http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/184544#.VAxa5xagSSk [Accessed 26 Nov. 2016].

[817] Suleiman, A. (2014). 'IS Disciplines some Emirs to avoid Losing Base' *Al Monitor* [online]. Available at: http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/security/2014/09/is-takfiri-caliphate.html# [Accessed 30 Aug. 2016].

[818] Lund, A, (2014). 'The Mujahideen Army of Aleppo', *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* [online]. Available at: http://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/55275?lang=en [Accessed 05 Dec. 2016].

[819] Al-Tamimi, A. (2013). 'The Factions of Abu Kamal', *Aymenn Jawad Al-Tamimi* [online]. Available at: http://www.aymennjawad.org/14161/the-factions-of-abu-kamal [Accessed 06 Dec. 2016].

Asbat al- Anṣār or Osbat al- Anṣār (League of the Partisans (AAA)). Asbat al- Anṣār is a Palestinian Sunni Jihadist group which was formed in the early 1990s and its main base is the Ain al-Hilwah Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon[820]. It on occasions uses the aliases of 'Abu Muhjin' or 'Jama'at Nour'[821]. It is Salafist in ideology and its aim is to overthrow the government of Lebanon, countering pro-Western influences and establish the rule of Sharia Law[822]. The group is also virulently opposed to the State of Israel, and other religious sects in Lebanon such as the Shia, Christians, and Druze[823]. It also has links to AQ[824]. Asbat al-Ansar has been designated as a terrorist group by a range of countries including the UK[825].

Fataḥ. Fataḥ[826] is a prominent Palestinian nationalist political party which maintains militant groups[827] (Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, Force 17 and the Tanzim). It joined the Palestine Liberation Organisation[828] (PLO) in 1968 and formed the largest element within the organisation. Fataḥ was particularly influential within the PLO, from its time of joining until the death of Yāsir ʿArafāt (Yasser Arafat) in 2004[829], with whom it was closely associated. Thereafter, factionalism ensued. In 2006, Fataḥ was defeated by

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[820] The Mackenzie Institute (2015). 'Asbat Al-Ansar (AAA) (The League of Partisans)', *The Mackenzie Institute* [online]. Available at: http://mackenzieinstitute.com/asbat-al-ansar-aaa-league-partisans-2/ [Accessed 07 Nov. 2016].
[821] Home Office (2016). 'Proscribed Terrorist Organisations', *Home Office* [online]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/538297/20160715-Proscription-website-update.pdf [Accessed 07 Nov. 2016].
[822] The Investigative Project on Terrorism (2015). 'Asbat al-Ansar', *The Investigative Project on Terrorism* [online]. Available at: http://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/127/asbat-al-ansar [Accessed 07 Nov. 2016].
[823] Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (2014). 'Lebanon: Asbat al-Ansar, including leaders, areas of influence, recruitment, and activities; relationship of the group with the government (2011- April 2014)', *Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada* [online]. Available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/5464850d4.html [Accessed 07 Nov. 2016].
[824] US Department of State (2012). 'Chapter 6 Terrorist Groups', *US Department of State* [online]. Available at: http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/45323.pdf [Accessed 07 Nov. 2016].

[825] Home Office (2006). 'Proscribed Terrorist Organisations', *Home Office* [online]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/538297/20160715-Proscription-website-update.pdf [Accessed 07 Nov. 2016].
[826] Formerly known as the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (PNLM).
[827] Global Security (2016). 'Al-Fatah', *Global Security* [online]. Available at: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/al-fatah.htm [Accessed 24 Dec. 2016].
[828] Which was formed in 1964.
[829] Phares, W. (2004). 'Arafat's 'means' failed in the end', *NBC News* [online]. Available at: http://www.nbcnews.com/id/6436578/#.WH9R1rfauUk [Accessed 25 Dec. 2016].

Hamas in the Palestinian parliamentary elections which ultimately resulted in a conflict between Fataḥ and Hamas[830]. The consequence of this was that Fataḥ formed the government of the West Bank and Hamas the government of the Gaza Strip[831].

Fatah Halab (Conquest of Aleppo). Fatah Halab is a coalition of Islamist and other groups that formed in April 2015 in order to pool resources, coordinate effort and seize geographical objectives around Aleppo[832]. This type of coalition is sometimes referred to as an 'Operations Room'. Operation rooms are generally joint structures that coordinate military campaigns without merging, therefore preserving the independent status of their fighting elements[833]. In May 2016, Amnesty International accused the Fatah Halab coalition of 'repeated indiscriminate attacks that may amount to war crimes'[834].

Faylaq Al-Rahman (The Rahman Legion). Faylaq Al-Rahman, also known as the Rahman Corps, is an alliance of Islamist FSA groups operating against the forces of Bashar al-Assad in eastern Ghouta, Damascus and Qalamoun. The name Al-Rahman

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[830] BBC (2009). 'Profile: Fatah Palestinian movement', *BBC* [online]. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_depth/middle_east/israel_and_the_palestinians/profiles/1371998.stm [Accessed 25 Dec. 2016].
[831] People's Daily Online (2010). 'Fatah slams Hamas' intention to reshuffle its deposed government', *People's Daily* [online]. Available at: http://en.people.cn/90001/90777/90854/7242501.html [Accessed 21 Dec. 2016].
[832] Masi, A. (2015). 'Syria's coming battle for Aleppo: It's everybody against Assad and ISIS', *International Business Times* [online]. Available at: http://www.ibtimes.com/ [Accessed 5 Oct. 2016].
[833] Cafarella, J. and Casagrande, G. (2015). 'Syrian Opposition Guide', *Institute for the Study of War* [online]. Available at: http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Syrian%20Opposition%20Guide_0.pdf [Accessed 5 Oct. 2016].
[834] Amnesty International UK (2016). 'Syria: armed opposition group committing war crimes in Aleppo - new evidence', *Amnesty International UK* [online]. Available at: https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/syria-armed-opposition-group-committing-war-crimes-aleppo-new-evidence [Accessed 5 October 2016].

is derived from one of the 99 names of Allah[835] (Al-Rahman meaning The Compassionate or The Beneficent[836]). Since the death of Zahran Alloush[837] there has been conflict between Faylaq Al-Rahman and Jaysh al-Islam[838] (The Army of Islam) which has been exploited by the Syrian Regime and their allies, especially in East Ghouta[839]. Faylaq Al-Rahman acquired a range of weapons including BGM-71 TOW missiles, especially those elements based in Jobar[840]. In May 2016 leaders of Faylaq Al-Rahman and Jaysh al-Islam agreed to end hostilities between them. But by June 2016 clashes erupted again, with Faylaq Al-Rahman seizing many areas held by Jaysh al-Islam in Eastern Ghouta[841]. Membership of Faylaq Al-Rahman remains fluids and the tensions with Jaysh al-Islam continue. In March 2018, large numbers of Faylaq Al-Rahman fighters were evacuated, along with civilians from the besieged pocket, from Eastern Ghouta to Northwest Syria[842].

Furqat al-Sultan Murad (Sultan Murad Division). Furqat al-Sultan Murad is an armed opposition group fighting in the Syrian conflict. Although it is a diverse group (in ethnicity and radicalisation) the Islamic text (Shahada) on their battle flag underscores their

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[835] Hasan, M. (2015). 'The Moderate Rebels: A Growing List of Vetted Groups Fielding BGM-71 TOW Anti-Tank Guided Missiles', *Hasan Mustafa* [online]. Available at: https://hasanmustafas.wordpress.com/2015/05/08/the-moderate-rebels-a-complete-and-growing-list-of-vetted-groups-fielding-tow-missiles/ [Accessed 6 Oct. 2016].
[836] Islamic Book Service (2015) *Ninety Nine Names of Allah*. New Delhi: Islamic Book Service.
[837] Times of Israel (2015). 'Syrian rebels name successor to slain commander', *Times of Israel* [online]. Available at: http://www.timesofisrael.com/syrian-rebels-name-successor-to-slain-commander/ [Accessed 16 Nov. 2016].
[838] Lund, A. (2016). 'After Zahran: Rising Tension in the East Ghouta', *Carnegie Middle East Center* [online]. Available at: http://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/63376?lang=en [Accessed 6 Oct. 2016].
[839] Enab Baladi (2016). 'Army of Islam Urges Al-Rahman Legion to End its Attack on East Ghouta', *Enab Baladi* [online]. Available at: http://english.enabbaladi.net/archives/2016/06/army-islam-urges-al-rahman-legion-end-attack-east-ghouta/ [Accessed 6 Oct 2016].
[840] Hasan, M. (2015). 'The Moderate Rebels: A Growing List of Vetted Groups Fielding BGM-71 TOW Anti-Tank Guided Missiles', *Hasan Mustafa* [online]. Available at: https://hasanmustafas.wordpress.com/2015/05/08/the-moderate-rebels-a-complete-and-growing-list-of-vetted-groups-fielding-tow-missiles/ [Accessed 6 Oct. 2016].
[841] Baladi, E. (2016). 'Army of Islam Urges Al-Rahman Legion to End its Attack on East Ghouta', *Enab Baladi* [online]. Available at: http://english.enabbaladi.net/archives/2016/06/army-islam-urges-al-rahman-legion-end-attack-east-ghouta/ [Accessed 6 Oct. 2016].
[842] Hasan, M. (2018) 'Fresh Rebel Withdrawals from Syria's Shrinking Ghouta', *France 24,* [online]. Available at: http://www.france24.com/en/20180326-fresh-rebel-withdrawals-syrias-shrinking-ghouta [Accessed 4 Apr. 2018].

commitment not just to Islam but Islamism. Furqat al-Sultan Murad have been implicated in the use of chemical weapons including rockets containing chlorine agents[843].

Global Islamic Media Front (GIMF). GIMF is an extremist Islamist propaganda organisation associated with AQ and other extremist Islamist groups around the world[844]. Its activities include propagating a jihadist ideology, producing and disseminating training manuals to guide terror attacks[845] and publishing jihadi news casts[846]. It was proscribed by the UK in July 2016[847]. Their slogan used on their materials is "Observing Mujahideen News and Inspiring the Believers"[848].

Groupe Islamique Combattant Marocain (Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group - GICM). GICM is a Salafist jihadist group based in Morocco that is an AQ variant[849]. The aim of GICM is to replace the governing Moroccan monarchy with an extremist Islamist caliphate. Its members and associates have been linked to a wide range of terrorist

[843] Mamo, H. (2016). 'Syrian Islamist rebels renew chemical attack on Kurdish district in Aleppo ', *ARA News* [online]. Available at: http://aranews.net/2016/03/syrian-islamist-rebels-renew-chemical-attack-kurdish-district-aleppo/ [Accessed 20 Jan. 2016].
[844] National Coordinator for Counterterrorism, (2007). 'Jihadis and the Internet', *National Coordinator for Counterterrorism* [online]. Available at: https://fas.org/irp/world/netherlands/jihadis.pdf [Accessed 09 Nov. 2016].
[845] Jesús, C. (2009). 'The Current State of the Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group', *Combating Terrorism Center West Point* [online]. Available at: https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-current-state-of-the-moroccan-islamic-combatant-group [Accessed 07 Dec. 2016].
[846] National Coordinator for Counterterrorism, (2007). 'Jihadis and the Internet', *National Coordinator for Counterterrorism* [online]. Available at: https://fas.org/irp/world/netherlands/jihadis.pdf [Accessed 09 Nov. 2016].
[847] Home Office (2016). 'Proscribed Terrorist Organisations', *Home Office* [online]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/538297/20160715-Proscription-website-update.pdf [Accessed 09 Nov. 2016].
[848] Global Islamic Media Front, (2015). 'Congratulations to the Islamic Ummah', *Global Islamic Media Front* [online]. Available at: https://azelin.files.wordpress.com/2012/10/global-islamic-media-front-22congratulations-to-the-islamic-ummah-upon-the-arrival-of-blessed-e28098c4abd-al-ae1b88de1b8a5c48122-en.pdf [Accessed 09 Nov. 2016].
Warning: this is an Islamist site and subject to lawful surveillance and tracking by intelligence agencies such as the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ). GCHQ is the UK intelligence and security organisation responsible for providing signals intelligence (SIGINT) to the British Government.
[849] Stanford University, (2012). 'Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group', *Stanford University - Mapping Militant Organisations* [online]. Available at: https://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/129]Accessed 02 Dec. 2016].

attacks including the 2003 Casablanca bombings[850] and 2004 Madrid train bombings[851].
A crackdown against the organisation's numerous cells in Europe is thought to have
since significantly damaged the GICM's capabilities.

***Groupe Salafiste pour la Predication et le Combat* (Salafist Group for Call and
Combat (GSPC))**. GSPC is a Salafist extremist group which is attempting to create an
Islamic state in Algeria using all possible means. It is an Al-Qaeda in the Islamic
Maghreb (AQIM) variant[852]. GSPC has been designated a terrorist organisation by
Australia, Canada, Russia, UAE, UK[853], UN and the US.

**Harakat Ahrār al- Shām al-Islāmiyya ('Islamic Movement of the Free People of the
Levant')**. Harakat Ahrār al- Shām al-Islāmiyya which is commonly referred to as Ahrār
al-Shām ('The Free Men of Syria') is an alliance of numerous Islamist and Salafist units
that coalesced into a larger fighting force in order to combat the troops of Bashar al-
Assad during the Syrian conflict[854]. Ahrār al-Shām was led by Hassan Aboud[855] until his

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[850] The 2003 Casablanca suicide bombings occurred on 16 May 2003. The attacks killed 33 and wounded more than 100 people.
The 12 suicide bombers came from the impoverished areas of Sidi Moumen.
[851] The 2004 Madrid train bombings occurred on 11 March 2004. The attacks killed 191 and wounded over 2,000 people. The
attacks were against the Cercanías commuter train system in Madrid.
[852] Laub, Z. and Masters, J. (2015). 'Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)', *Council on Foreign Relations* [online]. Available at:
http://www.cfr.org/terrorist-organizations-and-networks/al-qaeda-islamic-maghreb-aqim/p12717 [Accessed 02 Dec. 2016].
[853] Home Office (2016). 'Proscribed Terrorist Organisations', *Home Office* [online]. Available at:
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/538297/20160715-Proscription-website-update.pdf
[Accessed 16 Nov. 2016].
[854] O'Bagy, E. (2012). 'Jihad in Syria, Middle East Security Report 6', *Institute for the Study of War* (ISW) [online]. Available at:
http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Jihad-In-Syria-17SEPT.pdf [Accessed 30 Aug. 2016].
[855] The Economist (2013). 'Syria's Islamist fighters Competition among Islamists', *The Economist* [online]. Available at:
http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21582037-one-islamist-rebel-group-seems-have-overtaken-all-others-
competition-among [Accessed 30 Aug. 2016].

death in 2014. In July 2013, it was the second most powerful unit fighting against al-Assad, after the Free Syrian Army and a leading Islamist group within the Syrian Islamic Front (SIF)[856]. The group aims to create an Islamic state under Sharia law, and is openly allied with Jabhat Fateh al-Sham (formerly the Al-Nusra Front) with which it carries out joint operations[857]. The group has stated that it remains committed to continue fighting against IS / ISIS[858]. It is thought that in 2016 Harakat Ahrār al-Shām took part in the prolonged and indiscriminate shelling of the Kurdish civilian population of the Sheikh Maqsoud district of Aleppo[859]. Harakat Ahrar al-Sham al-Islāmiyya has been designated a terrorist organisation by a number of states such as the Egypt, Iran, Russia and UAE. The group remains active.

Harakat Al Muqwamah Al Islamiyyah (Islamic Resistance Movement - Ḥamās).
Ḥamās is a Palestinian Islamist paramilitary organisation located within the occupied territories and elsewhere. It was founded in 1987[860] during the First Intifada and has governed the Gaza Strip (where it is based) since 2007. The organisation has two main wings; a military wing named the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades and a social service wing[861]. The Ḥamās Charter declares it to be the Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine[862], calls for the destruction of Israel and the establishment of an Islamic society in Palestine[863]. It is regarded by many Arab Muslims as a 'resistance movement' and by

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[856] Stanford University (2016). 'Ahrar al-Sham', *Stanford University* [online]. Available at:
https://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/523 [Accessed 1 Sep. 2016].
[857] Casagrande, G. and Cafarella J. (2015). 'The Syrian Opposition's Political Demands', *Institute for the Study of War* (ISW)
[Online]. Available at: http://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/syrian-opposition%E2%80%99s-political-demands [Accessed 2 Sep. 2016].
[858] Thomas, J. (2015). 'Officials from Al Nusrah Front, Ahrar al Sham vow to continue fight against Islamic State', *Long War Journal* [online]. Available at: http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/07/officials-from-al-nusrah-front-ahrar-al-sham-vow-to-continue-fight-against-islamic-state.php [Accessed 26 Oct. 2016].
[859] Rudaw (2016). 'Amnesty: Attacks on Aleppo's Kurdish section amount to 'war crimes', *Rudaw* [online]. Available at:
http://www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/syria/13052016/ [Accessed 19 Jan. 2017].
[860] Liphshiz, C. (2012). 'Fatah agrees to celebrate Hamas anniversary in Gaza', *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* [online]. Available at:
http://www.jta.org/2012/12/07/news-opinion/israel-middle-east/fatah-agrees-to-celebrate-hamas-anniversary-in-gaza [Accessed 17 December 2016].
[861] Sometimes referred to as Dawah.
[862] Myre, G. (2006). 'Israeli Official Says Hamas Has Made Abbas Irrelevant', *The New York Times* [online]. Available at:
http://www.nytimes.com/2006/02/27/world/middleeast/israeli-official-says-hamas-has-made-abbas-irrelevant.html [Accessed 03 Dec. 2016].
[863] Laub, Z. (2014). 'Hamas', *Council on Foreign Relations* [online]. Available at: http://www.cfr.org/israel/hamas/p8968#p5 [Accessed 18 Dec. 2016].

some states in the West and elsewhere as a 'terrorist' organisation[864]. The opinion of the international community about the status of Ḥamās appears to be divided. States such as Canada, Israel and US[865] have designated it a terrorist organisation, whilst others such as Australia and UK have only designated the military wing; yet other states such as Brazil, China, Iran, Russia, Switzerland and Turkey do not regard any element of it as being terrorist.

Harakat al-Jihad al-Islami Fi Filastin (Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine (PIJ)).
Harakat al-Jihad al-Islami Fi Filastin is an Iranian backed Palestinian Islamist organisation[866] which is often referred to in the West as the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. The PIJ was founded in 1981 to fight for the sovereignty of Palestine and 'freedom from Israel'. It is a coalition of affiliated factions that operate a cellular structure and its primary aim is attacking Israel and establishing an Islamic State, through Jihad[867].

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[864] Stepanova, E. (2008). Terrorism in Asymmetrical Conflict Ideological and Structural Aspects', *SIPRI Research Report No. 23* [online]. Available at: http://books.sipri.org/files/RR/SIPRIRR23.pdf [Accessed 2 Dec. 2016].
[865] Laub, Z. (2014). 'Hamas', *Council on Foreign Relations* [online]. Available at: http://www.cfr.org/israel/hamas/p8968#p5 [Accessed 18 Dec. 2016].
[866] Ben Gedalyahu, T. (2011). 'Iran Backs Islamic Jihad's 8,000-Man Army in Gaza', *Israel National News* (*Arutz Sheva*) [online]. Available at: http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/149498#.TrhgmnF4Vow [Accessed 24 Sep. 2016].
[867] BBC, (2003). 'Who are Islamic Jihad?', *BBC* [online]. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1658443.stm [Accessed 04 Dec. 2016].

Harakat al-Muthanna al-Islamiya (HMI). HMI is an Islamist fighting group that originated in the southwest of Syria near the Golan Heights. They are allied with Liwa Shuhada' al-Yarmouk (LSY) against the Free Syrian Army (FSA) and Jaysh al-Fatah[868].

Harakat Ash Shabab al-Mujahidin (HSM). HSM is more commonly known as Al-Shabaab meaning 'Movement of Striving Youth'. It is an Arab Somali based jihadist terrorist group. Al-Shabaab was previously part of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), which splintered into lesser factions after its defeat in 2006 by Somalia's Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and Ethiopian military allies[869]. In 2012, Al-Shabaab pledged allegiance to AQ[870]. It has been designated a terrorist organisation by a range of states including Australia, Canada, UAE, UK and USA.

Harakat Fajr ash-Sham al-Islamiya (Islamic Dawn Movement of the Levant). Harakat Fajr ash-Sham al-Islamiya is a jihadist group that has been active during the Syrian conflict[871]. Harakat Fajr ash-Sham al-Islamiya formed an alliance with Jabhat Ansar al-Din on 25 July 2014[872].

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[868] Al-Tamimi, A. (2015). 'ISIS and Syria's Southern Front', *Middle East Institute* [online]. Available at: http://www.mei.edu/content/article/isis-and-syria%E2%80%99s-southern-front [Accessed 04 Dec. 2016].
[869] Burton, B. (2012). 'Divisive Alliance', *The New York Times* [online]. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/22/opinion/divisive-alliance.html?_r=2&ref=alshabab [Accessed 05 Dec. 2016].
[870] CNN, (2012). 'Al-Shabaab joining al Qaeda, monitor group says', *CNN* [online]. Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2012/02/09/world/africa/somalia-shabaab-qaeda/ [Accessed 05 Dec. 2016].
[871] Al-Tamimi, A. (2014). 'Minority Dynamics in Syria', *Syria Comment* [online]. Available at: http://www.joshualandis.com/blog/minority-dynamics-syria/ [Accessed 09 Aug. 2016].
[872] Cafarella, J. (2015). 'Syria Updates 17-25 July 2015', *Institute for the Study of War (ISW)* [online]. Available at:

Harakat Sham al-Islam (Islamic Movement of the Levant (HSI)). Harakat Sham al-Islam (HSI) was formed in August 2013. It is a Moroccan-led Islamist insurgent group fighting in the Syria conflict[873]. Harakat Sham al-Islam is chiefly composed of foreign fighters and has carried out a wide range of attacks in Syria, including kidnappings. The US Department of State designated it and selected individuals Specially Designated Global Terrorists (SDGT), on 24 September 2014, under Executive Order 13224[874].

Hezbollah (Hizbu'llah). **Hezbollah m**eans 'Party of Allah'. It is arguably the largest and most important Shi'a (Shiite) Islamist 'terrorist' militant group. It has a military wing – the Jihad Council which is based in Lebanon. Hezbollah has a large number of personnel fighting in Iraq and Syria against Sunni Islamists[875]. Although it is generally well funded[876], they suffered some financial constraints during 2015[877]. It is designated a terrorist organisation by numerous states including US, Israel (IL), UK[878] and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). The EU and New Zealand have proscribed the military

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http://iswsyria.blogspot.ae/2014/07/syria-update-july-17-25-2014.html#!/2014/07/syria-update-july-17-25-2014.html [Accessed 09 Aug. 2016].

[873] Al-Tamimi, A. (2016). 'Harakat Sham al-Islam', *Jihad Intel* [online]. Available at: http://jihadintel.meforum.org/group/81/harakat-sham-al-islam [Accessed 05 Dec. 2016].

[874] Global Security (2014). 'Harakat Sham al-Islam (HSI)', *Global Security* [online]. Available at: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military///world/para/hsi.htm [Accessed 09 Aug. 2016].

[875] Smyth, P. (2015). 'The Shiite Jihad in Syria and its Regional Effects', *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy* [online]. Available at: http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus138_Smyth-2.pdf [Accessed 05 Dec. 2016].

[876] Levitt, M. (2005). 'Hezbollah Finances: Funding the Party of God', *The Washington Institute* [online]. Available at: http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/hezbollah-finances-funding-the-party-of-god [Accessed 07 Dec. 2016].

[877] Daily Star Lebanon, (2015). 'Hezbollah cutting costs as Iranian aid dries up', *The Daily Star Lebanon* [online]. Available at: http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2014/May-15/256484-hezbollah-cutting-costs-as-iranian-aid-dries-up.ashx [Accessed 06 Dec. 2016].

[878] Home Office, (2016). 'Proscribed Terrorist Organisations', *Home Office* [online]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/538297/20160715-Proscription-website-update.pdf [Accessed 07 Dec. 2016].

wing but not Hezbollah. Once seen as a resistance movement by many Arabs Sunni Muslims, this view has altered due to the sectarian nature of the war in Syria, in which Hezbollah has been used by Iran to revive support for the extremist Shi'a (Shiite) sectarian ideology championed by the Islamic Republic's founder (Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini)[879].

Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islamiyya (The Islamic Party of Liberation (HTI[880])). Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islamiyya is an international, pan-Islamic political organisation that has a declared aim of the re-establishment of an Islamic state (caliphate[881]). Zeyno Baran (Director for International Security and Energy Programs at the Nixon Center (2004)) has stressed that Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islamiyya propagates radicalism and terrorism (Baran, 2004[882]).

'Islamic State' (Dawlah al-islāmīyah (IS)). The so called 'Islamic State' is a self-declared Islamic Khilafah (Caliphate) in the territory within Iraq and Syria (states which the caliphate does not recognise)[883]. Abu Bakr Al Baghdadi is its Caliph. It is unrecognized as a state by the international community[884]. IS is commonly referred to

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[879] Smyth, P. (2015). 'The Shiite Jihad in Syria and its Regional Effects', *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy* [online]. Available at: http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus138_Smyth-2.pdf [Accessed 05 Dec. 2016].
[880] Sometimes abbreviated as HT.
[881] Filiu, J. (2008). 'Hizb ut-Tahrir and the fantasy of the caliphate', *Le Monde Diplomatique* [online]. Available at: https://mondediplo.com/2008/06/04caliphate [Accessed 18 Jan. 2017].
[882] Baran, Z. (2004). 'Hizb ut-Tahrir: Islam's Political Insurgency', *The Nixon Center* [online]. Available at: http://www.bits.de/public/documents/US_Terrorist_Attacks/Hizbut-ahrirIslam'sPoliticalInsurgency.pdf [Accessed 18 Jan. 2017].
[883] Saltman, E. and Winter, C. (2014). 'Islamic State: The Changing Face of Modern Jihadism', *Quilliam Foundation* [online]. Available at: http://www.quilliamfoundation.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/publications/free/islamic-state-the-changing-face-of-modern-jihadism.pdf [Accessed 13 Dec. 2016].
[884] Jebara, M. (2015). 'The delusion of an 'Islamic State', *Ottawa Sun* [online]. Available at: http://www.ottawasun.com/2015/10/18/the-delusion-of-an-isalmic-state [Accessed 10 Dec. 2016].

throughout the Middle East and the Arab world, and increasingly within the West, by the acronym Da'ish[885]. This is derived from the name Ad Dawlah Al Islamiyah fi Iraq wash Sham (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS)), although it also appears in some texts as Da'esh.
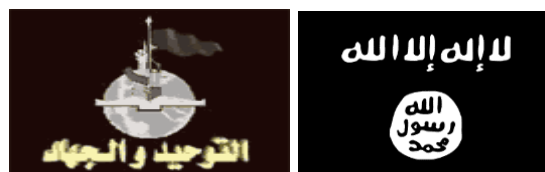
Islamic State of Iraq (Dawlat al-ʿIrāq al-ʾIslāmiyyah (ISI)). Dawlat al-ʿIrāq al-ʾIslāmiyyah was an Islamist group that attempted to establish an Islamic state in the Sunni majority areas of Iraq during the Iraq War. It was on occasions mistakenly referred to as Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI)[886] or *Tanẓīm qāʿidat al-jihād fī bilād ar-rāfiday* prior to be subsumed by ISI 2006-which was active from 2004 ISI formed in 2006 and was an amalgam of Iraqi insurgent groups, including AQI and its Mujahideen Shura Council allies. Upon its formation, Abu Omar al-Baghdadi was its first emir. In April 2013, ISI transformed itself into the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and ultimately ISIS.

Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). ISIL was formed in April 2013 out of the Islamic State of Iraq (Dawlat al-ʿIrāq al-ʾIslāmiyyah), see above. ISIL is a Sunni Islamist terrorist group active in Iraq and Syria. It has a global jihadist ideology and is anti-Western in general and anti-American in particular. It also promotes sectarian violence. ISIL aims to establish an Islamic state governed by an extreme interpretation of Sharia law. ISIL has been responsible for consistent and widespread terrorist operations in Iraq and Syria.

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[885] Saltman, E. and Winter, C. (2014). 'Islamic State: The Changing Face of Modern Jihadism', Quilliam Foundation [online]. Available at: http://www.quilliamfoundation.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/publications/free/islamic-state-the-changing-face-of-modern-jihadism.pdf [Accessed 13 Dec. 2016].
[886] Lewis, J. (2013). 'Al-Qaeda in Iraq Resurgent: The Breaking the Walls Campaign, Part I', *Institute for the Study of War* [online]. Available at: http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/AQI-Resurgent-10Sept_0.pdf [Accessed 12 Dec. 2016].

Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (Ad-Dawlah al-Islāmiyah fī 'l-ʿIrāq wa-sh-Shām) (ISIS)). The term ISIS is derived from the acronym in Arabic Da'ish[887] (*Da'esh*) - Ad Dawlah Al Islamiyah fi Iraq wash Sham. The term *Da'ish* is commonly used throughout the Middle East, Arab World and increasingly within the West to refer to IS or ISIS[888] not least because it avoids using the term 'Islamic State' and partly because it is generally considered derogatory[889].

Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades (Al-Qassam Brigades (EQB)).This is the military wing of the Palestinian Hamas (Harakat Al Muqwamah Al Islamiyyah) organisation. It was created in 1991[890]. From 1994 to 2000, EQB carried out a number of attacks against Israeli targets. During the Second Intifada (known by many Arabs as Al-Aqsa Intifada), EQB became a primary target of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF). EQB operated a cellular structure located chiefly in the West Bank, but most of these became compromised and were subsequently destroyed by 2004 following IDF counterterrorist operations in that region. The group is still in existence and is designated as a terrorist organisation by a number of Western states.

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[887] Saltman, E. and Winter, C. (2014). 'Islamic State: The Changing Face of Modern Jihadism', *Quilliam Foundation* [online]. Available at: http://www.quilliamfoundation.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/publications/free/islamic-state-the-changing-face-of-modern-jihadism.pdf [Accessed 14 Dec. 2016].
[888] Akyol, M. (2015). 'A Medieval Antidote to ISIS', *The New York Times* [online]. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/21/opinion/a-medieval-antidote-to-isis.html?_r=0 [Accessed 11 Dec. 2016].
[889] Schwartz, F. (2014). 'One More Name for Islamic State: Daesh'. The Wall Street Journal [online]. Available at: https://blogs.wsj.com/washwire/2014/12/23/one-more-name-for-islamic-state-daesh/ [Accessed 1 Jul. 2017].
[890] Al-Qassam Brigades' Information Office (AQBIO) (2016). 'Al-Qassam Brigades', AQBIO [online]. Available at: http://www.qassam.ps/aboutus.html [Accessed 18 Aug. 2016].
Warning: this site is designated an extremist information site by some countries and subject to lawful surveillance and tracking by intelligence agencies.

Jabhat Ansar al-Din (Supporters of the Religion Front). Jabhat Ansar al-Din is a jihadist alliance. It came into existence on 25 July 2014 during the Syrian conflict. It initially consisted of two main elements: Harakat Sham al-Islam (Moroccan fighters) and Harakat Fajr ash-Sham al-Islamiya (mostly Syrian fighters) but was later joined by the Green Battalion (mostly Saudi fighters) and Jaish al-Mujahireen wal-Ansar (mostly Chechen, Uzbek and Tajik fighters) [891]. The membership of the 'Religion Front' remained fluid and on 23 September 2015, Jaish al-Muhajireen wal-Ansar departed and formed an alliance with Jabhat al-Nusra[892].

Jabhat Fateh al-Sham (Front for the Conquest of the Levant (JFS)). Jabhat Fateh al-Sham or the Front for the Conquest of the Levant, is a jihadist opposition group fighting in the Syrian conflict. JFS was previously known as Al Jabhat al-Nusra or Al-Nusra Front (JaN). Jabhat Fateh al-Sham came into being on 28 July 2016[893]. Although many viewed this 'rebranding' as a definitive split with AQ, Jabhat Fateh al-Sham's leader (Abu Muhammad Al-Julani) thanked Ayman al-Zawahiri and Abu Khayr al-Masri (AQ leaders) during the carefully nuanced renaming declaration[894]. Although the fighting

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[891] Cafarella, J. (2015). 'Syria Updates 17-25 July 2015', *Institute for the Study of War* (ISW) [online]. Available at: http://iswsyria.blogspot.ae/2014/07/syria-update-july-17-25-2014.html#!/2014/07/syria-update-july-17-25-2014.html [Accessed 9 Aug. 2016].

[892] Westall, S. (2015). 'Insurgent group pledges allegiance to al Qaeda's Syria wing', *Reuters* [online]. Available at: http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-nusra-idUSKCN0RN1Z920150923 [Accessed 10 Aug. 2016].

[893] Al Jazeera, (2016). 'Al-Nusra leader Jolani announces split from al-Qaeda', *Al Jazeera* [online]. Available at: http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/07/al-nusra-leader-jolani-announces-split-al-qaeda-160728163725624.html [Accessed 27 Sep. 2016].

[894] Joscelyn, T. (2016). 'Analysis: Al Nusrah Front rebrands itself as Jabhat Fath Al Sham', *The Long War Journal* [online]. Available at: http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/07/analysis-al-nusrah-front-rebrands-itself-as-jabhat-fath-al-sham.php [Accessed 28 Sep. 2016].

capability of Jabhat Fateh al-Sham is considerable, for now, its primary focus remains Syria, rather than waging a global jihad[895].

Jabhat Tahrīr Sūriyā al-Islāmiyyah (Syrian Islamic Liberation Front (SILF)). Jabhat Tahrīr Sūriyā al-Islāmiyyah was formed in 2012 from a coalition of about 20 Islamist fighting groups. It was led by Ahmed Eissa al-Sheikh, the leader of the Suqour al-Sham Brigade. SILF had tens of thousands of active fighters throughout Syria and outnumbered the Free Syrian Army (FSA) in some regions[896]. SILF major units included the Suqour al-Sham Brigade (based in Idlib), Farouq Brigade (based in Homs), Liwa al-Islam (based in Damascus) and Tawhid Brigade (based in Aleppo)[897]. Other groups within the SILF command included, Liwa Dawud, the Deir ez-Zor Revolutionary Council (Deir ez-Zor), Tajamo Ansar al-Islam (based in Damascus), Amr Ibn al-Aas Brigade (based in Aleppo), and al-Naser Salaheddin Brigade (based in Latakia)[898]. Jabhat Tahrīr Sūriyā al-Islāmiyyah (SILF) ceased as an effective fighting force on 25 November 2013[899].

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[895] The Economist, (2016). 'Al-Qaeda The other jihadist state', *The Economist* [online]. http://www.economist.com/news/international/21707208-eclipsed-islamic-state-al-qaeda-may-be-making-comeback-more-pragmatic-and [Accessed 28 Sep. 2016].

[896] Abouzeid, R. (2012). 'Syria's Secular and Islamist Rebels: Who Are the Saudis and the Qataris Arming?', *Time* [online]. Available at: http://world.time.com/2012/09/18/syrias-secular-and-islamist-rebels-who-are-the-saudis-and-the-qataris-arming/ [Accessed 8 Sep. 2016].

[897] Lister, C. (2013). 'Syria's Moderate Rebels Wane as Extremist Forces Dominate', *The National* [online]. Available at: http://www.thenational.ae/thenationalconversation/comment/syrias-moderate-rebels-wane-as-extremist-forces-dominate [Accessed 8 Sep. 2016].

[898] Abdulhamid, A. (2012). 'Rebels With a Cause, but not much Consensus', *Foreign Policy* [online]. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20121017053403/http://www.foreignpolicy.com:80/articles/2012/10/01/rebels_with_a_cause_but_not_much_consensus?page=full [Accessed 8 Sep. 2016].

[899] Syrian Islamic Liberation Front (2013). 'Declaration of Cessation', *Syrian Islamic Liberation Front.net* [online]. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20131216044518/http://syrialiberationfront.net:80/%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%AD%D9%84-%D8%AC%D8%A8%D9%87%D8%A9-%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A9 [Accessed 8 Sep. 2016].

Jaysh Adan al-Islami (Islamic Army of Aden (IAA)). The IAA is an Islamist jihadist group and AQ affiliate based in Yemen, which is predominately located in Southern Yemen[900]. The origins of the group are thought to be rooted in returning jihadist fighters from the war in Afghanistan against the USSR invasion and occupation. It aims to overthrow of the current Yemeni government, establish an Islamic State and promote jihad across the region[901]. It is thought that it was responsible for attacks on Yemeni socialists in the early 1990s[902] and the 1998 kidnapping of foreign tourists in Abyan. The IAA is also thought to have been involved in the 2000 bombing of the USS Cole in Aden[903]. The group has been designated as a terrorist organisation by Canada and the UK.

Jaysh al-Fatah (The Army of Conquest - JaF). Jaysh al-Fatah is an alliance of Islamist rebel factions participating in the Syrian conflict. It formed in March 2015 and comprises of Islamist rebel factions mainly active in the Idlib, Hama and Latakia Governorates. These factions included Ahrar al-Sham, Suqour al-Sham, Jund al-Aqsa, Liwaa al-Haq and Al Jabhat al-Nusra[904]. Forming this type of coalition or alliance of Islamist groups is a deliberate attempt to pool resources and make economies of scale. For Jaysh al-Fatah, this worked particularly well during the Idlib Offensive (March 2015), when they captured the city and others such as the Maarakat an-Nasr (Tahrir Sahl al-

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[900] It is also known as: Aden-Abyan Islamic Army (AAIA), Islamic Army of Aden-Abyan (IAAA), Army of Mohammad and the Jaysh Adan Al Islami, but essentially it is the same organisation.
[901] Global Security, (2016). 'Aden-Abyan Islamic Army', *Global Security* [online]. Available at: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/aden-abyan.htm [Accessed 08 Dec. 2016].
[902] Especially during the 1993 parliamentary elections.
[903] The Mackenzie Institute, (2016). 'Islamic Army of Aden (IAA)', *The Mackenzie Institute* [online]. Available at: http://mackenzieinstitute.com/islamic-army-aden-iaa/ [Accessed 08 Dec. 2016].
[904] Now, (2015). 'Rebels seek to storm Idlib amid chemical fears: Islamist factions merged to form a new coalition for their offensive', *Now* [online]. Available at: https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/NewsReports/565025-rebels-seek-to-storm-idlib-amid-chemical-fears [Accessed 28 Sep. 2016].

Ghab) also known as 'Battle of Victory' alliance have replicated this model[905]. Membership of the 'Army' has remained fluid with groups leaving or joining, depending upon specific requirements or changing circumstances.

Jaysh al-Haramoun (Army of Hermon). Jaysh al-Haramoun was an Islamist coalition of mixed opposition groups which formed in Syria, for a three month period in 2015[906]. It was thought to consist of the following elements: Ahrar ash-Sham, Liwa Fursan al-Sunna, Liwa Jabal al-Sheikh, the 'Christ' Brigade, Liwa Osama bin Zaid, Liwa Omar Ibn al-Khattab, Liwa Sayad al-Usud, Harakat Shuhada al-Sham and even Al Jabhat al-Nusra (Al-Nusra Front). Mainly, it operated in the eastern Quneitra and Rif Dimashq governorates of Syria. However, after the loss at the Second Battle of Zabadani in 2015, which the Islamists lost, Jaysh al-Haramoun became largely non-operational[907].

Jaysh al-Islam (Army of Islam (AOI)). Jaysh al-Islam formed in 2013 and is a coalition of Islamist and Salafist units fighting in the Syrian conflict. Jaysh al-Islam was formerly known as Liwa al-Islam (Brigade of Islam[908]) and was also previously part of the Islamic

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[905] Joscelyn, T. (2015). 'Al Nusrah Front, allies launch new offensives against Syrian regime', *The Long War Journal* [online]. Available at: http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/04/al-nusrah-front-allies-launch-new-offensives-against-syrian-regime.php [Accessed 28 Sep. 2016].
[906] June – September 2015.
[907] Kozin, V. (2015). 'Russia's Surgical Strikes in Syria: 80 Military Targets including Terrorist Command Posts, ISIS Training Camps, Ammunition Depots', *Global Research Centre for Research and Globalization* [online]. Available at: http://www.globalresearch.ca/russias-surgical-strikes-in-syria-80-military-targets-including-terrorist-command-posts-isis-training-camps-ammunition-depots/5480376 [Accessed 27 Sep. 2016].
[908] Middle East Eye, (2015). 'Rise of Jaish al-Islam marks a turn in Syria conflict', *Middle East Eye* [online]. Available at: http://www.google.ae/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwjGtuXy45nWAhWJLMAKHX67CBcQFggkMAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.middleeasteye.net%2Fnews%2Fjaish-al-islam-piece-918366283&usg=AFQjCNF95KZqqAkRZz2-q9CvI9mvbWd7nw [Accessed 26 Sep. 2016]. Warning, this site is designated an extremist media site by some countries and subject to lawful surveillance and tracking by intelligence agencies.

Front[909]. At one point, it was the largest and most active opposition group fighting in Damascus, Douma and Eastern Ghouta. The declared aim of Jaysh al-Islam is to create an Islamic state which is controlled by Sharia law[910]. Jaysh al-Islam has rejected membership of the Free Syrian Army (FSA) and remained wedded to its outright Islamist ideology. On 25 December 2015, the founder of Jaysh al-Islam (Zahran Alloush) was killed in an air strike on Damascus and was succeeded by Abu Hammam Bouwaidani[911]. The constituent units of the 'Army' remain fluid and there has been some internal fragmentation. By March 2018, Jaysh al-Islam was surrounded in Douma and Eastern Ghouta by Syrian Regime armed forces[912].

Jaysh al-Izzah (Army of Glory). Jaysh al-Izzah is a militant opposition group that is fighting in northern and western Syria. It operates predominately in the northern Hama area and al-Ghab Plain. However, its Area of Operations (AOR) is fluid according to battle conditions. Jaysh al-Izzah is loosely affiliated to the Free Syrian Army (FSA) and has received a wide range of munitions[913] from some Western states. There has been a good deal of fluidity with its fighters and some have departed to join more extremist groups. Jaysh al-Izzah has also been targeted and struck by Russian airstrikes[914].

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[909] Al-Tamimi, A. (2014). 'The Dawn of Freedom Brigades: Analysis and Interview', *Syria Comment* [online]. Available at: http://www.joshualandis.com/blog/profile-tajammu-alwiya-fajr-al-hurriya/ [Accessed 26 Sep. 2016].

[910] Stanford University, (2016). 'Mapping Militant Organisations: Jaish al-Islam', *Stanford University* [online]. Available at: https://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/533 [Accessed 26 Sep. 2016].

[911] Al Jazeera, (2015). 'Russian raids kill prominent Syrian rebel commander: Death of Zahran Alloush, head of Army of Islam, reported in Damascus suburb along with attack on a hospital in Aleppo', *Al Jazeera* [online]. Available at: http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/12/russian-raids-kill-prominent-syrian-rebel-commander-151225142422180.html [Accessed 26 Sep. 2016].

[912] Hasan, M. (2018) 'Fresh Rebel Withdrawals from Syria's Shrinking Ghouta', France 24, [online]. Available at: http://www.france24.com/en/20180326-fresh-rebel-withdrawals-syrias-shrinking-ghouta [Accessed 4 Apr. 2018].

[913] Such as BGM-71 TOWs.

[914] Afanasieva, D. (2015). 'Western-backed Syrian rebel group says hit by Russian air strikes', *Reuters* [online]. Available at: http://www.reuters.com/article/uk-mideast-crisis-russia-rebels-idUKKCN0RU1XH20150930 [Accessed 19 Jan. 2017].

Jaysh al-Jihad (Jihad Army). Jaysh al-Jihad was an Islamic State (IS) group based in Quneitra Governorate, Syria. The group was formed from independent groups that defected from Al-Nusra Front. These groups were: Jihad Brigades, Jamaat Jund al-Islam, Jamaat Abu Baseer, Mujahideen of al-Sham movement, Jamaat Shabab Ahl al-Sunnah, Nurayn Brigade, and Jamaat Bunyan al-Marsous[915]. The break occurred following clashes between the Al-Nusra Front and the Yarmouk Martyrs Brigade in December 2014. In April 2015, Jaish al-Jihad militants ambushed and killed FSA fighters in Quneitra. By May 2016, the remnants of Jaysh al-Jihad joined with two other Pro-ISIL factions in Southern Syria (Yarmouk Martyrs Brigade and Islamic Muthanna Movement) to form the Khalid ibn al-Walid Army.

Jaysh al-Mujahideen (The Army of Mujahideen). Jaysh al-Mujahideen is a coalition of Islamist groups which formed to combat the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) during the Syrian conflict[916]. The group accused ISIL of disrupting 'security and stability' in areas that had been freed from the control of the government of President Bashar al-Assad[917]. The Army of Mujahideen was formed in January 2014 from the population of the Aleppo hinterland and was soon joined by Division 19, Fastaqim Kama Umirt and the Nour al-Din al-Zanki Islamic Brigades[918]. However, the group's membership has

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[915] The Carter Center, (2015). 'The Islamic State in Southern Syria May 15, 2015'. *The Carter Center* [online]. Available at: https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/conflict_resolution/syria-conflict/islamic-state-in-southern-syria-may2015.pdf [Accessed 1 Sep. 2016].
[916] Saad, H. and Gladstonejan, R. (2014). 'Qaeda-Linked Insurgents Clash With Other Rebels in Syria, as Schism Grows', *The New York Times* [online]. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/04/world/middleeast/qaeda-insurgents-in-syria.html?_r=2& [Accessed 5 Sep. 2016].
[917] Abboud, H. (2014). 'Democratic Revolution, Syrian Style, Freedom, Human Rights, Rule of Law: The Goals and Guiding Principles of the Islamic Front and Its Allies', *Wordpress* [online]. Available at: https://notgeorgesabra.wordpress.com/2014/05/17/freedom-human-rights-rule-of-law-the-goals-and-guiding-principles-of-the-islamic-front-and-its-allies/ [Accessed 5 Sep. 2016].

remained fluid with the Nour al-Din al-Zanki Islamic Brigades withdrawing in May 2014, Division 19's Liwaa al-Ansar unit being expelled in June 2014 and Fastaqim Kama Umirt departing the group in December 2014[919]. Jaysh al-Mujahideen (The Army of Mujahideen) remains an intact fighting force in the Syrian conflict but is greatly diminished from its earlier strength.

Jaysh al-Nasr (Army of Victory). Jaish Al-Nasr is an armed faction fighting in the Syrian conflict. It is an opposition group and was founded in 2015. There has been a good deal of fluidity in its members. Although it is not explicitly overtly Islamist, some of its fighters previously fought with Islamist groups and some have departed to join more extreme groups.

Jaysh al-Thuwar (The Army of Revolutionaries). Jaysh al-Thuwar was formed in May 2015 with the declared intention of fighting the Syrian regime and ISIS[920]. It soon became a significant formation within the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) and consisted of a wide coalition of groups fighting in Idlib, Hama, Homs, Aleppo, Latakia

[918] Lund, A. (2014). 'The Mujahideen Army of Aleppo', *Carnegie Middle East Center, Diwan Middle East Insights from Carnegie* [online]. Available at: http://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/55275?lang=en [Accessed 5 Sep. 2016].
[919] Lister, C. (2014). 'As ISIS closes in, is it game over for Syria's opposition in Aleppo?', *CNN* [online]. Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2014/08/15/opinion/syria-aleppo-isis-threat/ [Accessed 5 Sep. 2016].
[920] Hasan, M. (2015). 'An Analysis of Jaish al-Thuwar (The Army of Revolutionaries) – A Component of the Syrian Democratic Forces'. *Hasan Mustafa* [online]. Available at: https://hasanmustafas.wordpress.com/2015/11/16/an-analysis-of-jaish-al-thuwar-the-army-of-revolutionaries-a-component-of-the-syrian-democratic-forces/ [Accessed 25 Sep. 2016].

and Raqqah provinces[921]. The 'Army' comprises Arabs (including many Islamists), Kurds and Turkmens, including former units of the Syria Revolutionaries' Front (SRF) and the Hazm (Steadfast) Movement. The original seven units of Jaysh al-Thuwar were: Liwa al-Maham al-Khassa (Special Operations Brigade), Liwa 99 Masha (99th Infantry Brigade), Liwa al-Sultan Selim (Sultan Selim Brigade), Tajammu Thuwar Homs (Homs Revolutionaries Grouping), Kata'ib Shams al-Shamal (Northern Sun Battalions), Jabhat al-Akrad (Kurdish Front) and Fawj 777 (777th Regiment). Later, other units joined Jaysh al-Thuwar such as: Harakat al-Fedayeen al-Thawriya (Revolutionary Fedayeen Movement), Liwa Ahfad al-Othman (Descendants of Othman Brigade), Liwa 313 – Ahrar al-Aqrab (313th Brigade – Free Men of Aqrab), Liwa Shuhadah al-Atareb (Martyrs of Atareb Brigade) and Liwa al-Salajiqah al-Turkmani (Turkmen Seljuq Brigade)[922].   As part of the SDF they have come into direct conflict with groups such as ISIS and Al Jabhat al-Nusra ('the Support Front for the People of Al Sham') commonly known as Al Nusra Front[923].   Membership of Jaysh al-Thuwar has remained fluid with groups departing the 'Army' such as the Martyrs of Atareb Brigade, due to disputes, whilst others have ceased to be effective fighting units[924].

Jaysh Khalid ibn al-Waleed (The Army of Khalid ibn al-Waleed). Jaysh Khalid ibn al-Waleed is often referred to in the West as the 'Khalid ibn al-Walid Army'. It is a Salafi jihadist group operating in southern Syria. The 'army' consists of the Yarmouk Martyrs Brigade, the Islamic Muthanna Movement, and the Army of Jihad and is affiliated with the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), as are the constituent groups. Jaysh

[921] Cafarella, J. and Casagrande, G. (2015). 'Syrian Opposition Guide'. *Institute for the Study of War* [online]. Available at: http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Syrian%20Opposition%20Guide_0.pdf [Accessed 25 Sep. 2017].
[922] Hasan, M. (2015). 'An Analysis of Jaish al-Thuwar (The Army of Revolutionaries) – A Component of the Syrian Democratic Forces'. *Hasan Mustafa* [online]. Available at: https://hasanmustafas.wordpress.com/2015/11/16/an-analysis-of-jaish-al-thuwar-the-army-of-revolutionaries-a-component-of-the-syrian-democratic-forces/ [Accessed 25 Sep. 2016].
[923] The Revolutionaries Army, RFS Media Office, (2015). 'We fight the forces of the regime and Daesh'. *President of the Political Bureau RFS Media Office* [online]. Available at: https://rfsmediaoffice.com/2015/07/04/15108/#.VkkxVfmrTIU [Accessed 25 Sep. 2016].
[924] Hasan, M. (2015). 'An Analysis of Jaish al-Thuwar (The Army of Revolutionaries) – A Component of the Syrian Democratic Forces'. *Hasan Mustafa* [online]. Available at: https://hasanmustafas.wordpress.com/2015/11/16/an-analysis-of-jaish-al-thuwar-the-army-of-revolutionaries-a-component-of-the-syrian-democratic-forces/ [Accessed 25 Sep. 2016].

Khalid ibn al-Waleed is thought to be commanded by Abu Uthman Idlibi, is in control of land southeast of the Golan Heights and is in conflict with the Syrian rebels[925]. The 'army' is named after Khalid ibn al-Waleed who commanded the Muslim armies in the Battle of Yarmouk in 636 CE that defeated the Byzantine Army and led to the Muslim conquest of the Levant. Jaysh Khalid ibn al-Waleed was established on 21 May 2016 (the formation charter is shown above which uses the Islamic calendar and thus shows 14 Sha'aban 1437)[926]. In August 2016, units of Jaysh Khalid ibn al-Waleed launched an offensive against the town of Hawd al-Yarmouk (held by the Army of Conquest), but without success[927].

Jaysh Rijāl aṭ-Ṭarīqa an-Naqshabandiya or Jaysh Rijal al-Tariq al-Naqshabandi (The Army of the Men of the Naqshbandi Order (JRTN))). JRTN is an Iraq based Islamist terror group which is sometimes called the Naqshbandi Army. It is a militant organisation and an Iraqi underground Ba'athist insurgency group. It has been linked to the Supreme Command for Jihad and Liberation which is an umbrella organisation.

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[925] Sands, P. and Maayeh, S. (2016). 'Far from Raqqa and Fallujah, Syria rebels open new front against ISIL in the south' *The National* [online]. Available at: http://www.thenational.ae/world/middle-east/far-from-raqqa-and-fallujah-syria-rebels-open-new-front-against-isil-in-the-south#full [Accessed 4 Sep. 2016].

[926] Al-Tamimi, A. (2016). 'Yarmouk Valley: The Formation of Jaysh Khalid ibn al-Waleed?', *Pundicity* [online]. Available at: http://www.aymennjawad.org/2016/05/yarmouk-valley-the-formation-of-jaysh-khalid-ibn [Accessed 4 Sep. 2016].

[927] Syrian Observatory for Human Rights (2016). 'Clashes breakout between IS allied faction and rebels in Dar'a', *Syrian Observatory for Human Rights* (SOHR) [online]. Available at: http://www.syriahr.com/en/?p=49311 [Accessed 4 Sep. 2017].

Jund al-Aqsa (Soldiers of al-Aqsa - JAA). Jund al-Aqsa or 'Soldiers of al-Aqsa[928]' is a Salafist jihadist group that has been fighting during the Syrian conflict and was formerly known as Sarayat al-Quds. JAA was founded by Abu Abdul 'Aziz al-Qatari as part of the Al Jabhat al-Nusra or Al-Nusra Front but it later became independent. This was chiefly due to Al-Nusra growing too rapidly and from suffering high casualty rates. Jund al-Aqsa has been designated a terrorist organization by the US[929]. The group's first leader, Abu Abdulaziz al-Qatari, was killed in fighting in Idlib, Syria in January 2014[930]. JAA has worked with other Islamist groups and the FSA to pool resources and capture major regime-held objectives such as the town of Ariha in the governorate of Idlib during an offensive in May 2015[931]. Social media sources suggest that Jund al-Aqsa continued to be active as a fighting force in 2016, especially in the northern Hama Governorate[932].

Jund al Khalifa-Algeria (Soldiers of the Caliphate – JaK-A). JaK-A is an Islamist group extremist group that wishes to establish an Islamic caliphate in Algeria. They carry out attacks against the Algerian Army, kidnap and kill Westerners (especially French) and have declared their allegiance to ISIL / ISIS in 2014. It was proscribed by the UK in January 2015.

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[928] Al-Aqsa Mosque in Al-Quds (Jerusalem) is the third holiest mosque (masjid) site in Islam.
[929] US Department of State (2016). 'State Department Terrorist Designation of Jund al-Aqsa', *US Department of State* [online]. Available at: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2016/09/262158.htm [Accessed 29 Sep. 2016].
[930] FARS News Agency, (2014). 'ISIL Commanders Killed in Syria, Iraq', *FARS News Agency* [online]. Available at: http://en.farsnews.com/newstext.aspx?nn=13921017001314 [Accessed 1 Sep. 2016].
[931] Lister, C. (2015). 'An internal struggle: Al Qaeda's Syrian affiliate is grappling with its identity', *Brookings* [online]. Available at: https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2015/05/31/an-internal-struggle-al-qaedas-syrian-affiliate-is-grappling-with-its-identity/ [Accessed 29 Sep. 2016].
[932] Twitter BM-27 Urgan, (2016). 'Wow, Jund al Aqsa using a drone to drop explosives on government forces', *Twitter* [online]. Available at: https://twitter.com/bm27_uragan/status/771821523199942656 [Accessed 29 Sep. 2016].

Kateeba al-Kawthar (KaK). KaK is an Islamist terrorist group which is fighting to establish an Islamic state in Syria. The name al-Kawthar (The Abundance[933]) is taken from Sūrat al-Kawthar which is the 108th surah of the Holy Qur'an. The Idlib and Hama-based group has links to AQ. KaK is also known as 'Ajnad al-sham[934]' and 'Junud ar-Rahman al Muhajireen'. It joined the Army of Conquest in 2015 and took part in the Second Battle of Idlib[935]. KaK attempts to attract a wide range of fighters including Western foreign fighters. It has released internet footage encouraging Muslims to travel to Syria and requesting support for their fighters. It was proscribed by the UK in June 2014.

Kitā'ib Thawrat al-Ishrīn (The 1920 Revolution Brigades). Kitā'ib Thawrat al-Ishrīn is a Sunni Islamist insurgent group which formed in Iraq following the US and UK invasion. Its members included former disbanded Iraqi Army personnel. The group used a wide range of attack methods and weapons against the US Armed Forces. These included Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs). The group is named after the 1920 Iraqi Revolt against the British Empire. In 2014, the group was actively fighting in and around Fallujah[936].

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[933] Also translated as 'The Abundance of Good'.
[934] This should not to be confused with the similar sounding Ajnad al-Sham Islamic Union.
[935] Joscelyn, T. (2015). 'Al Qaeda and allies form coalition to battle Syrian regime in Idlib', *FDD Long War Journal* [online]. Available at: http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/03/al-qaeda-and-allies-form-coalition-to-battle-syrian-regime-in-idlib.php [Accessed 19 Dec. 2016].
[936] Al-Tamimi, A. (2014). 'The 1920s Revolution Brigades', *Aymenn Jawad Al-Tamimi* [online]. Available at: http://www.aymennjawad.org/15037/the-1920s-revolution-brigades [Accessed 19 Jan. 2017].

Liwa al-Haqq (Brigade of Truth). Liwa al-Haqq is an Islamist group (Salafist dominated) that has been fighting in the Syrian conflict[937]. It has been operating in Hama, Homs and Idlib and is thought to be dominated by hardline Islamists who helped form the now-dissolved SIF alliance with Ahrar al-Sham[938]. Following the Russian military intervention in the Syrian conflict, the commander of Liwa al-Haqq commander (Abu Abdullah Taftanaz) posted a tweet addressing the Russians as infidels[939].

Liwa Shuhadā' al-'Aqṣā (Al-'Aqṣā Martyrs' Brigades (AAMB)). The al-'Aqṣā Martyrs' Brigades are a coalition of Palestinian armed groups in the West Bank that became particularly active during the Al-Aqṣā Intifāḍah in the early 2000s[940]. The group is named after Al-Aqṣā Mosque which is located in Jerusalem on the holy site known by Muslims as Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf (The Noble Sanctuary). Muslims revere this site as it is believed to be the place where the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him (PBUH)) ascended to heaven. It is also important to the Jews who refer to it as the Temple Mount as it is the site of the Second Temple[941]. AAMB was formed as a secular

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[937] Lund, A. (2014). 'The Other Syrian Peace Process', *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* [online]. Available at: http://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/54320?lang=en [Accessed 3 Oct. 2016].
[938] BBC, (2013). 'Guide to the Syrian rebels', *BBC* [online]. Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-24403003# [Accessed 3 Oct. 2016].
[939] Moubayed, S. (2015). 'Russia's moves in Syria are unprecedented', *Gulf News* [online]. Available at: http://m.gulfnews.com/news/mena/syria/russia-s-moves-in-syria-are-unprecedented-1.1591515 [Accessed 3 Oct. 2016].
[940] Pearson, E. (2016). 'Al-Aqṣā Martyrs Brigades', [online]. Available at: https://global.britannica.com/topic/Al-Aqsa-Martyrs-Brigades [Accessed 8 Nov. 2016].
[941] Which was destroyed by the Roman Empire in 70 Common Era (CE).

coalition in the West Bank Balata refugee camp[942] shortly after Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon made a controversial visit to Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf (Temple Mount) in September 2000. AAMB was affiliated with the Palestinian Fatah party, especially during the leadership of Yāsir ʿArafāt. Since ʿArafāt's death in 2004, the connection has loosened. Liwa Shuhadā' al-'Aqṣā has carried out a wide range of terrorist attacks and has been designated as a terrorist organisation by a range of countries, such as the US[943].

Liwa al-Tawhid (Brigade of Oneness). Liwa al-Tawhid is named after Tawhid meaning the 'Oneness of God'. This is often mistranslated as the 'Unity Brigade'. It was founded in 2012 and became one of the largest Islamist insurgent groups in the Syrian conflict[944]. It was based in northern Syria, especially around Aleppo, and was affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood[945]. In late 2013 it co-signed a joint statement calling for Sharia law and rejecting the authority of the Syrian National Coalition[946]. Its leader Abdul Qader Saleh was killed in a Syrian Army airstrike in 2013 and from then on it was represented by its political leader Abdul-Aziz Salameh. In 2014, its northern branch, the Ahrar al-Shamal Brigade was 'superseded' by the Northern Sun Battalion (Kata'ib Shams al-Shamal) with their fighters becoming a core part of the Levant Front.

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[942] Near Nāblus.

[943] US Department of State, (2016). 'Foreign Terrorist Organizations', *US Department of State* [online]. Available at: http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm [Accessed 8 Nov. 2016].

[944] Panell, I. (2012). 'Syria: Fear and hunger amid battle for Aleppo' *BBC* [online]. Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-19042700 [Accessed 18 Jul. 2016].

[945] Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium, (2012). 'Liwaa al-Tawhid Brigade', *Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium* [online]. Available at: http://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/liwaa-al-tawhid-brigade [Accessed 20 Jul. 2016].

[946] Roggio, B. (2013). 'Free Syrian Army units ally with al Qaeda, reject Syrian National Coalition and call for sharia', *The Long War Journal* [online]. Available at: http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2013/09/free_syrian_army_uni.php [Accessed 2 Aug. 2016].
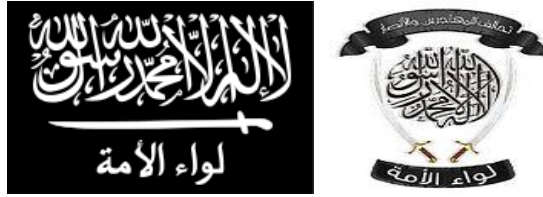
Liwā' al-Ummah (Banner of the Nation). Liwā' al-Ummah is an Islamist group fighting in the Syrian conflict. It was founded in April 2012 by Mahdi Al-Harati, an Irish-Libyan who commanded it from April to September 2012 and was then replaced by an Arab (Abu Farouk) [947]. In January 2014, Liwā' al-Ummah joined other rebel groups such as Liwa al-Haqq and Jund al-Aqsa, in a jihadist coalition titled the Muhajirin wa-Ansar Alliance (not to be confused with Jaish al-Muhajireen wal-Ansar which is predominately Chechen)[948].
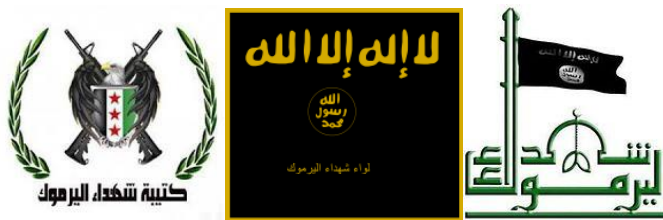
Liwā' Shuhada al-Yarmouk (Yarmouk Martyrs Brigade - LSY). The Liwa Shuhada al-Yarmouk was an Islamist rebel group that fought in southern Syria. It was established in 2012 and was largely based on local affiliations rather than ideology. Initially, it was connected to Syrian rebel groups such as the Supreme Military Council and the Southern Front and its symbology reflected this (see first logo above on the left). However, when it later became affiliated to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) its flag and logo changed (see above – centre and right). It fought against a number of Syrian opposition groups for dominance of the Yarmouk Basin[949]. It also was responsible for the kidnapping of 21 Filipino UN soldiers in 2013[950]. On 21 May 2016, it

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[947] Santos, P. (2011). 'Irish Libyans join rebels trying to oust Gadafy', *Irish Times* [online]. Available at: http://www.irishtimes.com/news/irish-libyans-join-rebels-trying-to-oust-gadafy-1.596469 [Accessed 3 Oct. 2016].
[948] Lund, A. (2014). 'The Other Syrian Peace Process', *Carnegie Endowment for Peace Diwan Middle East Insights from Carnegie* [online]. Available at: http://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/54320?lang=en [Accessed 8 Sep. 2016].
[949] The Carter Center, (2015). 'The Islamic State in Southern Syria May 15 2015', *The Carter Center* [online]. Available at: https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/conflict_resolution/syria-conflict/islamic-state-in-southern-syria-may2015.pdf [Accessed 8 Sep. 2016].
[950] Syria Survey, (2013). 'The Yarmouk Martyrs Brigade and the Capture of the UN Troops', *Syria Survey* [online]. Available at: http://syriasurvey.blogspot.ae/2013/03/the-yarmouk-martyrs-brigade-and-capture.html [Accessed 8 September 2016].

was subsumed with other Islamist groups into Jaysh Khalid ibn al-Waleed (The Army of Khalid ibn al-Waleed), also known as Khalid ibn al-Walid Army.

Maarakat an-Nasr (Battle of Victory). Maarakat an-Nasr (Battle of Victory) also known as Tahrir Sahl al-Ghab, was an alliance of Islamist groups fighting in the Syrian conflict, which formed in April 2015, with the intention of pooling resources in order to capture the Syrian city of Jisr al-Shughur from the regime forces[951]. The alliance was based on the Jaysh al-Fateh (Army of Conquest) coalition model which successfully captured the city of Idlib in March 2015. The alliance consisted of: Al Jabhat al-Nusra (Al-Nusra Front), Ahrar ash-Sham, Ansar al-Sham, Jaysh al-Islam, Jabhat Ansar al-Din, Turkistan Islamic Party (TIP) and Junud al-Sham; however, there was much movement of elements in and out of the alliance[952].

Majlis Shura al-Mujahideen (Mujahideen Shura Council (MSC)). The Majlis Shura al-Mujahideen (MSC) was formed in January 2006 and was an amalgam of at least six Sunni Islamic insurgent groups taking part in the Iraqi insurgency against US, coalition and Iraqi forces. These groups included: Tanzim Qaidat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn ('Al-Qaeda in Iraq' (AQI)), Jaish al-Ta'ifa al-Mansurah, Katbiyan Ansar al-Tawhid wal

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[951] Joscelyn, T. (2015). 'Al Nusrah Front, allies launch new offensives against Syrian regime', The Long War Journal [online]. Available at: http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/04/al-nusrah-front-allies-launch-new-offensives-against-syrian-regime.php [Accessed 28 Sep. 2016].
[952] Weiss, C. (2015). 'Turkistan Islamic Party in Syria involved in new Idlib offensive', *Threat Matrix, The Long War Journal* [online]. Available at: http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/04/turkistan-islamic-party-in-syria-involved-in-new-idlib-offensive.php [Accessed 28 Sep. 2016].

Sunnah, Saray al-Jihad Group, al-Ghuraba Brigades, and al-Ahwal Brigades[953]. The leader of the MSC was Hamid Dawud Mohamed Khalil al Zawi, also known as Abu Hamza al-Baghdadi and Abu Omar al-Qurashi al-Baghdadi. The MSC was disbanded in October 2006 and replaced by the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI).

Nūr ad-Dīn az-Zankī Katiba (Noor al Din al-Zanki Battalions). The Noor al Din al-Zanki Battalions are Islamist units fighting in the Syrian conflict, especially in Aleppo. They are linked to The Army of Mujahideen (Jaysh al-Mujahideen) and other Islamist rebel groups[954]. These units also fought as part of the Authenticity and Development Front[955]. The Nour al-Din al-Zanki units were expelled from the Army of Mujahideen in May 2014. Although their flag can still be seen on some Islamist positions and websites, they have become operationally diminished.

(The Shabiha do not have an official banner)

Shabiha

The Shabiha or *šabbīḥa* ('spirits', 'ghosts' or 'shadows') are mostly Alawite groups of armed militia who tend not to wear uniforms, have banners or insignia. They fight with the Syrian government forces and are fiercely loyal to the Al-Assad family. However, in some areas such as Aleppo they recruit from local pro-Assad *Sunni* tribes such as, Al-Baggara and Al-Hasasne. Many Shabiha militia groups have been linked to atrocities such as the slaughter of men, women and children.

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[953] Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), (2006). 'Jihad Groups in Iraq Take an Oath of Allegiance', *MEMRI* Islamist Websites Monitor No. 8, Special Dispatch No.1324 [online]. Available at: http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/1910.htm [Accessed 22 May. 2016].
[954] International Crisis Group, (2014). 'Rigged Cars and Barrel Bombs: Aleppo and the State of the Syrian War', *International Crisis Group* [online]. Available at: https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/rigged-cars-and-barrel-bombs-aleppo-and-state-syrian-war [Accessed 20 Dec. 2016].
[955] Pierret, T. (2013). 'External support and the Syrian insurgency', *Foreign Policy* [online]. Available at: http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/08/09/external-support-and-the-syrian-insurgency/ [Accessed 21 Dec. 2016].

Shams al-Shamal (Northern Sun Battalions). Shams al-Shamal, more correctly known as Kata'ib Shams al-Shamal (Northern Sun Battalions) were formed during the Syrian conflict. They consist of Sunni Arabs and Kurds and developed out of groups once affiliated to the Islamic Front's Al-Tawhid Brigade. At one point the battalions were part of the Dawn of Freedom Brigade (Alwiyat Fajr al-Hurriya), which no longer exists. Kata'ib Shams al-Shamal was also a founding group of the Euphrates 'Volcano (Burkan al-Furat) Operations Room', which was particularly active around Raqqah and Kobani. They assisted the Kurdish YPG (People's Protection Units)[956] to fight ISIS around north-eastern Aleppo, the Kobani Canton and ultimately seized Tel Abyad, Sarrin and much of northern Raqqah. They were also significant in the Al-Hawl Offensive in eastern Hasakah province[957]. By the time they had captured Tel Abyad, they were operating as units of the Army of Revolutionaries (Jaysh al-Thuwar), as part of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF)[958]. Since the establishment of the SDF, additional groups have joined Kata'ib Shams al-Shamal such as the Martyrs of Dam Brigade and Jund al-Haramayn[959]. Kata'ib Shams al-Shamal was one of the founding members of the Manbij Military Council (MMC), a group that spear-headed the SDF capture of Manbij city. The

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[956] YPG (*Ḥdoywotho d'Sutoro d'Amo* - People's Protection Units) is a mainly-Kurdish militia in Syria and the primary component of the Democratic Federation of Northern Syria's, Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF).

[957] Lund, A. (2014). 'The Mujahideen Army of Aleppo'. *Carnegie Middle East Center Diwan Middle East Insights from Carnegie* [online] Available at: http://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/55275?lang=en [Accessed 21 Sep. 2016].

[958] Haji, S. and Miste, Q. (2015). 'War on ISIS unites Syrian Kurds, Arabs and Christians', *ARA News* [online] Available at: http://aranews.net/2015/11/war-on-isis-unites-syrian-kurds-arabs-and-christians/ [Accessed 21 Sep. 2016].

[959] Washington Kurdish Institute, (2016). 'Martyrs of Dam Brigade join Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF)', *Washington Kurdish Institute* [online]. Available at: http://dckurd.org/2016/02/04/martyrs-of-dam-brigade-join-syrian-democratic-forces-sdf/ [Accessed 21 Sep. 2016].

MMC was established on 3 April 2016, the Second in Command of Kata'ib Shams al-Shamal (Adnan Abu-Amjad) was appointed the MMC General Commander[960].

Tanzim Qaidat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn (Al-Qaeda in Iraq). Tanzim Qaidat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn is sometimes known as the 'Organisation of Jihad's Base in Mesopotamia'. However, in the West, it is better known as Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). It played a significant role in the Iraqi insurgency and the establishment of the Mujahideen Shura Council in Iraq and the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI – see below). In 2004, following the alignment of Central Al-Qaeda (CAQ) with AQI, the focus of AQI shifted from a global jihad waged against Western governments (particularly the USA) to a systematic and coordinated attack against the Western-sponsored Shi'a government in Iraq (Stern and Berger (2015:16-26)). The Egyptian, Abu Ayyub al-Masri (also known as Abu Hamza al-Muhajir), was the leader of AQI from 2006 until 2010.

Selected Arab Palestinian Organisations

**Al-Jabhah al-Sha`biyyah li-Taḥrīr Filasṭīn (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP))**. Al-Jabhah al-Sha`biyyah li-Taḥrīr Filasṭīn is a Palestinian Marxist-Leninist, secular and revolutionary organisation founded in 1967 by George Habash[961]. It is the second-largest group in the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). Fatah

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[960] Keating, F. (2016). 'Free Syrian Army commander Abu Layla killed by ISIS sniper fire in battle for Raqqa', *International Business Times* [online] Available at: http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/free-syrian-army-commander-abu-layla-killed-by-isis-sniper-fire-battle-raqqa-1563756 [Accessed 20 Sep. 2016].

[961] Arwa, I. (2015), 'Profile: The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine', Middle East Eye [online]. Available at: http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/profile-popular-front-liberation-palestine-29954131 [Accessed 20 Sep. 2016].
Warning - this site is designated an extremist information site by some countries and subject to lawful surveillance and tracking by intelligence agencies.

remains the largest group. The PFLP does not recognise the State of Israel and opposes negotiations with the Israeli government[962]. Also, the PFLP considers the government in the West Bank (Fatah) and the government in the Gaza Strip (Hamas) to be illegal due to the lack of elections to the Palestinian National Authority since 2006[963]. The PFLP is proscribed as a terrorist organisation by Australia, Canada, EU and US.

PFLP-GC - Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine General Command. PFLP-GC is a nationalist Palestinian militant organisation formed in 1968. The group is separate from the similarly named Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The PFLP-GC was involved in the Palestine Intifada during the 1970s and 1980s. It is based in Syria and is in effect a Syrian proxy group. Although it has issued statements supporting the Al Assad regime, Hezbollah and Iran, divisions have occurred between their personnel in Damascus and Ramallah[964]. The PFLP-GC is proscribed as a terrorist organisation by a range of countries including the US[965].

PLA - **Palestine Liberation Army** (**PLA**). The PLA was established as the military wing of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) in 1964. However, control of the PLA

[962] Laqueur, W. and Rubin, B. (2015). 'Palestinian Terror Groups: Platform of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)', *Jewish Virtual Library* [online]. Available at: https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Terrorism/pflpplat.html [Accessed 21 Dec. 2016].

[963] People's Daily Online, (2010). 'Fatah slams Hamas' intention to reshuffle its deposed government', *People's Daily Online* [online]. Available at: http://en.people.cn/90001/90777/90854/7242501.html [Accessed 21 Dec. 2016].

[964] Ma'an News Agency, (2012). 'PFLP-GC divided on Syria stance', *Ma'an News Agency* [online]. Available at: http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=510710 [Accessed 21 Dec. 2016].

[965] US Department of State, (2016). 'Foreign Terrorist Organizations', *US Department of State* [online]. Available at: http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm [Accessed 21 Dec. 2016].

has been an issue as the PLO has attempted to wrestle control from various host governments, such as Syria.

Palestine Liberation Front (PLF). Palestine Liberation Front. The PLF is a Palestinian 'resistance' / terrorist movement that was founded in 1961. In 1967 it merged with the PFLP. Then in 1968 a split occurred within the PFLP leading to the eventual reestablishment of the PLF as a separate organisation. It remains extant but rather moribund.

Munaẓẓamat at-Taḥrīr al-Filasṭīniyyah (**Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO)**). The PLO was founded in 1964 to 'liberate Palestine' through armed struggle. It is recognised as the 'sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people' by over 100 states within the UN and has had observer status at the UN since 1974. Following the Madrid Conference in 1991, the US and Israel no longer considered it to be a terrorist organisation. In 1993, the PLO recognised Israel's right to exist in peace and rejected 'violence and terrorism'. Israel then officially recognised the PLO as the representative body of the Palestinian people.

Palestinian National Council (PNC). The PNC is the legislature of the PLO and selects the PLO Executive Committee (PLO EC) and therefore is the highest tier in the PLO. It is also the *de facto* parliament for all Palestinians inside and outside of the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT). The PNC meets on a biennial basis.

Appendix 5

Meaning of Islamist Terminology

Al-Aqsa Intifada. The Al-Aqsa Intifada is the name given by many Arabs to the Second Intifada (Palestinian uprising against Israel). This took place from 28 September 2000 until 8 February 2005.

Al Kayan Al Sahyuni - The 'Zionist Entity'. The State of Israel is still referred to by many Arab Islamists by this term. This carries with it the unspoken declaration that Israel is in effect an occupying power in Palestine.

Al-wala' wa-l-bara'– Is an Arabic Islamic term meaning 'loyalty and disavowal'. It is often understood to mean the exclusive allegiance to Allah and Islam, and repudiation of unbelief and unbelievers (Kafirs). It is often misused by Islamists to justify brutal acts against what they view as unbelievers (Kafirs).

Dabiq – Is the 'Islamic State's' (IS) online propaganda magazine. It is named after a town in northern Syria which is the site of a Muslim apocalypse mythology. IS fighters often refer to *Dabiq* as the site of the 'last battle' which will be fought by them against the 'Crusader' armies and in which Islam will be victorious.

Dawlat al-ʿIrāq al-ʾIslāmiyyah - Islamic State of Iraq.

Deen Wa Dawla – Means 'religion and country'.

Diwan – In Islamist terms, a Diwan is a 'military register' upon which the names of Islamist fighters appear and from which they are paid a monthly salary. The more conventional Arab meaning of diwan is the administrative headquarters belonging to the court of a ruling Sheikh.

Far Enemy - Within the jihadist worldview, this refers to the so-called 'Crusader-Zionist Alliance'.

Fard Al-Ayn – Means a religious obligatory duty for a Muslim. Many Islamists interpret this as a duty to defend Islam by fighting or waging jihad. The collective obligation is referred to as Fard Kifayya.

Fedayeen - Arab guerrillas operating especially against Israel.

Fitna – In general this means sedition. However, it can also include 'riot and civil disobedience.

Hilf al-Mutayyabin. The Hilf al-Mutayyabin (Oath of the Scented Ones) is an oath of allegiance taken by some Islamist groups such as; Jaysh Al-Fatihin (The Army of the Conquerors); Jund Al-Sahaba (The Army of the Companions) and Kataib Ansar Al-Tawhid wal-Sunna (The Monotheism and Sunna Brigades)[966]. Its origin is from pre-Islamic times and was used by several tribes including the Quraysh tribe, in which they undertook to protect the oppressed. It is said that the name derives from the practice of the participants sealing the oath by dipping their hands in perfume.

Ikhwān al-Muslimūn - Muslim Brotherhood. The Muslim Brotherhood is a Sunni Islamist organisation which was founded in Egypt by Islamic scholar Sheikh Hassan al-Banna in 1928. Their formal name is Jami'ah al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn (Society of the Muslim Brothers). This transnational Islamist organisation has gained supporters across the Arab world and influenced other Islamist organisations such as Hamas .

Intifada – 'Uprising'. This refers to the Palestinian uprising' against the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The First Intifada began in 1987 and the Second Intifada began in 2000.

Islamophilia - is a not an Islamic term[967] but is a controversial neologism that describes an uncritical admiration of the values of Islam and admiration of Islamic culture and civilisation.

Jahiliyyah - Meaning 'a state of ignorance of the guidance of *Allāh*'.

Kaffir – Refers to an 'unbeliever'. This is often used as a derogatory term.

Kuffar - Refers to the plural of 'an unbeliever' or atheist.

Khilafah – Meaning Caliphate (also spelt *Khilaafah*). It is the comprehensive Islamic system of governance such as: religious, legal, economic, educational, social and domestic and foreign policy. It also assumes leadership over all Muslims in the world. It should rule according to and implement Shari'a law and convey the Islamic Message to the rest of the world.

Mujahedeen (Mujahideen) – Meaning those who conduct Jihad. The singular is *Mujahid*.

Near Enemy - Within the jihadist worldview, these are enemies of Islam within the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) such as secular states or governments that do not implement a strict interpretation of *Sharia*.

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[966] Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) (2006). Jihad Groups in Iraq Take an Oath of Allegiance. MEMRI Islamist Websites Monitor No. 8, Special Dispatch No.1324, *MEMRI*, [online] Available at: http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/1910.htm [Accessed 22 May. 2016].
[967] The origin of the term Islamophilia is attributed to Douglas Murray - Associate Director of the Henry Jackson Society, Associate Editor of The Spectator, author and political commentator. .

Nusayri – is a derogatory and offensive term used by *Sunni* Islamist fighters for Alawites.

Qism al-Ighatha – Was the social wing or relief department of *Al Jabhat al-Nusra* (Al Nusra Front). This wing or department distributed bread, gas and blankets and regulates grocery prices to prevent exploitation.

Raafidi – Meaning 'repudiators' is a derogatory term used by some *Sunni* for *Shi'a*. The term 'repudiators' is used because the *Shi'a* repudiate the validity of the Caliphs which contributes significantly to the *Sunni* / *Shi'a* divide. The term is also used as an accusation of 'apostate'.

Sahwat al-Qaba'il – Arab Tribal Resurgence.

Salafism –The etymology of Salafism is from the term Salaf meaning "pious predecessors" referring to the earliest Muslims (Lacey, 2009, p. 9). Many within Sunni Islam relate the term Salaf to the first three generations of Muslims. In its strictest form it is a religious methodology aspiring to practice Islam through *dawa* (missionary work), *hisba* (practices to enforce religious ethics, often through the use of force) and jihad ('struggle', which to Islamists includes the use of warfare).

Takfir – In Shari'a takfir refers to the declaration by one Muslim that another Muslim is an apostate or *Kāfir*.

Wahhabism - The etymology of Wahhabism is derived from the name of the school of thought originated by Ibn Abd Al Wahhab, who generally prefer it to be known as the *Salafi* movement.

Appendix 6

Arab *Sunni* Muslim - Islam*ic* Related Dress and Appearance

Notes:

1.   **Aim**. The aim of this Arab Islamic related dress guide is to provide clarity in the identification and explanation of what is Arab Islamic related dress.

2.   **Rationale**. Arab Islamic related dress is often a confusing area to those unfamiliar with it. Consequently, terms for Arab Islamic related dress are often incorrectly used or become interchangeable.

3.   **Excluded Dress**. Examples of non-Arab Islamic related dress such as those worn in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and elsewhere are intentionally not shown[968].

4.   **Photographs**. Photographs in this appendix were taken by the author across a range of countries in the Arabian Gulf and MENA Region.

5.   **Islamic Origins**. In Islam and many Arab societies, being modestly dressed is viewed not only as highly desirable but essential and it is inextricably linked to reputation. This applies to men and women and includes appearance and behaviour. In reality, the whole area of modesty in dress reflects a different attitude of mind, not just in what is seen but how it is seen. Also, in the Arab World much is seen, understood but unspoken. In Islam, this private area which should be kept covered is referred to as the Awrah and it differs from men to women. For Muslim men the Awrah is the area from the navel to the knee. For women within the Arab World, this is much more complicated and subject to a good deal of debate and interpretation ranging from the ultra-moderate to ultra-conservative. For example, if there are two adult sisters within one family, one may choose to wear niqāb (see below) and the other may not.

6.   **Female Arab Muslims**. In general, Islamic Sharia directs that females above the age of puberty should have their bodies covered in a modest manner, in accordance

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[968] Such as: Chadari, Chador, Dupatta, Elechek, Jilbāb, Kerudung, Kimeshek, Mukena, Paranja, Selendang, Tudung and Türban.

with the Holy Qur'an and Hadith. In much of the modern Muslim world, female shyness and modesty is still seen by many as a desirable trait, which also meets social and cultural expectations. For example, many Muslim women[969] will cover their hair and not wear shorts or a bikini for reasons of Islamic modesty and dress in a particular manner to reflect this and in compliance with cultural and religious norms (Awrah). It is predominately the women who are the 'guardians of modesty' and dress in the Arab World. The Arab mother of the household will normally ensure that all are made aware of dress requirements from an early age, and for the family members, it just becomes an accepted way of life.

7.   **Male Arab Muslims**. As indicated above, for Muslim men the Awrah is the area from the navel to the knee. This provides the opportunity for a good deal of variety in dress. Ultra-conservative and Salafists will often were a type of kandora[970] (see below) which is derived from desert traditions and consistent with Islamic requirements of modesty and Islamic egalitarian principles of making all appear the same, rich and poor alike. They will often wear their kandora 'short' meaning that the base of the kandora does not cover the ankles and will grow long thick beards but not have mustaches. There is much variety as shown below.

FEMALE DRESS

HIJAB

Ḥijāb – The Hijab is a large headscarf which is used by Muslim women to veil the hair and head, less the face, for the purposes of modesty and dignity[971]. It is often pinned in place and is much less flowing than the shayla (see shayla below). Its shape and style varies widely due to cultural and historical factors and this garment has numerous names. It may also form part of an entire ensemble garment which covers much of the body. There are many ways of wearing the hijab and over time certain national

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[969] It is stressed that there are other Muslim women who choose not to cover their hair or wear any form of overtly Islamic related cultural dress and consider themselves no less Muslim. This forms part of an ongoing debate within Islam about Islam, culture and modernity.
[970] The name of this garment varies throughout the Arab World. It is also known as thawb, thobe, dishdāshah, kandūrah, khamīs (Somalia) or jalabiyyah (Libya).
[971] Holy Qur'an 24:31.

groupings have developed their own individual styles. Some nationalities such as Palestinian ladies will wear it 'large' and in a decorative manner. Many who wear the hijab will not wear any form of abaya but wear Western tight fitting clothing, according to their taste.

Photograph taken by the author in Dubai.

The Ḥijāb varies in style but is worn widely across the Arab world.

The following comments were recorded by the researcher from Arab ladies in the Arabian Peninsula:

"My hair is for my husband and not any other man".

"As you cannot make someone love you, you cannot make a lady show her hair. If she wants to be covered, then she wants to be covered".

ABAYAH

Abāyah. The Abāyah (plural abāyāt) is a black[972] coloured garment which covers the complete female body from the neck to the ankles, including the arms. It is a 'cloak of Islamic modesty' for the whole body less the hands, feet and head. It is loose robe-like over-garment which is essentially a dress, worn by many Muslim women in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, especially the Arabian Peninsula.

It can be worn with the niqāb (a face veil covering all but the eyes), shayla, Ḥijāb or other type of veil. However, it is most commonly worn with a shayla within the Arabian

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[972] *Abāyāt* are on occasions in colours other than black.

Peninsula. Some more conservative women also wear long black gloves and black socks, so their hands and feet are free from view.

The Abāyah is worn widely in Arab countries and especially within the Gulf region.

Photographs taken by the author at Sheikh Zayed Mosque, Abu Dhabi.

For many women within the Arabian Peninsula who wear the Abāyah and Shayla, it is consistent with their desert tribal origins, Islamic requirements of modesty and serves as a highly effective means of national identity. Interestingly, this style of dress is increasingly being adopted by non-gulf Arabs as it is viewed by some, as overtly Muslim and adhering to the clothes that may have been worn at the origins of Islam.

The following comments were recorded by the researcher from Arab Muslim ladies in the Arabian Peninsula:

"For many locals it is not a choice of either abaya or Western clothes. We wear both. Mostly we wear whatever we wish under the abaya and that can be Western or Middle Eastern in style. It is a personal choice".

"If I lost my abaya and shayla, I would just disappear into a mass of other women, and lose my visible Emirati national identity and the status that it brings. Why would I want that"?

"Some of us do remove our national dress if we travel overseas but that is a personal choice. Many of us will remove the abaya for practical reasons but some do not. This is personal choice and is not imposed or condemned by others".

KHAFAS

Khafas. Khafas are black gloves that are worn by some conservative Arab women, in addition to Abāyah and Shayla. Where the Khafas are worn, they are normally accompanied by the Niqāb, Burqa or Ghashwa. Often black socks accompany the Khafas. In some cases, this results in no skin being visible whatsoever.

Khafas Gloves

AL-BATTULAH

Al-baṭṭūlah (Battoulah). Al-baṭṭūlah is a distinctive[973] face mask which is traditionally worn by older women, especially grandmothers within the Arabian Peninsula. It is Bedu in origin and also known in many areas as the Burqa. The term burqa should not be confused with a similar term used in Afghanistan and parts of Pakistan to refer to a single light blue coloured garment which covers the complete head and body of the women. Although they are becoming increasingly uncommon, they are still worn within conservative families. The origin of Al-baṭṭūlah within the Arabian Peninsula can be traced back hundreds of years and some sources seem to indicate that they were worn in the Arabian Gulf region over one thousand years ago. It was traditional for girls to start wearing Al-baṭṭūlah when they got married and this could have been as young as twelve years of age[974]. In desert Islamic tradition, the burqa protected the woman's modesty, prevented unwanted attention from other men and protected the face against

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[973] These were gold, bronze or black in colour, depending upon the region.
[974] This was to avoid confusion as to who was and who was not married.

the relentless rays of the desert sun. Al-baṭṭūlah could be worn in different styles and shapes and it was often possible to identify the region or tribe of the wearer by its appearance. Those from deep desert tribes often wore Al-baṭṭūlah which almost covered the whole face. Those who wore slimmer versions tended to originate from the coast of the Arabian Peninsula.

Photographs taken by the author in Al-Fujairah.

NIQAB

Niqāb - A niqāb is a cloth 'veil' which covers the face and supplements the hijab. It generally only leaves the eyes exposed[975]. It is worn by conservative[976] Muslim women in public areas. The niqāb is worn throughout the MENA region and especially in Arab countries of the Arabian Peninsula such as Saudi Arabia, Oman, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen. However, it is believed to originate from Saudi Arabia. The niqāb is also worn in countries such as Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Somalia, and other areas with sizeable Muslim populations.

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[975] The space left for the eyes can vary in differing styles of *niqāb.*
[976] Especially within the Hanbali Muslim faith and Salafist tradition.

Photographs taken by the author in Al-Madinah and Umm al-Quwain.

SHAYLA

Shayla – The Shayla is a loose fitting cloth 'veil' which covers the face and supplements the Abāyah. It is worn by Muslim women in the MENA region and especially in Arab countries of the Arabian Peninsula such as Saudi Arabia, Oman, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen. The design or pattern on the abaya is often reflected at the base of the shayla, so as to become a matching piece.

Photographs taken by the author in Abu Dhabi.

Many Gulf Arab women say that the great attraction of the shayla over the Hijab is that it is loose, more comfortable and can be worn without pins. It can also be raised or dropped with ease. It is not uncommon for some Muslim ladies to momentarily lift up the lower edge of the shayla to cover their mouth and nose. This happens particularly if men come too close, such as within unisex shopping outlets in shopping malls. This can be a sign of uneasiness, or just an acquired behavioural pattern.

The Islamic rationale for covering the head and hair but leaving the face open is based on hadith of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). In Islam, a woman's hair is considered to be almost seductive and as a consequence it is covered as a willing sign of modesty and compliance with hadith and traditions.

BUSHIYYA

Bushiyya (Bushiyyah, Ghatwa or Ghashwa).   A bushiyya is a Middle Eastern and predominately Gulf Arab style of full black face veil which covers the wearer's entire face. The bushiyya leaves no openings for the eyes and is traditionally worn with an abaya. The wearers of this garment tend to be from conservative Muslim families.

Photographs taken by the author in Saudi Arabia and the UAE.

Some Arab ladies wear a modified shayla which incorporates the niqāb and a complete face veil (bushiyya). This will consist of a number of veils. Each layer or veil will be thrown from the front to the rear of the head as required. It is not uncommon to see a Gulf Arab lady walking through a shopping mall with her complete face covered, enter a shop and throw back the full veil and use only the niqāb veil (underneath) to examine shop goods and then later see all of the veils thrown back to eat in a restaurant. Those who use the bushiyya tend to be conservative in religious outlook.

JALABIYA

Jalabiya - At home many Arab ladies like to wear a light, colourful and flowing Jalabiya[977], which normally has light embroidery adorning the long sleeves and neck. In some parts of the Arabian Peninsula this is still called 'Abu Dagga' or 'Abu Teela'. Other Arab ladies will wear Western style clothing or a fusion of Middle Eastern and Western. It is a matter of personal preference and prevailing fashion.

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[977] Also spelt *Jallibia* and *Jellibia.*

Photographs taken by the author in Ras al-Khaimah.

Traditional Arab Islamic Female Wedding Dress

Many women wore the traditional style wedding dress (shown above) with pride and some would even decorate them with gold coins. This style of clothing would not only be worn at the bride's wedding but also later for other Islamic celebrations. In some tribes, the bride would wear her dowry (mahr) as coins, displayed on her bushiyya (face veil) or

Photograph taken by the author in Al Gharbia near Saudi Arabia.

Al-baṭṭūlah (burqa) mask. The driving force behind the need to cover most of the body was Islamic belief in the need to display a willing sign of modesty[978] and compliance with hadith and traditions. This was not only a matter of individual reputation but also that of the family to which the bride originated and the one to which she had just joined.

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[978] In order to maintain reputation.

IHRAM

Ihram (Female). Before commencing the Islamic obligations of the Hajj, all must be clean and dressed in the Ihram. The term Ihram also refers to being in the state of Ihram (religious purity) and having the pure intention of performing Hajj or Al-Umrah[979]. Female Arab Muslims tend to wear a white version of the abaya and head covering (see photograph above). It is generally made of basic inexpensive white cloth that prevents anyone from showing their status or wealth. In so doing, all are seen as equal in the eyes of Allah and on earth. Ihram must be put on at certain designated points far outside Makkah called Miqat. This often involves Arab pilgrims changing on flights or travelling to their airports of departure already dressed in Ihram. Many other Arab pilgrims drive to Makkah and change their clothing before or at the Miqat points *en route.* Some Arab females and others complete the Hajj and Al-Umrah dressed in the traditional black coloured abaya and shayla.

Photographs taken by the author in Makkah Saudi Arabia.

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[979] Mini Hajj.

IHRAM

Ihram (Male). Before commencing the Islamic obligations of the Hajj or Al-Umrah, all must be clean and dressed in the Ihram. The term Ihram also refers to being in the state of Ihram (religious purity) and having the pure intention of performing Hajj. Male Arab Muslims wear Ihram which consists of two pieces of basic inexpensive white cloth that prevents any man from showing his status and wealth. In so doing, all are equal in the eyes of Allah and of man. One part of Ihram covers from the ankles to the waist (Izaar) and the other covers one shoulder and the majority of the torso (Ribaa). The part that goes around the waist (Izaar) is just wrapped around and rolled down, similar to the Wuzar worn in the Emirates. There are no buttons, clips or fasteners on the Ribaa or Izaar. These garments are loose, quite comfortable and unifying.

Ihram must be put on at certain designated points far outside Makkah called Miqat. This often involves Arab pilgrims changing on flights or travelling to their airports of departure already dressed in Ihram. Many other Arab pilgrims drive to Makkah and change their clothing before or at the Miqat points en route.

Photograph taken by the author in Makkah Saudi Arabia.

MALE DRESS

IMAMS & ISLAMIC SHEIKHS

Imams & Islamic Sheikhs. Arab Imams and Islamic Sheikhs wear a range garments depending upon their region of origin. Some Imams (Sheikhs) will wear exclusively Islamic religious clothing which can only be worn by them. An example of this is the Egyptian Imam above who is wearing the distinctive dress of an Imam who graduated from Al-Azhar Islamic University in Cairo[980], which is Egypt's oldest university and Sunni Islam's most prestigious[981].
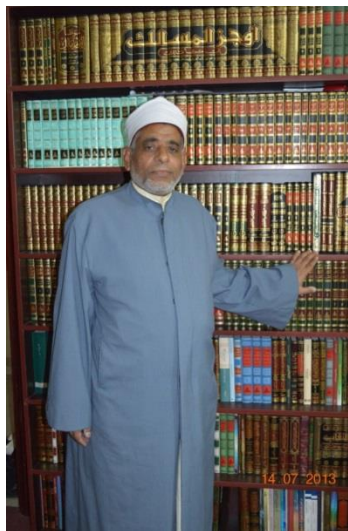
Photograph taken by the author. An Egyptian Imam – Al-Azhar Islamic University.

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[980] Al-Azhar is headed by the Grand Imam Sheikh Ahmed al-Tayeb.
[981] Delman, E. (2015). 'An Anti-ISIS Summit in Mecca', *The Atlantic* [online] Available at:
http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/02/ISIS-summit-Islam-Obama/386303/ [Accessed 08 Jan. 2017].

Photographs taken by the author. **Left** – Refugee Imams from Syria.

Right – Arabian Gulf Imams' bisht at the Centre for Islamic Research.

KANDORA

Many Arab men wear varying forms of the kandora, which is derived from desert traditions and consistent with Islamic requirements of modesty and Islamic egalitarian principles of making all appear the same, rich and poor alike. It is also favoured by Salafists as its appearance is seen as consistent with the origins of Islam. The style of clothing has developed and been adapted for what suits the locals to live with the heat of the regional climate. In many parts of the Arabian Gulf it also acts as a national dress and identifies citizens from non-citizens.

The most common colour of the kandora is white, but other colours are available such as beige, brown, dark yellow, powder blue and even black. The darker colours tend to be used during the winter months although sand colours are worn at any time. During the cooler months, the kandoras are made from a heavier wool material. These are known as Kandora Souf.

Photographs above taken by the author in Umm al-Quwain, Medina Khalifa, Qatar and Oman.

Salafists and conservative Muslims will often wear their kandora 'short' thus revealing the ankles. This practice is derived from Hadith such as narrated Abu Huraira:

> The Prophet (PBUH) said, "The part of an Izār (long clothing) which hangs below the ankles is in the Fire" (Sahih al-Bukhari, 5787[982]).

They will also grow their beards long and not have any mustaches. This is not just by tradition but is based primarily on Islamic belief as derived from Hadith, such as narrated Ibn `Umar:

> Allah's Messenger (PBUH) said, "Cut the moustaches short and leave the beard" (as it is) (Sahih al-Bukhari, 5893[983]).

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[982] Sahih al-Bukhari, Book 77, Hadith 5 and also cited in Book 72, Vol 7, Hadith 678.
[983] Sahih al-Bukhari, Book 77, Hadith 110 and also cited in Book 72, Vol 7, Hadith 781.

JALABIYA (MALE)

At home, many Arab men like to wear a Jalabiya[984]. This is a type of kandora which generally has short arms[985], is non-white in colour, and has an open 'V' neck, with buttons. The Jalabiya normally have a single breast pocket on the left and one or two side pockets. It will not have a Tarbusha (cloth string extending from the neck) of any type. It is designed to be loose and light. The Jalabiya is common throughout the Arab World, is practical and suited to the long hot summers. The man in the left photograph above is from the Upper Nile and is wearing a common Egyptian style. The man in the centre of the right photograph above is from Umm Al Quwain (UAE) and is wearing a light blue Jalabiya.

Photographs taken by the author in the Upper Nile Region and Umm Al Quwain.

BISHT

The Bisht is the distinctive Arabic ceremonial cape or over-garment, which is worn over the kandora. The bisht is normally worn by Sheikhs, those in senior government appointments, Islamic Imams (also referred to as Sheikhs by some Arabs) and the bridegroom at his wedding feast (as shown above).The bisht is normally black, brown or sand in colour and has gold coloured trimmings (but not actual gold wire) which runs

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[984] Also spelt Jallibia or Jellabia.
[985] Some may have full length arms such as the Egyptian from the Upper Nile shown in the photograph above.

along the front of the bisht. There is also gold coloured piping which runs along the arms. There are no buttons or press studs on the bisht but there are two gold coloured tasseled toggles that can be tied. It is normally left open but on formal occasions, the right side of the bisht will be pulled over one side. In theory, the bisht can be worn at any time; however, it is increasingly not the practice to do so. The ceremonial bisht is particularly popular within the Arabian Gulf but is also worn in countries such as Iraq, Syria and Jordan. Another version of the bisht is the 'Saudi Bisht'. This is a long wool (originally sheepskin) coat which is similar in appearance to the ceremonial bisht. It is worn during winter months, especially during cold desert nights sitting around the fire at their isbah (small desert camp), or when needed.

Photographs taken by the author. **Left** - a 'Saudi Bisht' in the Rub' al Khali (Empty Quarter) in Saudi Arabia. **Right** – a bride groom wearing a formal Bisht at a traditional Gulf wedding.

Photograph taken by the author in Rakhyut, Oman (near the border with Yemen).

CHILDREN

Gulf Arab Muslim children are dressed in a wide range of clothing.

HAMDANI

The Hamdani style of wearing the ghutra is distinctive in that it is worn without the igal or tagea. The hamdani is held in place by twisting it around the head yet with a loose appearance. Prayer (salat) can be conducted without it falling off or becoming loose. It is often worn as a more informal style. Children will often wear this style to family events and weddings. Its origins are thought to be from Oman and the Trucial States.

Photographs taken by the author in Liwa Oasis and Tarif.

TAGEA

The Tagea[986] is a white cap which is worn under the ghutra and igal. It is almost always white in colour, by tradition. It comes in three main styles, 'open crochet' type, the 'enclosed' style, which are more commonly used by Saudis and finally a larger stiffer version which sits high on the head and is almost a 'hat'. There is no empirical evidence to show that the tagea is Islamic in origin but it is often used in many countries to denote that the wearer is Muslim. The tagea does fulfill a practical purpose of holding the ghutra in place. If the ghutra and igal are worn without the tagea, which is rare, the ghutra is much more likely to become loose and fall from the head, especially during Islamic prayer (salat).

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[986] Also spelt Tagiya and Taqiyah.

Photographs taken by the author in Shahamah and Ras Al-Khaimah. **Left** - the man on the left of the photograph is wearing a 'Saudi style' Tagea. **Right** - the man on the right of the photograph is wearing an 'Emirati style' Tagea.

TARBUSHA

A Tarbusha is a knotted cord that extends from the centre of the neck line of the kandora to the abdomen. The Tarbusha is also referred to by some tribes as 'Tarbush' or in Ras Al Khaimah 'Faruka'. It has no real practical function. If the tarbusha is short and extends from the right 'collar' or neck line of the kandora, this indicates that the wearer is from Oman.

Photographs taken by the author in Al-Gharbia (Western Region), Dibba Al-Fujairah and Salalah (Dhofar Province – Oman).

GHUTRA

The Ghutra or head scarf is a purpose designed head cloth that is particularly common in the Gulf region, although it is often worn in Iraq, Jordan, Palestine and some other Arab non-Gulf states. It is effective at protecting the head and neck from the burning rays of the sun, in temperatures that can reach 50C. It is generally white in colour or red and white (known as Ghutra Hamrah) and is normally made from a heavier material and worn predominately during the winter months. The white ghutra are normally made from

a light material and called Ghutra Bayda or Sufra. In Oman and some parts of the Emirates, some men will wear sand coloured Ghutra which incorporate small floral designs (known as Ghutra Shall). Many Arabs will wear the Ghutra in such a manner so that it does not change shape during Islamic prayer (salat).

Photographs taken by the author in Qatar and the UAE.

IGAL

The Igal[987] is a black coloured rope coil which is worn on top of the ghutra and holds it in place. Although it may appear to consist of two ropes, it is in fact is one piece twisted to form an upper and lower part. There may be two long black cords with coiled toggles at the end extending from the rear of the igal and hanging down the back of the wearer (see above). In some parts of the Emirates these are also called tarbusha. The wearing of these is just a matter of personal style and choice and there is no evidence that they apply to any particular tribe or region. Traditionally, the igal was worn at a slight angle, normally to the left and this can be seen in old photographs of this region. Despite variations, the modern style is to wear the igal in a level position. When entering the masjid (mosque) it is tilted far to the rear of the head and it is then possible to conduct the whole prayer (salat) without either the ghutra or igal falling off.

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[987] Also spelt Agal.

Photographs taken by the author in Sharjah and Abu Dhabi.

In the Western Region (Al Gharbia) the older men talk about the time when the igal was used to hobble camels. If a Bedu was moving in the desert with his camel and both were about to rest for the night, the man would untwist the igal and place it around the sitting camel's front leg, above and below the knee joint. The camel was then unable to get up and its owner could have a restful night, secure in the knowledge that his valuable animal would not be wandering off. This is cited as one of the reasons why the upper and lower parts of the igal are not stitched together but are left separate so that it may be untwisted into one larger coil.

WUZAR

The wuzar is a white cotton cloth is worn as an undergarment and covers from the navel to the ankles. It is worn instead of underwear and provides an airy, alternative. Some slight variations exist. It also guarantees required Islamic levels of modesty by ensuring that the light coloured kandora is not 'see-through'. There are no buttons or fasteners on the wuzar. The wuzar is wrapped around the waist from left to right and the top is rolled down to hold it in place with a flap running from the left thigh to the right ankle. One reason for this is that the base of the flap is used to dry hands after Islamic washing (wudhu) before prayer (salat). The kandora is never used for this purpose. The wuzar is almost uniquely from the Arabian Gulf.

Appendix 7

Meaning of Arabic Transliteration Terms

Abāyah - The Abāyah (plural abāyāt) is a black coloured garment which covers the complete female body from the neck to the ankles, including the arms. It is a 'cloak of Islamic modesty' for the whole body less the hands, feet and head. It is loose robe-like over-garment which is essentially a dress, worn by many Muslim women in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, especially the Arabian Peninsula. See appendix on Islamic Dress.

Al-Ba'athiyah - Ba'athism means 'renaissance' and is an Arab nationalist and *Sunni* ideology that promotes unity through leadership and utilises a political party (Ba'ath party) to control government and citizens. Within Iraq, the ideology is attributed to Aflaq; however, within Syria it is attributed to Zaki al-Arsuzi. Within Iraq Ba'athism was more commonly referred to as Saddamist Ba'athism (*Al-Ba'athiyya Al-Saddamiyya*).

Al-Da'wa - Preaching or teaching.

Abu Ghraib – US Detention facility in Iraq.

Al Ikhwan Al Muslimum – The Muslim Brotherhood.

Al Ka'ba - The hollow stone cube which is in Masjid Al Haram in Makkah (Mecca) and is said to date from the time of the Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) (PBUH).

Al Kayan Al Sahyuni - The 'Zionist Entity'. The State of Israel is still referred to by many Arab Muslims by this term. This carries with it the unspoken declaration that Israel is in effect an occupying power in Palestine.

Al Madinah - (Medina).

Al Nakaba – 'The Catastrophe' – 1948 expulsion of Palestinians from their land and resulting hardships.

Al Quds – Jerusalem.

Ar-Rabīˤ al-Arabī – 'The Arab Spring' was a wave of revolutionary demonstrations, protests, riots, and in some cases civil wars that began in Tunisia during 2010 and spread to many Arab states.

Al-Sham – Syria.

An-Naksah Harb 1967 - Six Day War of 1967.

Banu Hashim - The clan of the Quraysh tribe into which the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was born.

Bilad al-Sham – The 'northern country' - Syria or Greater Syria. It was a large region in the Rashidun, Umayyad and later Abbasid Caliphates. It is often taken to refer to the area which includes Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Israel, and the Palestinian territory.

Ḥarakat aḍ-Ḍubbāṭ al-ʾAḥrār - Free Officers Movement – an Egyptian nationalist military group that initiated the 1952 *coup d'état*. Originally, it had connections with the Muslim Brotherhood, which were later severed following the 1954 attempted assassination of Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-1970) President of Egypt 1956-1970.

Hashishiyya - According to Daftary (2001, p.91), the early European understanding of the *Hashshāshīn* (see below) was based on the Sunni connotation of the *Hashshāshīn* being Hashishiyya - meaning "impaired of one's faculties but in particular those moral and character qualities that determine the individual's standing in society" (Daftary, 2001, p. 91).

Hashshāshīn – meaning 'assassins', sometimes spelt *Hashisheen* or *Hashishiyya*, are referred to in some texts as *Fedayin* or *Fedayeen*. The Assassins are most famous for their assassinations during the period of the Crusades (11th - 13th century).

Ḥijāb – The Hijab is a large headscarf which is used by Muslim women to veil the hair and head, less the face, for the purposes of modesty and dignity[988]. It is often pinned in place and is much less flowing than the shayla (see shayla below). Its shape and style varies widely due to cultural and historical factors and this garment has numerous names. It may also form part of an entire ensemble garment which covers much of the body. See appendix on Islamic Dress.

Intifada – 'Uprising'. This refers to the Palestinian uprising' against the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The First Intifada began in 1987 and the Second Intifada began in 2000.

Khilaafah – Caliphate.

Khawarij (Khawarej) – Is an exonym meaning 'outsiders' or more commonly 'outlaws of Islam'. It can also be translated as 'dissenters'. It appeared during the first century of Islam, the Muslim world was going through a civil war. King Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein of Jordan has used the term to apply to IS / ISIS, during his speech to the United Nations (UN) General Assembly[989].

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[988] Holy Qur'an 24:31.

Madrassa – School.

Masjid Al Haram – Masjid Al Haram in Makkah (Mecca) is the site of hollow stone cube Al Ka'ba which is said to date from the time of the Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) (PBUH).

Makkah – Mecca.

Masjid Al Nabawi - The 'Mosque of the Prophet (PBUH)' - in Al Madinah (Medina), which is the site of the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

Niqāb - A niqāb is a cloth 'veil' which covers the face and supplements the hijab. It generally only leaves the eyes exposed[990]. It is worn by conservative[991] Muslim women in public areas. The niqāb is worn throughout the MENA region and especially in Arab countries of the Arabian Peninsula such as Saudi Arabia, Oman, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen. However, it is believed to originate from Saudi Arabia. The niqāb is also worn in countries such as Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Somalia, and other areas with sizeable Muslim populations.

Naseebis – Historically, this Arabic word term has been used by Sunni Muslims as a derogatory term to refer to those who expressed enmity towards the 'House of the Prophet (PBUH)'. More recently, the term has been used by Shia polemicists as a derogatory term for Sunni Muslims.

Qism al-Ighatha – Is the social wing or relief department of Al Jabhat al-Nusra (Al Nusra Front). This wing or department distributes bread, gas and blankets and regulates grocery prices to prevent exploitation.

Quraysh - The general tribe to which the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) belonged, although he was born into the Banu Hashim clan of the Quraysh tribe. Other transliterations include Qureshi, Quraish, Quresh, Qurish, Kuraish, Qurayshi, and Coreish. The Arabic term Ahl al-bayt is normally used by Sunni Muslims to refer to 'descendants of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)'. This refers to the Quraysh tribe rather than proven descendants.

Raafidi – Meaning 'repudiators', is a derogatory term used by some Sunni for Shi'a. The term 'repudiators' is used because the Shi'a repudiate the validity of the Caliphs which contributes significantly to the Sunni / Shi'a divide. The term is also used as an accusation of 'apostate'.

Sahwat al-Qaba'il – Arab Tribal Resurgence.

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[989] UN (2015). '70th UN General Assembly Speech', delivered on 28 Sep 15. *UN*, [online] Available at: http://kingabdullah.jo/index.php/en_US/speeches/view/id/565/videoDisplay/0.html, [Accessed 29 Aug. 16].
[990] The space left for the eyes can vary in differing styles of niqāb.
[991] Especially within the *Hanbali* Muslim faith and *Salafist* tradition.

Shahid – Martyrdom.

Shayla – The Shayla is a loose fitting cloth 'veil' which covers the face and supplements the Abāyah. It is worn by Muslim women in the MENA region and especially in Arab countries of the Arabian Peninsula such as Saudi Arabia, Oman, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen. The design or pattern on the abaya is often reflected at the base of the shayla, so as to become a matching piece.

Sheikhs – Desert Arab rulers such as in the United Arab Emirates. Muslim Imams are also referred to as Sheikhs in many Arab countries.

Wala' - Religious loyalty.

Appendix 8

Guide to Key Personalities

Abu Abdulaziz al-Qatari. Abu Abdulaziz al-Qatari was the founder and leader of the Salafist jihadist group Jund Al Aqsa ('Soldiers of al-Aqsa'). It is has been active during the Syrian conflict and was part of the Al-Nusra Front but it later became independent. Abu Abdulaziz al-Qatari, was killed in fighting in Idlib, Syria in January 2014[992].

Abu Al Mawdudi (1903-1979). Abul Al Maududi was an Indian-Pakistani scholar, philosopher, jurist, imam, Islamist and a prolific author. His works were written in Urdu and translated into numerous languages. He strove for an Islamic revival believed that politics was an essential partner to Islam. He promoted shari'a law and the preservation of Islamic culture from what he saw as the evils of secularism.

Abd Al Wahhab (1703-1792). Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab was a Sunni preacher and scholar from Nejd in central Arabia. He strove to return Islam to what, he believed were the original Islamic principles that the Salaf (first three generations of Muslims), would have practiced. His movement became known as 'Wahhabism', although this term is generally disliked by its followers (El Fadi, 2005:57), who prefer it to be known as the Salafi movement.

Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi (born 1971). Leader of the so called 'Islamic State' and 'Islamic Caliphate' (PhD from the University of Baghdad). He became a 'Specially Designated Global Terrorist' on 4 October 2011.

Abu Basir al-Tartusi. Abu Basir al-Tartusi is the assumed name of Abd-al Mun'em Mustafa Halima, a Syrian cleric and jihadist theoretician. He was born in Syrian but was forced to flee during the 1979–82 Islamist uprising against Hafez al-Assad and he emigrated to London[993]. He is a radical Salafi preacher who is based at the Al-Ansar Institute in East London and his radical writings and sermons are readily available on the internet[994]. In October 2012, he reportedly appeared in an online video clip in Syria with armed members of the Islamist group Ansar al-Sham (Supporters of the Levant)[995].

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[992] FARS News Agency (2014). ISIL Commanders Killed in Syria, Iraq, *FARS*, [online] Available at: http://en.farsnews.com/newstext.aspx?nn=13921017001314 [Accessed1 Sep. 2016].

[993] Lund, A. (2012). Holier Than Thou: Rival Clerics in the Syrian Jihad, *Jamestown Foundation,* 10 (14) [online] Available at: http://www.jamestown.org/programs/tm/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=39615&cHash=ae5805038349487757e5e256bcc7566d#.V8aPRrdfqcw [Accessed 30 Aug. 2016].

[994] Al-Tartusi, A. (2016). Daftar al-thawra wa'l-thuwwar, *Notebook of the Revolution and the Revolutionaries,* [online] Available at: http://abubaseer.bizland.com/books/read/b%2040.doc [Accessed 31 Aug. 2016].

[995] Gardham, D. (2012). The Popular preacher leading an armed gang of jihadis in Syria, *The Daily Telegraph,* [online] Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/9621352/The-Poplar-preacher-leading-an-armed-gang-of-jihadis-in-Syria.html [Accessed 31 Aug. 2016].

Abu Mohammed al-Fateh. Abu Mohammed al-Fateh is the military commander of Al-Ittihad al-Islami li-Ajnad al-Sham (Ajnad al-Sham Islamic Union), which is an alliance of some Islamist groups that have been fighting in the Syrian conflict. It is sometimes referred to as 'Islamic Union of the Soldiers of the Levant' and is Damascus-based. He is from Douma and belongs to the subfaction known as the Shabab al-Houda Battalions. This group has emerged from the prerevolutionary Islamic movement in Damascus[996].

Abu Omar al-Qurashi al-Baghdadi (1959-2010). Al-Baghdadi was the first emir of the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI) or Dawlat al-ʿIrāq al-ʾIslāmiyyah from 2006-2010. He was also known as Hamid Dawud Mohamed Khalil al Zawi and Abu Hamza al-Baghdadi. He was killed in Iraq in 2010. ISI was an Islamist group that attempted to establish an Islamic State in the Sunni majority areas of Iraq during the Iraq War. It was formed in 2006 and was an amalgam of Iraqi insurgent groups, including AQI and its Mujahideen Shura Council (MSC) allies[997]. ISI is often referred to as Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). In April 2013, ISI transformed itself into the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and ultimately ISIS.

Abu Mohammad al-Julani. Abu Mohammad al-Julani is a nom de guerre. His birth name is Ahmed Hussein al-Shar'a and he is the leader of a Salafist Jihadist group called Al Jabhat Fateh al-Sham, meaning the 'Front for the Conquest of the Levant'. The 'Front for the Conquest of the Levant' was formally known as Al Jabhat al-Nusra (Al Nusra Front) and aligned with AQ. The name change was due to their 'break' with AQ which occurred on 28 July 2016[998]. Al-Julani (al-Shar'a) was born in Al-Rafid, (Golan Heights), Syria. His father was an economics author and his mother a teacher. He and his family became refugees following the Israeli seizure of the Golan Heights. He studied media at Damascus University but joined the Iraq insurgency following the invasion. He was held by the US military in Camp Bucca and became friends with Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.

Abu Muhammad Essam al-Maqdisi (born 1959). Abu Muhammad Essam al-Maqdisi is the assumed name of Essam Muhammad Tahir al-Barqawi, a Jordanian-Palestinian jihadi Islamist and writer. He was the spiritual mentor of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the initial leader of Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). However, an ideological and methodical split emerged between Maqdisi and Zarqawi in 2004. His writings still have a wide following and he is regarded by some as one of the most influential living jihadi theorists.

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[996]   Lund, A. (2014). Diwan Middle East Insights from Carnegie, *Carnegie Middle East Center,* [online] Available at: http://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/54758?lang=en [Accessed 1 Sep. 2016].
[997] Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) (2006). Jihad Groups in Iraq Take an Oath of Allegiance. *MEMRI,* Islamist Websites Monitor No. 8, Special Dispatch No.1324 [online] Available at: http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/1910.htm [Accessed 22 May. 2016].
[998] Langendorf, M. (2016). The Nusra Front breaks ties with al-Qaeda. *The World Weekly*, [online] Available at: http://www.theworldweekly.com/reader/view/magazine/2016-07-28/the-nusra-front-breaks-ties-with-al-qaeda/8761 [Accessed 1 Aug. 2016].

Abu Musab al-Zarqawi (1966-2006). Al-Zarqawi was the founder of Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), Tanzim Qaidat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn and Ansar al-Islam. He was a Sunni Islamist who targeted Shia civilians and sought to destroy the bases of Shia culture in Iraq. He formed Al-Tawhid wal-Jihad and led it until his death in 2006. He was killed by two US 500-pound guided bombs.

Abu Uthman Idlibi. Abu Uthman Idlibi is thought to be the current commander of the Khalid bin Walid Army which is a Salafi jihadist group operating in southern Syria. Abu Uthman Idlibi is a nom de guerre. He is thought to be a Syrian from Idlib who had fought US forces in Afghanistan and Iraq after 9/11, then crossed into Raqqa during the Syrian uprising and joined the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)[999] . The Khalid ibn al-Walid Army is presently in control of territory southeast of the Golan Heights and is in conflict with the Syrian rebels. Its units include the Yarmouk Martyrs Brigade, the Islamic Muthanna Movement and the Army of Jihad and it is officially affiliated with ISIL, as are its constituent groups.

Ayman Muḥammad Rabīʿ Al-Ẕawāhirī (born 1951). Leader of AQ (WEF 16 June 2011) following the death of Bin Laden. Al-Ẕawāhirī was the chief author of 'Knights under the Prophet's Banner' (AQ Manifesto). He is a former Medical Professor at Cairo University and supported many of the ideas of Sayyid Qutb and considered him to be a prominent theoretician and fundamentalist.

Fathi Shaqaqi (1951-1995). Founder and Secretary-General of the *Harakat al-Jihad al-Islami Fi Filastin* (Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine). He was a medical student at Birzeit University in the West Bank, influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood and became a follower of the ideology Qutb and Al-Banna. Shaqaqi was assassinated in 1995 in Malta by *Mossad* gunmen.

Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-1970). President of Egypt 1956-1970. Colonel Nasser using a group named the *Ḥarakat aḍ-Ḍubbāṭ al-ʾAḥrār* (Free Officers Movement) led a *coup d'état* against King Fārūq al-Awwal whom he sent into exile and made Egypt a republic.

Hamid Dawud Mohamed Khalil al Zawi (1959-2010). Hamid Dawud Mohamed Khalil al Zawi was the leader of the Mujahideen Shura Council (MSC). He was also known as Abu Hamza al-Baghdadi and Abu Omar al-Qurashi al-Baghdadi. The MSC was formed in January 2006 and was an amalgam of at least six Sunni Islamic insurgent groups taking part in the Iraqi insurgency against US, coalition and Iraqi forces. These groups included: Tanzim Qaidat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn ('Al-Qaeda in Iraq' (AQI)), Jaish al-Ta'ifa al-Mansurah, Katbiyan Ansar Al-Tawhid wal Sunnah, Saray al-Jihad Group, al-

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[999] Sands, P. and Maayeh, S. (2016). Far from Raqqa and Fallujah, Syria rebels open new front against ISIL in the south. *The National*, [online] Available at: http://www.thenational.ae/world/middle-east/far-from-raqqa-and-fallujah-syria-rebels-open-new-front-against-isil-in-the-south#full [Accessed 4 Sep. 2016].

Ghuraba Brigades, and al-Ahwal Brigades. The MSC was disbanded in October 2006 and replaced by the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI). Al-Zawi / al- Baghdadi was killed in 2010 by a joint US / Iraqi operation southwest of Tikrit[1000].

Hassan al-Sabbāh (1050s-1124). Hassan al-Sabbāh was a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī missionary in the late 11th century who swore allegiance to the Fatimid Caliph in Cairo. He founded a group of fedayeen (guerrilla fighters) whose members are often called the Hashshashin or "Assassins". He is sometimes characterised as the 'father of contemporary Islamism'.

Hassan Al-Banna (1906-1949). Hassan Ahmed Abdel Rahman Muhammed al-Banna, is known more commonly as Hassan al-Banna. He was the Egyptian founder of the Muslim Brotherhood and was assassinated in 1949.

His Highness Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan (born 1948). Current President of the UAE.

His Highness Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum (born 1949). Current UAE Vice President, Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Ruler of Dubai.

His Highness General Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan (born 1961). Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and Deputy Supreme Commander of the UAE Armed Forces.

His Majesty King Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein (born 1962). Current king of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and a leading global figure in the fight against Islamist extremism, radicalisation and terrorism.

Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328). Taqi ad-Din Ahmad ibn Taymiyyah, known as Ibn Taymiyyah was an Islamic scholar, theologian and logician. He lived for much of the time in Damascus during the period of the Mongol invasions. As a medieval scholar-activist, he has had an enduring influence on radical Islamist ideology.

Mohamed Bouazizi (1984-2011). Tarek el-Tayeb Mohamed Bouazizi, was the Tunisian street trader who set himself on fire on 17 December 2010, in response to his treatment by municipal officials. This event and his death became catalysts for a Tunisian uprising, the ousting of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and the eventual Arab Spring. His name is still widely mentioned on the 'Arab Street'.

Muath Al-Kasasbeh (1988-2015). Muath Safi Yousef Al-Kasasbeh, was the Royal Jordanian Air Force pilot who was captured and burned to death by the so called 'Islamic State' jihadists after his F-16 fighter aircraft crashed over Syria in January 2015.

[1000] Roggio, B. (2010). US and Iraqi forces kill Al Masri and Baghdadi, al Qaeda in Iraq's top two leaders. *The Long War Journal,* [online] Available at: http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2010/04/al_qaeda_in_iraqs_to.php [Accessed 1 Sep. 2016].

His death became a rallying point for many moderate Sunni Arabs against ISIS, Jihadists and Islamism in general.

Muhammad Abdul Salam Faraj (1954-1982). Faraj was an Egyptian Islamist and an influential follower of Sayyid Qutb and the ideas of Ibn Taymiyyah. He led the Cairo branch of Al-Jihad (Islamist group) and Tanzim Al-Jihad and championed the idea of jihad in radical Islamism, especially against 'apostate' governments, through his publications, such as The Absent Religious Obligation (Al-fareeda Al-ghaa'iba) which is also translated as The Forgotten Duty. He was executed in 1982 for his role in coordinating the assassination of President Anwar el-Sādāt in 1981.

Muhammad Abu Ali Al Baradi (killed 2015). Muhammad Abu Ali Al Baradi is the former commander of the Yarmouk Martyrs Brigade which is a Salafi *jihadist* group operating in southern Syria. He is often referred to as Al Khal, or 'the uncle' and was killed in November 2015. He was replaced by Abu Uthman Idlibi who also took command of the Jaysh Khalid ibn al-Waleed (The Army of Khalid ibn al-Waleed) also known as the Khalid bin Walid Army[1001].

Muhammad Anwar el-Sādāt (1918-1981). Third President of Egypt (1970-1981), assassinated by Islamist army officers in 1981 partly due to his signing of the Egypt–Israel Treaty (26 March 1979) following the 1978 Camp David Accords.

Muhammad Hosni El Sayed Mubarak (born 1928). Fourth President of Egypt (1981 – 2011).

Mustafa Ahmed Muhammad Uthman Abu al-Yazid (1955-2010). **This Egyptian Islamist was** more commonly known as Saeed Al-Masri or Al-Masri. It is thought that he was the head of finances for Al-Qaeda (AQ) and possibly Third in Command. He was killed in a drone strike in Pakistan in 2010.

Prophet's Muhammad (PBUH) (570-632). Full name – Muhammad Bin Abdullah Bin Abdulmuttalib Bin Hashim Bin Abdumanaf Bin Qussai Bin Kilab Bin Murra. Edward Gibbon in his great work The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire referred to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) by the name Mahomet[1002] (Gibbon, 1854, p.500). In Islam, the Prophet (PBUH) is also referred to as Rasool Allah – The Messenger of Allah or the 'Last Messenger of Allah'.

Reyaad Khan (1994-2015). A British jihadist who was killed in Syria on 21 August 2015 by a RAF Reaper drone strike, using a Hellfire missile.

[1001] Sands, P. and Maayeh, S. (2016). Far from Raqqa and Fallujah, Syria rebels open new front against ISIL in the south. *The National,* [online] Available at: http://www.thenational.ae/world/middle-east/far-from-raqqa-and-fallujah-syria-rebels-open-new-front-against-isil-in-the-south#full [Accessed 4 Sep. 2016].
[1002] Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), (Gibbon, 1854, p.500).

Ruhul Amin (1989-2015). A British jihadist who was killed in Syria on 21 August 2015 by a RAF Reaper drone strike, using a Hellfire missile.

Sayyid Navvab Safavi (1924-1955). was a Shia cleric who founded the *Fada'iyan-e* Islam group which carried out the assassination of several leading Iranian politicians who supported the government of the Shah.

Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966). The Egyptian Sayyid Qutb is often considered as one of the main ideologues of modern Muslim Sunni fundamentalism. He was a member of the Muslim Brotherhood and supported and continued the philosophy of Al-Banna (founder of the Muslim Brotherhood). Qutb advocated jihad to establish an 'Islamic state' in Egypt and explicitly used the term 'takfir' to condemn the rulers of Egypt on religious grounds. According to Wiktorowicz (2005, p. 79), Sayyid Qutb's book, *In the Shade of the Quran*, "provides the cornerstone for declaring rulers apostates and waging jihād".

Sayyid Ruhollah Mūsavi Khomeini (1902-1989) - Grand Ayatollah and 1st Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran (1979-1989) and a *marja* ('source of emulation') in Twelver Shi'a Islam.

Shamil Salmanovich Basayev (1965-2006). A significant Chechen militant Islamist and motivational leader of the United Mujahedeen Forces of the Caucasus and led guerrilla campaigns against Russian forces in the Transcaucasus. He was killed in an explosion in 2006.

Sheikh Abdul Aziz bin Bazz (1910-1999). Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia and the highest religious authority in the country. He was a leading proponent of the Salafi form of Sunni Islam and a significant figurehead in 'institutional Wahhabism'. He is well known for his proclamation that jihad in Afghanistan was an individual duty on every Muslim. He also issued a fatwa during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan authorizing a wealth tax to support the Mujahideen during the anti-Soviet jihad.

Sheikh Abdullah Azzam (1941-1989). Azzam is sometimes known as the 'Father of Global Jihad' who was a Palestinian Sunni Islamic scholar and theologian. He was a founding member of AQ and an author of numerous Islamist ideological publications. These included, Defence of Muslim Lands, Join the Caravan, The Lofty Mountain, Jihad and the Rifle Alone. Azzam echoed Muhammad Abdul Salam Faraj's concept of 'the duty of jihad' and preached both defensive and offensive jihad by the Mujahideen against the Soviets in Afghanistan. He was also a fund raiser, recruiter and organiser. He was assassinated in Peshawar on 24 November 1989.

Sheikh Ahmed Ismail Hassan Yassin Ahmed Yassin (1937-2004). Sheikh Yassin was one of the leading founders of Harakat Al Muqwamah Al Islamiyyah (commonly known as Hamas. Yassin was a quadriplegic and nearly blind. He had used a

wheelchair since an accident as a child. He was educated at Al-Azhar University Cairo and became an Islamic Sheikh (Shaikh). Yassin was killed in 2004 by a targeted Israeli missile strike and it is reported by Aljazeera that about two hundred thousand Palestinians attended his funeral procession[1003].

Sheikh Muhammad bin Salah bin Uthaymin (1925-2001). Also spelt Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Saalih ibn Muhammad ibn al-Uthaymeen. He was a famous Sunni scholar from KSA and considered one of the leading thinkers within conservative Salafi Islam. He controversially supported the view that the Green Dome of Masjid Al Nabawi (The 'Mosque of the Prophet (PBUH)') in Al Madinah (Medina) be destroyed and the graves of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and his apostles Abu Bakr and Umar should be flattened[1004].

Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi (born 1926). Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi (also spelt Yousef Al-Qaradhawi) is an Egyptian Islamic theologian who is regarded by some Muslims to be one of the most prominent clerics in the Muslim world. He is based in Doha and chairman of the International Union of Muslim Scholars, a leading member of the Muslim Brotherhood and a supporter of AQ. He is best known for his weekly Al Jazeera television programme Al-Sharīʿa wa al-Ḥayāh ('Shari'a and Life') and has published over 120 books. He helped found 'Islam Online', for which he now serves as chief religious scholar. A number of his speeches and fatwas are regarded by many as provocative, not least that "Islam will return to Europe as a conqueror and victor"[1005]. Al-Qaradawi has been refused entry to the US since 1999[1006] and in 2008 was also denied an entry visa to the UK.

Staffan de Mistura. The current UN special envoy to Syria. He replaced Lakhdar Brahimi. He was Swedish born and has been an Italian politician and diplomat.

Usama bin Mohammed bin Awad bin Laden (1957-2011). Usama bin Mohammed bin Awad bin Laden was the founder of Al-Qaeda (AQ). He and his group claimed responsibility for the 9/11 attacks, and numerous other global atrocities. He was born in

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[1003] Al-Jazeera (2004). The life and death of Shaikh Yasin, *Al-Jazeera*, [online] Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20070816132853/http://english.aljazeera.net/English/archive/archive?ArchiveId=2639 [Accessed 25 May 2016].

[1004] Krieger, Z. (2013). McMecca: The Strange Alliance of Clerics and Businessmen in Saudi Arabia. *The Atlantic,* [online] Available at: http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/03/mcmecca-the-strange-alliance-of-clerics-and-businessmen-in-saudi-arabia/274146/ [Accessed 24 Aug. 2016] and Taylor, J. (2012). Medina: Saudis take a bulldozer to Islam's history. *The Independent,* [online] Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/medina-saudis-take-a-bulldozer-to-islams-history-8228795.html [Accessed 24 Aug. 2016].

[1005] Islam Online (2015). *Al Fatwa* [online]. Available at: http://www.islamonline.net/fatwa/arabic/FatwaDisplay.asp?hFatwaID=2042 [Accessed 15 Apr. 2016].

[1006] Stalinsky S. (2004). Sheikh Yousef Al-Qaradhawi in London to Establish the International Council of Muslim Clerics, *Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI),* Special Report No. 30 [online] Available at: http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sr&ID=SR3004 and http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/1168.htm [Accessed 10 Apr. 2016].

the Kingdom of Saudi Arabian to a wealthy family. He was educated at King Abdulaziz University in Saudi Arabia and killed by a US Special Forces team in Pakistan in 2011.

Mohammed Yasser Abdel Rahman Abdel Raouf Arafat al-Qudwa (Yasser Arafat) (1929-2004). Yasser Arafat was a charismatic Palestinian leader, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), President of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), and leader of the Fatah political party and former paramilitary group, which he founded in 1959. Originally he was opposed to Israel's existence but later modified his position.

Appendix 9

House of Commons Muslim Brotherhood[1007] (MB) Review

Summary of Overarching Conclusions

Introduction

In 2014 the British Prime Minister commissioned a review of the MB by Sir John Jenkins[1008] and Charles Farr[1009] and in December 2015, the House of Commons published the '*Muslim Brotherhood Review*'[1010]. The following is a summary of overarching conclusions extracted from the review and presented in bullet format for ease of reference.

Conclusions

- The MB have promoted radical, transformative politics, at odds with a millennium of Islamic jurisprudence and statecraft, in which the reconstruction of individual identity is the first step towards a revolutionary challenge to established states and a secularised if socially conservative order.

- The MB historically focused on remodelling individuals and communities through grassroots activism. They have engaged politically where possible. But they have also selectively used violence and sometimes terror in pursuit of their institutional goals.

- Their public narrative, notably in the West, emphasised engagement not violence. But there have been significant differences between MB communications in English and Arabic.

- There is little evidence that the experience of power in Egypt has caused a rethinking in the MB of its ideology or conduct. UK official engagement with the Egyptian MB produced no discernible change in their thinking. Indeed even by mid-2014 statements from Egyptian MB-linked media platforms seem to have deliberately incited violence.

[1007] The Society of the Muslim Brothers (Jami'ah al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn), commonly known as the Muslim Brotherhood (Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn), is a Sunni Islamist organisation which was founded in Egypt by Islamic scholar Sheikh Hassan al-Banna in 1928.
[1008] Sir John Jenkins – a career diplomat and Arabist (SOAS); former HM Ambassador to the KSA (2012-2015), Consul General in Jerusalem and UK Special Representative to the Libyan National Transitional Council.
[1009] Charles Farr – Former Director General of the Office for Security and Counter Terrorism (OSCT) and current Chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) and Professional Head of Intelligence Analysis at the Cabinet Office (from December 2015).
[1010] HMSO (2015). House of Commons *Muslim Brotherhood Review* ID 16121509 12/15, *HMSO*, [online] Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/486932/Muslim_Brotherhood_Review_Main_Findings .pdf [Accessed 26 Nov. 2016].

- Much about the MB in the UK remains secretive, including membership, fund raising and educational programmes.

- MB associates and affiliates here have at times had significant influence on the largest UK Muslim student organisation, national organisations which have claimed to represent Muslim communities, charities and some mosques.

- Though their domestic influence has declined organisations associated with the MB continue to have an influence here which is disproportionate to their size.

- The MB in the UK claimed to act in support of Muslim communities here and use London as a base for activism elsewhere, notably with other MB organisations in Europe, in Egypt and the occupied Palestinian territories and in the Gulf.

- Their activity is sometimes secretive, if not clandestine.

- The MB has been publicly committed to political engagement in this country.

- Engagement with Government has at times been facilitated by what appeared to be a common agenda against AQ and (at least in the UK) militant Salafism. But this engagement did not take account of MB support for a proscribed terrorist group[1011] and its views about terrorism which, in reality, were quite different from our own.

- Aspects of MB ideology and tactics, in this country and overseas, are contrary to our values and have been contrary to our national interests and our national security.

[1011] Hamas - US Department of State (2008). Chapter 6 - Terrorist Organizations - Country Reports on Terrorism, *US Department of State,* [online] Available at: http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2007/103714.htm [Accessed 10 Nov. 2016].

Appendix 10

Chronology of Middle Eastern Islam*ism* through the Ages

Serial	Period	Group or Personality	Key Points
1.	7th Century	*Kharijis* Separation (with *Shia*) from Sunni in Great *Fitna* (656-661)	• Doctrine of *Takfir* (labelling other Muslims as apostates), worthy of death. • They declared it a religious duty to rebel against non-Islamic governments.
2.	8th Century	Shaybani (750-804)	• Shaybani was the scholar and author of *Siyar* (motion) or conduct of the Islamic State with other nations, warfare and *Jihād*. • *Hanafi* School adherent.
3.	10th & 11th Centuries	Abu'l-Hassan Al-Mawardi (972-1058)	• Author of *Al-Ahkamal-sultaniyya* (*The Ordinances of Government*). Details use of *Jihād* against those who refuse to convert to Islam. • *Shafi'i* School adherent.
4.	11th - 13th Centuries	The *Hashshāshīn* (the Order of the Assassins) also known as Fida'is (those who conducted the assassins) (c1090-1256)	• Formed by Hassan Al-Sabbāh from the *Ismā'īlī* sect. • Religious extremists who conducted political assassinations. • Used highly motivated and trained suicidal devotees. • Allegedly utilised promise of sensual paradise to help motivate attackers.

			• Survived until their fortress (Alamut) was overrun by the Mongols in 1256.
5.	11th Century	Almoravids	• Doctrine of Takfir, and religious duty to rebel against non-Islamic governments.
6.	11th & 12th Centuries	*Almoravids* (*Al-Murabitun*) (c1056-1147)	• A radical Islam*ic* reform movement. • Implemented an extreme version of Sharia. • Promoted aggressive *Jihādist* ideology. • Conquered Morocco in 1061 and Muslim Spain in 1086.
7.	12th Century	*Burhan Al-Din Al-Marghinani* (1135-1197)	• Author of the *Hedaya.* It contains chapters of waging *Jihād,* plunder and the conquest of infidels. • *Hanafi* School adherent.
8.	12th & 13th Centuries	*Almohads* (*Al-Muwahidun*) (c1145-1269)	• *Mahdist* revival movement founded by *Ibn Tumart.* • Aimed to purify and revive Islam in the Maghreb. They promoted *takfir*. • The Almohads persecuted Jews, Christians and other Muslims if considered apostate. • The *Almohads* overthrew the *Almoravids* (see above) and established their own rule.

9.	13th & 14th Centuries	Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328)	• He preached a radical doctrine of *Jihād* against 'heretical' and 'deviant' Muslims, meaning Muslims who propagated *bid'a* - innovations, contrary to the Holy Qur'an and *Sunna*. • Author of *Al-Siyasa Al-Shar'iyya fi Islah Al-Ra'iwa-al-Ra'iyya* (Governance According to Allah's Law in Reforming Both the Ruler and His Flock) which stresses the religious justification of *Jihād.* • *Hanbali* school adherent.
10.	13th & 14th Centuries	Ibn Naqib Al-Misri (Died 1368)	• Author of *Umdat Al-Salik* (*Reliance of The Traveller*). He promoted *Jihād* against Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians and all non-Muslims. • *Hanafi* School adherent.
11.	18th Century	Abu Al-Wahhab (1703-1792) 'Wahhabism'	• Revival of *Takfir*, heavily influenced by Ibn Taymiyya, need to purge Islam of imperfections, need for *jihād* against apostates and others. • Key in the development of the later *Salafi* movement and need to strip Islam of modern influences.
12.	19th Century	*Jamal al-Din al-Afghani* (1838-1897)	• Demanded reform of a 'decadent and stagnant' Islam
13.	19th Century	Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905)	• Muhammad Abduh is regarded as the architect of Islamic modernism.

			• He was an anti-imperialist activist but eventually made peace with the British in Egypt. • He eventually regarded jihād as defensive only and so contradiction between 'revelation and reason'.
14.	19th - 21th Centuries	*Salafiyya* (Neo-Wahhabism) Rashid Rida (1865-1935)	• *Salafiyya* (Neo-Wahhabism) founded by Rashid Rida • Return to the example of the *Salaf* - 'pious predecessors and the rightly guided caliphs' • Anti-Western but sought to reconcile Islam with modernism; 'rear facing' – inspired by *Kharijis*. • Rida promoted the use of *Takfir*; condemned secular Muslim society and ordinary Muslims should be permitted to interpret the sources of Islam.
15.	20th Century	*Jama'at-I Islami* Abu'l A'la Mawdudi (1903-1979)	• Mawdudi was an Islam*ist* ideologue and author who greatly influenced Qutb. • Mawdudi demanded an Islamic state ruled by *Sharia*. • Sharia was viewed as a panacea for all the problems faced by Muslims. • Mawdudi *founded Jama'at-I Islami* in 1941.
16.	20th Century	Hassan Al-Banna (1906-1949)	• A leading Islam*ist* ideologue and founder of *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* - Muslim

			Brotherhood (MB).
			• First 'grass-roots Islam*ist* movement. See MB below.
17.	20th Century	Sayyid Qutb (1907-1966)	• Qutb probably most inspires modern Islam*ists*; Egyptian MB main ideologue.
			• He called for a total submission to *Sharia*; his influential book *Ma'alim fi al-Tariq* (Signposts on the Road) also transliterated as Milestones in English
			• He promoted *Takfir*, transformed the meaning of *Hijra* (emigration) from the Prophet's PBUH) migration to *Al-Madina* to a stage of development in all Islam*ic* societies; emphasis on *Jahiliyya* (state of ignorance) in Islam*ic* societies and promoted offensive *jihād*' not just defensive *jihād*.
18.	20th & 21st Centuries	*Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* Muslim Brotherhood (1928-2017)	• 1928 - (MB) founded in Egypt as a transnational Islam*ist* organisation that has gained supporters from across the Arab world and influenced Islam*ist* organisations such as *Hamas*.
			• 2011 - Following the 'Egyptian Revolution', the MB successfully sponsored Mohamed Morsi as the presidential candidate but he was he was subsequently overthrown and arrested.
			• MB continues to propagate

			Islam*ist* ideology often through 'charitable status' organisations within many countries including the UK. • Within the Gulf region, the MB is seen as a clear terrorist threat and has been designated a terrorist organisation by states such as Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates.
19.	20th Century	Shukri Mustafa (1942-1978) *Takfir Wal-Hijra*	• Shukri Mustafa was a disciple of Qutb and took his teachings on *Jahiliyya* to an extreme. • He posited that Muslims must remove themselves from modern society and establish an alternative society. This he did in the Egyptian desert and caves. They also promulgated the concept of *takfir*.
20.	20th Century	Abdullah 'Azzam (1941-1989) *Maktab Al-Khidmat*	• Azzam was a Palestinian graduate of Al-Azhar University Cairo, a MB member and a prominent *jihādi* fighter in Soviet-Afghan conflict. • He established *Maktab Al-Khidmat* to coordinate the efforts of foreign fighters. • Azzam is considered by many to be Bin Laden's mentor. • He promulgated the concepts of *takfir,* offensive *jihād* in a transnational sense rather than pursuing local goals.

21.	20th Century	Muhammad Abd al-Salam Faraj (1952-1982) *Tanzim al-Jihād* & Egyptian *Al-Jihād*	• Abd al-Salam Faraj was an Islam*ist* ideologue and member of the MB who supported Qutb's ideas. • He founded *Tanzim al-Jihād,* viewed the Egyptian rulers as 'apostates', and supported aggressive *jihād*. • Meaning of *jihād* to be taken literally not allegorically. • *Jihād* elevated to the '6th Pillar of Islam'.
22.	20th Century	*Hizb ut-Tahrir* *Hizb Al-Tahrir Al-Islami* (1953) *Taqi Al-Din Al Nabhani* (1909-1977)	• *Hizb ut-Tahrir* was founded in 1953 (Jerusalem) by Taqi Al-Din Al Nabhani (1909-1977) who split from the MB. • Its aim was to establish an Islam*ic* state under Sharia within existing Muslim lands and went on to found branches in Syria, Lebanon, Kuwait and Iraq. • In 1968 and 1969 it was involved in *coup d'etats* in Amman, Baghdad and Damascus. • There were later plots in 1972 (Baghdad), 1974 (Cairo) and 1976 (Damascus). • *Hizb ut-Tahrir* is banned in a wide range of countries including, Egypt, Germany and Jordan.
23.	20th Century	Development of Palestinian Groups (1961-1974)	• 1961 - Palestine Liberation Front (PLF).

			• 1964 - Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). • 1964 - Palestine Liberation Army (PLA). • 1967 - Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). • 1968 - Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine General Command (PFLP-GC). • 1974 - Abu Nidal Organisation (ANO).
24.	20th Century	*Al-Jama'a Al-Islamiyya / Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiyya* (1970s) Spiritual leader – Sheikh Umar Abd Al-Rahman (Sentenced to life imprisonment in the US in Jan 1996 for his role in the 1993 World Trade centre bombing).	• A radical offshoot of the MB. • Originated in Egypt following President Sadat's release of Islam*ist* detainees from prison. • Radical proselytism and promulgation of Qutb's Islam*ist* doctrines. • Following Sadat's peace initiative with Israel, this group planned to overthrow the Egyptian government and declared the government to be apostate. This included armed attacks and bomb attacks, including attacking tourists (killing x 58 in Luxor - Nov 1997). They declared a ceasefire in Mar 1999 and have resorted to promulgating Islam*ist* doctrine.
25.	20th Century	'Afghan *Jihād*' (1980-1989)	• Afghanistan became the nexus of *Jihādi* and *Salafi* groups from 1980.

		To combat the USSR invasion and occupation (1979-1989)	• Origins of Al-Qaeda (AQ) and development of concepts of *Jahiliyya*, *Takfir*, *jihād,* and *Istishhād* (martyrdom). • *Jihād* to be *Fard'ayn* (permanent religious duty) and duty to wage *jihād* against the USSR.
26.	20th & 21st Centuries	Formation and Development of AQ Osama Bin Laden & Ayman Al-Zawahiri	• 1988/89 – AQ founded; initial focus on fighting USSR in Afghanistan and later the 'far enemy' (US). • Chief ideologue – Ayman Al-Zawahiri (leader of Egyptian *Al-Jihād* (killed in US air strike in May 2006). AQ has numerous affiliates including: • Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) • Al-Qaeda in Gaza • Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) • Al-Qaeda in Iraq • Al-Qaeda in Sinai Peninsula Al-Qaeda in Syria • Al-Qaeda in Somalia • Al-Qaeda in Lebanon • Al-Qaeda in Kurdistan • Al-Qaeda in Bosnia and Herzegovina • Al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS) • Al-Qaeda in the Malay Archipelago • Al-Qaeda in Spain • Al-Qaeda in West Africa. Attacks on US assets such as:

			• 1993 bombing of the World Trade Centre. • 1998 US Embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania.
27.	21st Century	Abu Qatada (*Between Two Methods*)	• Abu Qatada is a Jordanian of Palestinian origin. He studied law in KSA, fought in the Afghan *jihād.* • In 1993 he was granted political asylum in UK in spite of having twice been convicted of terrorism in Jordan. • In the UK he was a key recruiter for AQ and *jihād* until in 2002 he was detained under the Terrorism Act.
28.	21st Century	AQ attacks on a wide range of targets.	• 2000 - bombing of USS Cole in Aden. • 2001 - 9/11 (World Trade Centre, and Pentagon). • 2002 – Bali. • 2005 – Madrid & London.
29.	2001	*Anṣār al-Islām* (Supporters of Islam) (AAI)) - (2001).	• 2001 - AAI established in Iraq as a *Salafist* Islamist movement. • 2003 – following the Invasion of Iraq, AAI became an insurgent group and fought the US forces.

			• 2014 – AAI announced that it was merging with ISIL but elements continued to fight in Syria under the AAI banner.
30.	2003	*Anṣār Al Sunna* (Supporters of Sunnah (AS)) – (2003).	• 2003 - AS was an Iraqi Sunni Islamist group which fought US forces and their allies following the invasion of Iraq. • 2007 – AS split into 2 groups but AS still continues to exist.
31.	2004	*Tanẓīm qāʿidat al-jihād fī bilād ar-rāfiday -* *Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI)* (2004-2006)	• Active in Iraq from 2004-2006 prior to being subsumed by ISI in 2006
32.	2006	*Dawlat al-ʿIrāq al-ʾIslāmiyyah* Islamic State of Iraq (ISI) (2006-2013)	• *Dawlat al-ʿIrāq al-ʾIslāmiyyah* was an Islamist group that attempted to establish an Islamic state in the Sunni majority areas of Iraq during the Iraq War. • It was on numerous occasions mistakenly referred to as *Al-Qaeda* in Iraq (AQI) or *Tanẓīm qāʿidat al-jihād fī bilād ar-rāfiday.* • ISI formed in 2006 and was an amalgam of Iraqi insurgent groups, including AQI and Mujahideen Shura Council allies. • In April 2013, ISI transformed itself into the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) in 2013 and ultimately ISIS.

33.	2008	*Al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah al-Musallaha* (Armed Islamic Group (GIA))	• Algerian based Islam*ist* group.
			• GIA was one of the two main Islam*ist* insurgent groups that fought the Algerian government during the Algerian Civil War.
			• Over time, the group suffered large scale desertions, internal feuds and the formation of splinter groups.
			• Although the GIA still exists and remains a proscribed organisation by Algeria and France, it is ineffective and non-operational in real terms.
			• The US Department of State delisted the GIA as a Foreign Terrorist Organisation (FTO) in 2010.
34.	2009	Abdullah Azzam Brigades (AAB) – (2009).	• 2009 - founded by Saleh Al-Qaraawi; AAB is a Sunni Islamist militant organisation and AQ's branch in Lebanon.
			• AAB and has networks in Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Jordan, the Gaza Strip and Lebanon.
35.	2010	Anṣār Bayt al-Maqdis[1012] (Supporters of the Holy House) (ABM)). ISIL-Sinai Province	• ABM is an AQ inspired militant Islamist group based in the Sinai region of Egypt.
			• This jihadist style group recruited from within Egypt and abroad and aimed to create an Egyptian state

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[1012] Sometimes referred to as *Anṣār al-Quds* (Supporters of Jerusalem).

			ruled by Sharia law.
			• During the period 2011 to 2013, it carried out attacks in the Sinai Peninsula attacking Israeli targets and the gas pipeline to Jordan.
			• In 2013, ABM's focus of operations changed to attacking the Egyptian security forces.
			• In 2014 the ABM joined the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and renamed itself ISIL-Sinai Province.
36.	2011	*Anṣār al-Sharia* in Libya (Supporters of Islamic Law in Libya (ASL)).	• 2011 - ASL founded. ASL is a Libyan Salafist Islamist group and its primary aim is to implement strict Sharia law across the whole of Libya.
			• 2012 – ASL attacked the US Embassy in Benghazi.
37.	2012	*Anṣār al-Sham* (Supporters of the Levant) - (2012).	• 2012 - founded by Abu Omar; to fight in Syria; December 2012 - Anṣār al-Sham joins Syrian Islamic Front (SIF) and Islamic Front (IF) alliance.
			• 2014 – Fought in the Latakia offensive.
38.	2012	*Jabhat Tahrīr Sūriyā al-Islāmiyyah* (Syrian Islamic Liberation Front (SILF)) (2012-2013)	• SILF was formed in 2012 from a coalition of about 20 Islam*ist* fighting groups.
			• It was led by Ahmed Eissa al-Sheikh, the leader of the *Suqour al-Sham* Brigade.
			• SILF had tens of thousands

			of active fighters throughout Syria and outnumbered the Free Syrian Army (FSA) in some regions.
			• SILF major units included the *Suqour al-Sham* Brigade (based in Idlib), *Farouq* Brigade (based in Homs), *Liwa al-Islam* (based in Damascus) and *Tawhid* Brigade (based in Aleppo).
			• (SILF) ceased as an effective fighting force on 25 November 2013.
39.	2012	*Anṣār al-Sharia* -Tunisia (Supporters of Islamic Law of Tunisia (AAS-T)).	• AAS-T is a radical Islam*ist* group that is trying to establish an Islam*ic* caliphate ruled by Sharia in Tunisia. The group has carried out numerous terrorist attacks.
			• 2015 - AAS-T participated in the mass shooting of British tourists near Sousse.
40.	2013	*Dawlat al-ʿIrāq al-ʾIslāmiyyah - Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)*	• ISIL was formed in April 2013 out of the Islamic State of Iraq (*Dawlat al-ʿIrāq al-ʾIslāmiyyah*), see above.
			• ISIL is a Sunni Islam*ist* terrorist group active in Iraq and Syria.
			• It has a global *jihādist* ideology and is anti-Western in general and anti-American in particular.
			• It also promotes sectarian violence.
			• ISIL aims to establish an Islamic state governed by an

			• extreme interpretation of Sharia law. • ISIL has been responsible for consistent and widespread terrorist operations in Iraq and Syria.
41.	2013	*Al-Jabhat al-Islāmiyyah* (Islamic Front (IF)).	• 2013 – It formed and is an amalgam of a number of groups; IF is a Sunni Islam*ist* rebel group involved in the Syrian conflict. • Their stated aim was to overthrow the Assad regime and build an Islamic state. • On 9 September 2014, Abu Abdulmalek al-Sharei, the head of IF's Sharia Council, were killed along with other senior Ahrar ash-Sham commanders, when an explosion occurred at a high-level meeting in Idlib Province.
42.	2014	*Ajnad Misr* (Soldiers of Egypt).	• *Ajnad Misr* is an Egyptian Salafist *jihādist* group which broke away from *Ansar Bayt al Maqdis* (ABM).
43.	2016 - 2019	*Al-Jabhat Fateh al-Sham* (Front for the Conquest of the Levant (JFS)) – (2016-2019).	• JFS was formerly known as *Al-Jabhat al-Nusra* or *Al-Nusra* Front (JaN). • The group changed its name due to their 'break' with AQ on 28 July 2016.

Appendix 11

Primary Research – Related 2018 'Arab Street' Sayings

Notes:

1.   **Source of Sayings**. These 2018 'Arab Street' sayings about the involvement of America in the Middle East and the Arab World were collected from primary research interviews that were conducted by the researcher in the Arabian Gulf during 2018. The participants spoke English to a high standard. The participants revealed that such sayings can be heard in the streets and coffee shops but are more commonly uttered in the privacy and security of Arab homes and that some are spoken more loudly than others.

2.   **Accuracy**. The sayings appear exactly as they were spoken and recorded contemporaneously in writing by the researcher. Where poor English is used, this is a direct result of the *verbatim* record, as the researcher did not wish to amend in any way what was spoken.

3.   **Verification**. The sayings can be cross-referenced with the transcripts. The transcripts can then also be cross-referenced with the Explicit Consent Forms.

CONTEMPORARY ANTI-AMERICANISM

- "Death to America".

- "Americans are mad dogs and cannot be trusted".

- "US Cowboy policies".

- "America gives you either food or dogs".

- "Americas are the new Roman Empire; they do what they want".

- "America is Shaytan Kabīr (great devil)".

- "They will reap what they sow!"

- "If America sows bombs, it cannot reap flowers".

- "America is al-kazab kabīr (the great liar)".

- "America has destroyed the Arab World".

- "They do what they want".

- "Still waters are deep waters".

  - This is generally taken to mean a lack of clarity in relation to America's true intentions or what the Arab Street calls 'The Agenda'.

- "What America says today, it changes tomorrow".

- "America was Iraq's friend and ally and then invaded it".

- "America's dream is our nightmare".

- "As Arabs, we must follow our heart, not America".

WESTERN MEDIA

- "Western media is a 'camouflage'; you need to look to find the truth hidden in it".

- "The Western media is a 'Trumpet'; but who is blowing the trumpet?"

RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM

- "Religious extremism is like a fire, if you start it, you cannot control it".

- "Men with long beards and a frozen mindset!"

- "To them their way, to me, mine".

  - This has Qur'anic origins. Surat Al-Kāfirūn (109:1-6).

- "Sunni Fake Sheikhs".

PALESTINE

- "Palestine is like a thorn sticking in Arab dignity, always there and always painful".

- "Palestine is the 'First Cause' in Arab lives".

- "The Palestinians are like the poor man at a party".

- "Palestine is our living cause".

- "They are like a member of a family who was the only one who did not get anything from a will and it is toxic".

- "Palestine is the great injustice to Arabs".

ISRAEL

- "America and Israel are like two wolves negotiating with a Palestinian lamb what they will have for lunch. Everyone knows it will be the lamb!"

- "America is the Mother of Israel; if you touch the child, you have the mother to deal with".

- "Israel is the Last Crusader State".

- "America and Israel are joined at the hip".

- "Israel is like a wart on my hand; I see it but do not accept its right to be there".

- "Seeing it is not the same as accepting it".

- "As you cannot force a woman to love you, America cannot force Arabs to love Israel".

- "Israel is *Al-Kayan Al-Sahyuni*" (the Zionist Entity).

- "Israel is the 51st State of America!"

- "What is wrong is wrong".

IRAQ INVASION

- "If someone kicks your door in, you must defend your home".

- "The American Crusade".

- "If you plant wars, you cannot reap flowers".

- "Iraq was the Arab Wall to Iran".

- "You cannot punch a man in the face and complain when he hits you back".

- "The son finished what the father started".

- "They invaded for oil and Israel".

- "Iraq was all about oil".

- "The Americans only came to Iraq to steal our oil".

- "Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi were like cruel step fathers who beat their step children but they protected them from an even worse person outside the family".

- "The Ba'ath party was the belt that held us together and Saddam was the belt buckle".

- "Our own stale water or someone else's vinegar".

- "Americans bring democracy by invasion".

- "Americans have 'Democracy' painted on their B52 bombs".

- "American pilots have dollar signs in their eyes!"

AMERICAN MILITARY BASES IN ARAB LANDS

- "You have brought the enemy to our land!"

- o   This refers specifically to Arab governments bringing the US military into Arab countries.

AMERICAN PURPORTED INDEPENDENCE IN NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN PALESTINIANS AND ISRAEL

- "Its protector is its thief".

AMERICA AS AN ALLY

- "He who is covered by America is stripped naked, because America is not a reliable ally".

ARAB SPRING

- "We needed the medicine but it was the wrong medicine!"

- "It was the wrong way at the wrong time".

- "The people's eyes have been opened and our mouths shut".

- "Our Arab Spring has turned into your 'European Winter' (reference to Islam*ist* inspired terrorist attacks in Europe).

- "Now we must be quiet".

- "Now we must live like spies in our own country".

- "It failed; they failed".

- "Arab governments now have their people by the throat".

- "The green shoots of democracy lie crushed under police boots".

- "Only in the Arab World do university graduates sell bread in the streets".

- "The Flowering of Flowers".

- "If a man has a job, car, apartment, wife, children and social justice; he has no time for trouble".

HEZBOLLAH

- "Hezbollah is like a rose, to some it is beautiful and to others its thorns make them bleed".

HAMAS

- "Does Hamas plan attacks against Sweden, Argentina or Japan? No, only against Israel".

BALFOUR

- "He who did not own it, gave it to he who did not deserve it".

    o This refers to what many Arabs view as the British 'giving' the land of Palestine to the Zionists to form a Jewish homeland.

HUMAN RIGHTS

- "In the Arab World, the weak have no rights".

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

- "America talks about Arab democracy but supports Arab dictators".

- In the Arab World, "If you say it you own it".

- "The government has the people by the throat".

- "If men cannot talk, they will whisper".

ARAB GOVERNMENTS

- "Arab governments are like a blind man on a black night, seeing nothing and saying nothing".

- "You have to tie the donkey where the owner wants".

- "A man who protests against Israel today may protest against his own government tomorrow!"

- "Arab dictators don't want loyalty they want the obedience of a slave".

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

- "Brothers forever".

- "Once in, never out".

- "Until death".

THE ARABS

- "The Arabs are not taught to live together but are forced to do so".

- "We all talk about the Arab Family but we are a dysfunctional family".

    o This saying is attributed originally to Muammar Gaddafi.

HISTORY

- "History is like a flowing river that brings the past to the present".

- "Bright stars shining on a dark night".

    o This relates to historical events shining a path from the past to the present.

- "History is like our shadow. It is always there".

UNITED NATIONS

- "The UN is a puppet and the US is the puppet master".

RELIGIOUS & CULTURAL SEPARATION

- "To you your way and to me mine".

    o This has Qur'anic origins. Surat Al-Kāfirūn (109:1-6).

US SUPERPOWER

- "America is the only game in town".

    o This pragmatic Arab saying refers to America being the only global superpower for now.

WESTERN CONSUMERISM

- "Wake up – no makeup".

  - Attributed to Mariam Nour the Lebanese commentator. Meaning, Arabs should recognise the true cost of Western consumerism.

WESTERN FAST FOOD

- "They bring us fast food that turns into fast death".

- "With food comes ideas".

- "We can't avoid it".

- "The only game in town".

Appendix 12

Hashshāshīn - The Order of Assassins

The *Hashshāshīn*[1013] (the Order of the Assassins also known as *Fida'is*[1014]), were formed by Hassan Al-Sabbāh[1015] from the *Ismāʿīlī*[1016] sect (Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2016). Hassan Al-Sabbāh had ultra-conservative interpretations of Islam*ic* philosophy and *Shia* Islam and advocated the use of political assassinations in order to instill terror and silence in opponents or critics (Sookhdeo, 2008, p. 275). However, the *Hashshāshīn* would also enter into treaties and develop relationships with those who would bring some benefit to them (Biesterfield and Meloy, 2008). Al-Sabbāh is thought to have used ideological and religious propaganda to attract fierce, resourceful and loyal young men and developed their self-sacrificial zeal, combat skills and deep-cover intelligence ability, in order to conduct their suicidal missions that were used to terrorise their opponents. Sookhdeo describes these *Fida'is* Assassins as "suicide devotees" (2008, p. 275). As previously indicated, Lewis (1980, pp. 129-130) suggests that they may even have been the "first terrorists". The *Hashshāshīn Fida'is* were selected according to intelligence, determination and courage and underwent intense indoctrination and robust training. Their assassinations were generally performed using a dagger and in public, such as during *Ṣalāt Al Jummah* (Friday prayers), in order to instill terror, increase fear and publicity (Kjeilen, 2016). According to Juvayni[1017], Al-Sabbāh led assaults of pillage, bloodshed and war (Juvayni cited in Gray, 2010).

The reputation of the *Hashshāshīn* was initially established by the assassination of the Seljuk Vizier Nizam al-Mulk[1018] (*Sunni*) in 1092. Gray (2010) suggests that with the

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[1013] Hashshāshīn, or Assassins, sometimes spelt Hashisheen or Hashishiyya, are referred to in some texts as Fedayin, Fedayeen or Fada'iyan. The Assassins are most famous for their assassinations during the period of the Crusades (11th - 13th century).
[1014] Those within the group who conducted the actual assassinations.
[1015] Hassan al-Sabbāh (1050s-1124) was a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Islamic Dāʿī (missionary) leader who was based in the Alborz Mountains of northern Persia. He founded the *Hashshāshīn*, or Assassins (sometimes referred to as *Fedayin* or *Fedayeen*). His name is also spelt Hassan-i Sabbāh, Hasan-e Sabbāh and Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ in a number of texts.
[1016] The *Ismāʿīlī* derive their name from their Imam Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar al-Mubārak as the appointed spiritual successor (Sixth Imām) to Ja'far al-Sadiq; whereas the Twelvers Shia accepted Musa al-Kadhim, the younger brother of Isma'il, as the true Imām. Following Ja'far al-Sadiq's death, the *Shia* community split between the element s that became the Twelver *Shia* and *Ismāʿīlī Shia*.
[1017] Atâ-Malek Juvayni (1226–1283), a Persian historian who wrote a number of historical accounts including an account of the Mongol Empire entitled Tarīkh-i Jahān-gushā (History of the World Conqueror).

assassination of Al-Mulk, the *Ismāʿīlī*[1019] sect had demonstrated to *Sunni* Muslims that they now faced a determined, suicidal and ruthless enemy. In the decades following the assassination of Al-Mulk, caliphs, emirs, viziers, generals, urban and religious leaders, and even Christian princes were assassinated by the *Hashshāshīn*. Over time, Al-Sabbāh's *Hashshāshīn* grew in number until they numbered in the thousands, Gray (2010).

Even the great *Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb* (Saladin) did not escape the attention of the *Hashshāshīn*. Following his defeat of the Zengid army at the Battle of the Horns of Hama in 1175[1020] Saladin became the target of the *Hashshāshīn* who had been contracted by the Emir of Aleppo, fearing that Saladin would conquer his city (Kjeilen, 2016). The *Hashshāshīn Fida'is* penetrated Saladin's outer and inner camp defences and even his personal bodyguard, entered his tent and slashed Saladin's face prior to being killed, causing Saladin to flea Syria back to Egypt (Kjeilen, 2016). What is significant about this incident is that if Saladin had been killed by the *Hashshāshīn* in 1175, the Muslim emirs and caliphs may well have continued to fight amongst each other and there may well not have been the decisive battle of the Horns of Hattin in 1187 which essentially destroyed the Christian Crusader Army[1021] and effectively caused the decline and fall of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem and ultimately the removal of Western rule from the 'Holy Land'.

An example of a significant assassination by the *Hashshāshīn Fida'is*, from a Western perspective, is the killing of Conrad the Marquis De Montferrat[1022], Crusader leader and *de facto* King of Jerusalem (as King Conrad I)[1023]. He was assassinated by the *Fida'is* days after being formally elected King in 1192 CE. This assassination in particular brought the *Hashshāshīn* to the attention of the Crusaders and ultimately to

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[1018] Abu Ali Hasan ibn Ali Tusi better known as Nizam al-Mulk (1018 –1092) was a Persian scholar and vizier of the Seljuq Empire.
[1019] The largest element of the contemporary Ismāʿīlī global community is the Nizārī who accept Prince Karim Aga Khan IV as their 49th Imām (Sookhdeo, 2014, p. 275).
[1020] Resulting in Saladin being proclaimed the 'Sultan of Egypt and Syria' by the Abbasid Caliph Al-Mustadi in 1175.
[1021] Particularly the Knights Templar (The Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon (*Pauperes commilitones Christi Templique Salomonici*)) and Knights Hospitaller (The Order of Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem (*Ordo Fratrum Hospitalis Sancti Ioannis Hierosolymitani*)).
[1022] Conrad De Montferrat (killed 1192) Italian nobleman, Crusader leader and *de facto* King of Jerusalem (as King Conrad I) was one of the major participants in the Third Crusade. He was also Marquis of Montferrat from 1191.
[1023] By virtue of his marriage on 24 November 1190.

Europe. According to Daftary, the early European understanding of the *Hashshāshīn* was based on the Sunni pejorative connotation of the *Hashshāshīn* being "*Hashishiyya*[1024]" as being persons of "low social and moral status" (2001, p. 91).

It is worth emphasising that the *Hashshāshīn Fida'is* have over the centuries acquired a number of 'legends' in relation to their activities (Daftary, 2001, pp.1-7). Some narratives suggest that the Assassins were obedient chiefly because they were 'drugged by their leader', as highlighted by Daftary (2001), which may be related to the origin of *Hashīshīn* or 'users of hashish' (Lewis, 1980). Another account which explains the compliance of the suicidal Assassins is the "paradise legend", through the promise of "secret and delightful places" and pleasures (Daftary, 2001, p. 99). Since then, the idea of a sensual paradise that awaits martyrs has been one of the popular arguments that have been posited to explain the phenomenon of martyrdom in Islam*ism*. Daftary (2001) further emphasises that these legends were reinforced by the writings of several European travellers such as Marco Polo[1025]. Thus, these accounts gained popularity in the West until the eighteenth century when they were generally accepted as a factual account of the Assassins.

[1024] The term 'Hashishiyya' means "impaired of one's faculties but in particular those moral and character qualities that determine the individual's standing in society" (Daftary, 2001, p. 91).
[1025] Marco Polo (1254 –1324), Venetian merchant traveller whose travels and experiences are recorded in *The Travels of Marco Polo*, c1300 (*Livres des Merveilles du Monde*).

Appendix 13

Suicide Attack Data - University of Chicago

Suicide Attacks in Iraq 2015, 2016, 2003-2016 & 2011-2016

	2015[1026]	2016[1027]	2003-2016 (From US invasion)	2011-2016 (For comparison below)
Suicide Attacks	363	136	2,208	908
Deaths Caused	3,723	1,729	23,498	8,794
Wounded	5,779	2,573	54,226	17,534

Suicide Attacks in Syria 2015, 2016 & 2011-2016

	2015	2016	2011-2016 (From 2011 Syrian Uprising)
Suicide Attacks	115	55	280
Deaths Caused	1,357	721	3,291
Wounded	1,908	1,134	5,272

[1026] Data extracted from the University of Chicago CPOST (2016). Suicide Attack Database, 2015, Iraq, *CPOST*, [online] Available at: http://cpostdata.uchicago.edu/search_results_new.php [Accessed 1 Sep. 2017].
[1027] Data extracted from the University of Chicago CPOST (2016). Suicide Attack Database, 2016, Iraq, as at 12 Oct 16, *CPOST*, [online] Available at: http://cpostdata.uchicago.edu/search_results_new.php [Accessed 1 Sep. 2017].

Appendix 14

Primary Research
Semi-Structured Interview Questions

M00517926 – Paul Anthony Rashid McIvor

RESEARCH QUESTION

An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim men to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era.

KEY WORDS

Anti-Americanism, Middle Eastern, Arab Sunni Muslims, Islamist extremism, radicalisation and contemporary era.

DRAFT QUESTIONS

Introduction – Early Years and America

- Can you please tell me a little about yourself and your formative years?

- When did you first become aware of America?

  o Was it in a positive or negative context?

  o Can you please elaborate?
- Have you visited America?

  o In what capacity – work, student, tourist or other?

  o For how long did you stay?
  o Were your impressions positive or negative?

  o Have your opinions been altered in any way by your visit(s)?
    ▪ If so, in what way?

- Do you or would you:
    - **Purchase** American products?
    - **Wear** American brands, such as Nike, Calvin Klein, Polo Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, Levi Strauss, Gap, or American Eagle?
    - **Dress** in a contemporary US style such as baseball cap, jeans, 'T' shirt, trainers?
        - If so, which?

    - **Eat** American fast food such as McDonald's, KFC, Subway, Dunkin' Donuts or Pizza Hut?

    - **Drink** American soft drinks such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi or Dr Pepper?
    - **Watch** American made Hollywood movies?
        - If so which?

    - **Watch** US news channels such as CNN, Fox or NBC, on any media platform?

    - **Listen** to American music such as Pop, Rock, Rap, Heavy Metal, R&B, or Jazz, on any music platform?
        - If so which?

    - **Drive** an American car such as GMC, Ford, Chrysler or Cadillac?
    - **Possess** an Apple iPhone, iPad, MacBook, iMac or use Microsoft?
        - If so, which?

Family Relatives & Friends

- How is the West and America generally regarded by you, your family, relatives, and friends?
    - Has this changed in any way recently?
    - If so how?
    - Why?

- How often is America, its foreign policy, or actions in the Middle East a topic of conversation for you, your family or friends?
    - Often, sometimes, never?
    - If so, in what way?

Anti-Americanism

- When did you first become aware of anti-Americanism?

- o Within a Middle Eastern context?
- o How did it manifest itself?

    - ▪ Media, social commentators, politicians, religious leaders, organisations, friends, relatives, family or other?
- o Did it affect you in any way?
    - ▪ If so how?
- o Did it shape your views?
    - ▪ If so how?
- o Have these views changed?
    - ▪ If so how and why?

- Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your school?
    - o If so, how?
    - o Why?

- Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your college or university?
    - o If so, how?
    - o Why?

- Are you consciously aware of anti-Americanism in the Arab media?
    - o If so – which parts of the media?
    - o What effect impact this have on your opinions?

- To what degree if any does American foreign policy in the Middle East have on Arab Sunni anti-Americanism?
    - o How do you view American foreign policy?

- To what degree if any does the presence of American military bases in the Middle East and especially in Saudi Arabia, contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

- To what degree if any does 'Americanisation' (globalisation) and its impact on Arab culture and Islamic life contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

- To what degree do Middle Eastern Arabs blame America for preexisting problems within the Middle East?
    - o Is it justified?

Causes of Contemporary Anti-Americanism

- What do you think are the causes of contemporary anti-Americanism within the Middle East?

- o Can you please provide some examples?
- o Is your opinion commonly held?
- o What are the opposing views?

Sayings or Common Phrases

- What Arab phrases or sayings about the West or America are most memorable to you, or come quickly to your mind?
  - o Are these common?
  - o Do you agree with them?

Historical Events

- What do you consider to be the most important historical events in relation to the West's historical relationship with Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?
  - o Can you explain why?

- How important or relevant do you think historical events such as the Crusades are to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?
  - o How important is it to you?

- What historical events can you recall or are important to you in relation to Western interventionism in the Middle East?

- How important do you think the colonial period is to Arab Sunni Muslims?
  - o How important is it to you?
  - o Do you think that these events are relevant to modern Arab life?

Islam*ism*

- What do you understand by the word Islam*ism*?
- When did you first become aware of Islam*ism* or Islam*ist* ideologues?
  - o If so, which ideologues?
  - o How did their message affect you or others that you know?

Palestine & Israel

- How important is the Palestinian issue to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?
  - o If this is important, explain why?
  - o Is this issue reducing in importance in Arab minds in any way?

- How important is the Palestinian issue to you?
  - If so, why?
  - Is this issue reducing in importance in your mind?
    - Can you please elaborate?

- How do you feel about the 1948, 1967, 1973 wars?

- Do you view Israel as an illegal occupier of Palestine and Palestinian territory?
  - If so, why?

- Do most Arab Sunni Muslims accept the existence of the State of Israel?
  - Do you?
  - If not, why not?

- How do you view the Israeli occupation of Lebanon which lasted 18 years (1982-2000)?

- Do you view the State of Israel as legitimate?
  - If not, why?

- Do you view Israel as a terrorist state?
  - If so, why?

- To what extent is anti-Americanism caused by US support for the State of Israel or linked to the US/ Israeli alliance?

  - How do you feel about American support for Israel?
  - How do you feel about this alliance?

- To what extent is America's support for Israeli used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab Sunni Muslims?

- Does the US support for Israel undermine its purported independence in negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?

- Do many Arab Sunni Muslims conflate Judaism with Israelis or Zionism?
  - If so, which?
  - In what way?
  - Why?

- Do you consider Hamas (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah*) to be a terrorist organisation?
    - If so why?
    - If not, why not?

- Do you consider the military wing of Hamas (*Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades*) to be a terrorist organisation?
    - Were the Intifadas[1028] against Israel justified?
    - If so, why?

- Do you consider Hezbollah to be a terrorist organisation?
    - If so, why?

- Do you consider Hezbollah's attacks on Israel to be terrorist?
    - If so, why?
    - If not, why not?

- Were the deaths of 7 x family members of a Palestinian family[1029] (Ghaliya family) on Gaza beach in 2006 caused by an Israeli artillery barrage, an act of terrorism?
    - If so, please explain.
    - If not, please explain.

- In the 2014 Gaza conflict, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) state that 1,462 x Palestinian civilians were killed by Israeli Defence Force (IDF) aerial bombing, tank and artillery fire[1030] and that 5 x Israeli civilians were killed by Hamas rockets.

    - What is your view on the proportionality of this?
    - In what way does this influence your opinion of America and its support for Israel?

    - In what way does this impact on Arab minds in relation to America's support for Israel?

[1028] Intifadas - 1st Intifada - 1987-1991, 2nd Intifada – 2000-2005 and 3rd - Intifada 2014.
[1029] On 9 June 2006, at *Beit Lahia* Beach located in the north of Gaza, a barrage of Israeli artillery shells killed 7 x members of the same Palestinian family (3 x children, aged 1, 3 and 10), which had been "packed" with picnicking Palestinian families (McGreal, 2006). McGreal, (2006). Death on the beach: Seven Palestinians Killed as Israeli Shells Hit Family Picnic, *The Guardian*, [online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/jun/10/israel [Accessed 12 Aug. 2017].
[1030] Involving "6,000 airstrikes by Israel and approximately 50,000 tank and artillery shells fired" (UNHR, 2015) during the 51 day operation. UNHR, (2015). 'UN Gaza Inquiry finds credible allegations of war crimes committed in 2014 by both Israel and Palestinian armed groups', *UNHCR*, [online] Available at:
http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=16119 [Accessed 26 Aug. 2017].

- o Does it contribute to anti-Americanism?
- o Do you have any other related views?

- Do you believe that America considers 'Israeli blood' to be more valuable than Arab 'Palestinian blood'?
  - o If so why?
  - o In what way?

US Led Invasion of Iraq

- Is the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq still a 'burning issue' to Arab Sunni Muslims?
  - o If yes, explain.
  - o If no, explain.
  - o How do you feel about it?

- **Iraqi loss of life due to the war**
  - o John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health calculated that 655,000 Iraqis died as a consequence of the 2003 Iraq War[1031] (reported in *The Lancet* medical journal).

  - o The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that 151,000 violent deaths in Iraq occurred from March 2003 to June 2006[1032].

  - o Classified Pentagon files released by WikiLeaks recorded in excess of 66,000 civilians killed in the Iraq War between 2004 and 2009[1033].

- How do you feel about these statistics?

- Is the loss of Iraqi life still a 'burning issue'?
  - o With you?
  - o With other Arabs?

- How important to modern Arab Sunni Muslims are the documented American atrocities and human rights violations at *Abu Ghraib* detention facility, the

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[1031] Burnham, G., Lafta, R. Doocy, S., and Roberts, L. (2006). Mortality after the 2003 invasion of Iraq: a cross-sectional cluster sample survey. *The Lancet,* 11 Oct 2006, [online] Available at: http://www.thelancet.com/pdfs/journals/lancet/PIIS0140-6736(06)69491-9.pdf [Accessed 17 Oct. 2016].
[1032] Iraq Family Health Survey (IFHS) Group (2008). Violence-Related Mortality in Iraq from 2002 to 2006, Engl, N. and Med, J. in, *The New England Journal of Medicine*, [online] Available at: http://www.nejm.org/doi/full/10.1056/NEJMsa0707782#t=article and https://www.medpagetoday.com/upload/2008/7/24/431.pdf [Accessed 10 Feb 2017 and 18 Aug. 2017].
[1033] Leigh, D. (2010). Iraq War Logs Reveal 15,000 Previously Unlisted Civilian Deaths, *The Guardian*, [online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/22/true-civilian-body-count-iraq [Accessed 28 Nov. 2016].

assaults on *Fallujah*[1034] (Apr & Nov 2004), the use of extraordinary rendition[1035], or the existence of Guantanamo Bay detention facility?

- To what extent do you think the US led invasion of Iraq contributed to:
    - A growth in anti-Americanism?
    - The formation of *Daesh* or ISIS?
        - Who do you think created Daesh?
        - What is the common opinion of the 'Arab Street'?

    - Destabilisation of the region?
        - Egypt?
        - Iraq?
        - Saudi Arabia?
        - Syria?
        - Yemen?
        - Influence of Iran or Turkey or others?

    - Increased Islam*ist* extremism?
- What do you believe are the consequences of the invasion?

- What do you think about the US led invasion of Iraq?

- What do you think was the primary reason for the invasion?
    - What is the common reason given for the invasion in the 'Arab street'?
    - What is the common reason given by Islam*ists*?

Daesh / ISIS / Jihād / Syria

- What do you think draws some Arab Sunni Muslims to *Daesh* or ISIS?

- Islam*ists* derive their Islam*ic* theological credibility by claiming to be waging *jihād* and living according to the Hadith and Sunnah, similar to the earlier caliphates. To what extent is this correct?
    - Can you please provide examples?

- What do you understand as the meaning of *jihād*?

[1034] UN General Assembly Human Rights Council (HRC) (2014). 22nd Special Session. Written Statement Submitted by the Human Rights Now (HRN). The HRN report states "grave violations of international human rights and humanitarian law by occupying powers in Iraq. For example, the US attacks on Fallujah in April and November 2004 were widely reported to include alleged war crimes, direct attacks against the civilian population, use of white phosphorous weapons on civilians, and a denial of citizen's access to hospitals" Human Rights Now (HRN) report (GE.14-15261 (E) published in*, UN General Assembly, HRC, A/HRC/S-22/NGO/9* dated 1 Sep. 2014. *UN,* [online] Available at: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/805885/files/A_HRC_S-22_NGO_9-EN.pdf [Accessed 26 Nov. 2016].
[1035] Extraordinary Rendition - can be defined as the government-sponsored detention (abduction) and extrajudicial transfer and interrogation of suspected persons from one country to another.

- o In what circumstances may it be waged?

- What do you understand as the meaning of the terms *Takfir*[1036] and *Kafir* or unbeliever?
    - o How do you feel about this concept in the modern world?
- Islam*ist* extremism can be said to grow in the 'fertile ground of ignorance'. Is this correct?
    - o To what extent does this fuel anti-Americanism?
    - o Can you please provide examples?

- It is said by some Arab Sunni Muslims that "*Daesh* are extreme and do terrible things but they 'fight' the Syrian regime with commitment and the other opposition groups do not".
    - o To what extent is this correct, if at all?

- Was the burning alive of Muath Al-Kasasbeh[1037] a terrorist act or an act of *jihād*?

- What do you think of ISIS attacks on Shia *masjids* (mosques) and the Shia community?

- Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be fair and reasonable?
    - o If so, why?
    - o If not, why not?
- Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be terrorist?
    - o If so, why?
    - o If not, why not?

'Arab Spring' (*Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī*)

- What have been the consequences of the *Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī* - 'Arab Spring' for Middle Eastern Arabs?

- What was the impact of the 'Arab Spring' on the current situation in the Muslim world and its relationship with the outside world?

- Do you like or use the term 'Arab Spring'?
    - o If not, why not?

[1036] *Takfir– Sharia* refers to the declaration by one Muslim that another Muslim is an apostate or *kafir* (Brown, 2010, p. 89).
[1037] Muath Safi Yousef Al-Kasasbeh (1988-2015), the Royal Jordanian Air Force pilot who was captured and burned to death by the so called 'Islamic State' *jihadists* after his F-16 fighter aircraft crashed over Syria in January 2015. His death became a rallying point for many moderate *Sunni* Arabs against ISIS, *Jihadists* and Islam*ism* in general.

- Do you view the 'Arab Spring' positively or negatively?

- Do you consider the death of Mohamed Bouazizi[1038] to have been worth it?

Muslim Brotherhood

- The Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) are viewed as an extremist organisation in some countries but not in others and is banned in some countries but not in others; do you believe that it is extremist?

  - Do you believe that it should be banned?
  - What do you think of their recent experience in Egypt?
  - Are the teachings of Sayyid Qutb relevant to modern Arabs?

- It is said that political Islamists such as the Muslim Brotherhood only gain popularity because they replace the social and other services that should be delivered by many Arab governments.
  - Is this correct?
  - Does this contribute to anti-Americanism?
    - If so, how?
  - Does this contribute to extremism?
    - If so how?

- Is the Muslim Brotherhood anti-Western?
  - If so, in what way?

Islam

- Do you think that Islam is a religion of peace?
  - If so why?
  - If not why not?

- What do you think that some and possibly many Westerners conflate Islam with Islamist terrorism?

- Why are 'radical Muslims' seen as representative of Islam in the West?

- Sunni Islam has no globally accepted central religious leader or doctrinal centre such as the Grand *Ayatollah* in Shia Islam or the Pope or Vatican for Roman Catholics;

[1038] Mohamed Bouazizi – the Tunisian street vendor who set himself on fire in December 2010 and became the catalyst for large scale demonstrations which ultimately led to the removal of President Ben Ali in January 2011.

- - Does this contribute to a situation where Islam*ist* extremists can interpret Quranic texts in an extremist manner?
  - Who speaks or should speak for Sunni Islam?
  - What do you view as the solution to this challenge?

- Is Sharia compatible with democracy?
  - If not, why not?

- Is Islam or Sharia threatened by Western scientific humanism or the secular 'Enlightenment'?

Possible Solutions

- What do you think the West or America can do to reduce the levels of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?
  - Can you please provide examples?

Improvements in the Image of Arab Muslim World

- What do you think can be done to improve the image of the Arab / Muslim world in the rest of the world?

Any Other Matters

- Is there any other matter related to the research question (directly or indirectly) which you would like to mention?

Appendix 15

Codebook

An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* Muslim men to Islamist extremism, in the contemporary era.

Name	Sources	References
MOVING FORWARD	5	630
PARTICIPANT 1 (4 THEMES-REMOVE 'ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICAN CULTURE', 'ARAB SPRING')	1	126
ARAB SPRING	1	4
POSITIVE PERSONAL VIEW	1	4
Many Arabs say, "We needed the medicine but it was the wrong medicine!"	1	1
Yes – I like it. But many don't	1	1
Yes. I am not going to say any more on this.	1	1
Yes. The Arab Spring changed my views. It caused me to read much. I have been reading internet sites, blogs, watching documentaries and reading	1	1
ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICAN CULTURE	1	22
ATTITUDE OF OTHERS	1	2
It was positive in general from the TV	1	1
My school and teachers appeared neutral	1	1
HIGH CONSUMPTION OF AMERICAN PRODUCTS	1	12
All of the above! It's the global world we live in.	1	1

Name	Sources	References
do not wear a baseball cap	1	1
I tend to switch around a lot to get different perspectives on the same story.	1	1
No but I do not have a problem with them	1	1
No. I don't but I don't object	1	1
Sure. I have seen all of these at one time	1	1
Yes, but we are trying to reduce or avoid these for health reasons	1	1
Yes, I am happy to do so but not 'formal US style suits'	1	1
Yes, I buy American brands	1	1
Yes, I have no problem with buying American products. I buy them happily and often	1	1
Yes, of course	1	1
Yes. Sure.	1	1
POSITIVE ATTITUDE OF SELF	1	8
'Things work there'.	1	1
Actually it enhanced my view of how positive the US is – its diversity, and complexity	1	1
I viewed the US as developed, modern and with a great lifestyle.	1	1
It is well managed and developed.	1	1
My impressions were mixed, mostly positive but some negative	1	1
The US kids seemed to have so much.	1	1
They have good airports and good infrastructure.	1	1
They seemed to have a higher quality of life.	1	1
CAUSES AND INFLUENCES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM	1	31
CHANGE FROM LIBERTARIAN TO IMPERIALIST TREATMENT OF MIDDLE EAST	1	10

Name	Sources	References
a spike	1	1
Bell Curve	1	1
CIA coup to overthrow a Middle Eastern democratically elected Prime Minister.	1	1
I think that post World War II it changed slightly from inward to outward looking with aggressive interventions	1	1
it shocked many in the Middle East	1	1
Perhaps even earlier, probably in the 1920s ~ 1930s the US changed in its approach to other countries in the Middle East	1	1
The Founding Fathers would not have approved.	1	1
The libertarian vision of the Founding Fathers seems to have been abandoned and even reversed	1	1
The US has moved away from their liberal origins. It is no longer liberal in its external relations and this includes the Middle East.	1	1
we had never thought of America in an imperialist light before that	1	1
EFFECT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND AMERICANISATION OF THE WORLD ON ARAB SUNNI ANTI-AMERICANISM	1	8
"Religious extremism is like a fire, if you start it, you cannot control it"	1	1
I hope that it does impact on Islam to get the Arab World out of our dilemma!	1	1
I think that America used religion like a fire, but it is so dangerous, like in Afghanistan and Syria	1	1
It has a huge amount. You see during the Cold War with the Soviets, the US supported Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan against the USSR. We all know this.	1	1
one that changed a whole generation's view of America, the invasion of Iraq in 2003 !!!!!	1	1
The real question for Arab Muslims and other Muslims is does religion rule our lives or does it fit into our life~ This is our problem – not the West's. We cannot blame the West for that question.	1	1
This is a fire which was lit by the US and left to burn after they abandoned	1	1

Name	Sources	References
Afghanistan after the Cold War. It then spread elsewhere like a virus.		
Western civilisation did not make the leap until this issue was resolved – the Enlightenment. They did it, we have to do it and we have not done it yet. Some are still living their lives as it was at the time of the Prophet.	1	1
EFFECT OF COLONIALISM ON ANTI-AMERICANISM	1	3
But it is also, I think, distracting. It gives a backward push and is draining our resources	1	1
It is definitely important in North African Arab countries.	1	1
Yes of course. They are a legacy but they are also distracting	1	1
JIHAD FUELING ANTI-AMERICANISM	1	2
Much!	1	1
Yes, Syria and Iraq.	1	1
MANIPULATION OF THE PRESS	1	2
"The Western media is a 'Trumpet'; but who is blowing the trumpet~"	1	1
For example, Al Jazeera is the 'trumpet' for Qatar and Turkey, Al Arabia and MBC Saudi are the 'trumpet' for Saudia Arabia, Sky News Arabia is the 'trumpet' for the UAE, ON TV is the 'trumpet' for Egypt and so on and on. You understand this very well.	1	1
PALESTINE AND IRAQ	1	1
the main causes, these are the Palestinian issue and the illegal invasion of Iraq.	1	1
PERSONAL VIEWS ON ANTI-AMERICANISM	1	4
(Did not answer but smiled)	1	1
It did not shape my views	1	1
Not really	1	1
Yes. The Arab Spring changed my views. It caused me to read much. I have been reading internet sites, blogs, watching documentaries and reading	1	1

Name	Sources	References
SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL	1	1
I would estimate 70~80%.	1	1
ISLAM IS A RELIGION OF PEACE	1	1
Yes.	1	1
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM	1	18
ARE HAMAS AND HEZBOLLAH TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS	1	5
No difference. They are both the same, two hands of the same body – left hand and right hand. What is the difference~	1	1
No. I explained before.	1	1
Not before – no. Not when they gave Israel a beating in Lebanon and forced them to leave. But recently since Syria and Iraq – yes, I do. Their militias have done terrible things against Sunnis in Iraq and Syria	1	1
Not really. We say, "If someone kicks your door in, you must defend your home". What are you going to do~ You must fight. Some do fight but very few.	1	1
Yes, of course. What else are the Arabs going to do~ The West does not help us, so we must do what we can.	1	1
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE US IRAQ WAR FOR ISLAMIST EXTREMISM	1	13
Greatly! It remains the second greatly issue. Palestine remains the first.	1	1
It is like a thorn sticking into us. It does not go away. But also the US keeps twisting this Shoka or thorn with its support to Israel, or banning Arab Muslims from America.	1	1
It was illegal and it has caused so many problems for Arabs across the whole region.	1	1
Most Arabs say "Iraq was all about oil". But I think it was a combination of opportunity, unfinished business and oil. Opportunity because the invasion of Afghanistan was over so quickly, unfinished business because the 'son' (G W Bush) wanted to finish.	1	1
Oil	1	1
Some Arabs call it "The American Crusade". Others say it was the Western ~	1	1

Name	Sources	References
American 'Crusade' and oil.		
The ideology existed before but was fed by the Iraq war and national interest.	1	1
Very angry! This is an example of the brutal US system. It is unjustified. Many say, "In the Arab World, the weak have no rights". Might is right.	1	1
Very negative. These were great insults at many levels – culturally, religiously, our dignity, our unity and so on.	1	1
Widespread instability in the Middle East. There has also been an increase in extremism and Islamism.	1	1
Yes of course. Iraq was a strong Arab country. It was a block to Iran and created balance in the Middle East. The destruction of Iraq created instability in the whole region.	1	1
Yes, of course. The invasion was illegal and it destroyed the government and infrastructure of Iraq. It created chaos and a power vacuum but more importantly it created a common enemy for Iraqis and Arabs. The extremists like ISIS exploited this.	1	1
Yes. This is obvious.	1	1
THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAEL ISSUE	1	50
Also, the MB (Muslim Brotherhood) use the Palestinians as a tool for their own reasons to give them legitimacy.	1	1
HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE	1	4
Palestine and the illegal invasion of Iraq in 2003	1	1
Palestine, 1967, 1973, recent Israeli shelling of Palestinians	1	1
They are an indication of how Arab civilisation has deteriorated. The result of Ottoman and Western domination.	1	1
Unfortunately – a lot!	1	1
IMPORTANCE FOR ARABS	1	18
IMPORTANCE FOR SELF	1	7
It continues to be as important and relevant as ever. There is nothing more important to us.	1	1

Name	Sources	References
It is very important to me and Arab Muslims.	1	1
It is very, very important to us Arabs. They are our brothers in Islam and Arab brothers. Do not underestimate the importance of Palestine to the Arabs.	1	1
No. Never, and Arabs in general do not.	1	1
Some of the Islamists say that "Israel is the Last Crusader State". Other extremist say that Israel is the 'Tenth Crusade'. I do not agree with the extremists but I do see what they mean.	1	1
They are an exported people to a foreign land!	1	1
they have no passports in their own land. If I had no passport I would be angry	1	1
IMPORTANCE FOR SUNI MUSLIMS AND ARABS	1	11
"Palestine is like a thorn sticking in Arab dignity, always there, and always painful".	1	1
at school during history lessons, like most children. This was when the Palestinian question was taught.	1	1
But some Arabs do deny its very existence.	1	1
It continues to be as important and relevant as ever. There is nothing more important to us.	1	1
It is very important to me and Arab Muslims.	1	1
It is very, very important to us Arabs. They are our brothers in Islam and Arab brothers. Do not underestimate the importance of Palestine to the Arabs.	1	1
No. Never, and Arabs in general do not.	1	1
the main causes, these are the Palestinian issue and the illegal invasion of Iraq.	1	1
Yes, definitely. It tends to focus on~ Palestine	1	1
Yes. Ask any Arab. They will tell you that it is the Palestinian issue and the invasion of Iraq.	1	1
Yes. It was mostly the Palestinian cause because of the obvious injustice. But also because Israel was supported by the West, initially by the UK and then the US.	1	1

Name	Sources	References
NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF PALESTINE BY ARABS	1	2
Arabs say quietly to each other that "The Palestinians are like the poor man at a party" and they are so toxic about it	1	1
We also say that "They are like a member of a family who was the only one who did not get anything from a will"; they attack other members of the family.	1	1
ROLE OF AMERICA AND ISRAEL	1	25
AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL	1	12
A lot. Of course a lot. Why wouldn't they~	1	1
I don't want to say.	1	1
Israel is not Middle Eastern or Arab they are Western and democratic. Their Prime Minister wears suits, was educated in the US and speaks with an American accent. He and his people are not Middle Eastern.	1	1
It is a reality.	1	1
It is a reality. Israel could not survive without them. "America and Israel are joined at the hip". Have you heard this saying~	1	1
It is not good because it is in our lifetime. We can see it with our own eyes. It is not an account from history which may or may not be real or true.	1	1
Palestine and the illegal invasion of Iraq in 2003	1	1
They are an indication of how Arab civilisation has deteriorated. The result of Ottoman and Western domination.	1	1
They are the West's foothold in the Arab Middle East.	1	1
This is supported by the US and there is never any just criticism of Israel by the US.	1	1
Yes. A lot. "America and Israel are like two wolves negotiating with a Palestinian lamb what they will have for lunch. You know the lamb will get eaten!"	1	1
Yes. This is clear for all to see.	1	1
DIGNITY ISSUE	1	3

Name	Sources	References
It is a dignity issue	1	1
It is the injustice of it - the Israeli overreaction and it is also the 'dignity of the Arabs' which is being insulted.	1	1
We say that "Israel is like a wart on my hand; I see it but do not accept its right to be there".	1	1
ISRAEL INJUSTICE AND ILLEGALITY	1	8
Also, we say that when Israel attacks innocent Palestinians - "What is wrong is wrong".	1	1
I am not sure. It would be too easy to say yes. But I want to base my decision on facts. I do not know. Maybe it was an accident or a mix-up. I don't think we will ever know because the Israelis keep their errors as secret, as they can.	1	1
It is not just. Surely that is clear for all to see.	1	1
It is the clear lack of balance, fairness and proportionality by Israel that is the problem. This is supported by the US and there is never any just criticism of Israel by the US.	1	1
It is the injustice of it - the Israeli overreaction and it is also the 'dignity of the Arabs' which is being insulted.	1	1
This is because injustice shines clear for all to see. You do not need to have been to university to know this. All Arabs know this.	1	1
Yes!	1	1
Yes! Not just me but the Arab World.	1	1
'MIGHT IS RIGHT'	1	2
might is right	1	1
The lesson is - the weak tribes or clans lose	1	1
PARTICIPANT 2 (8 THEMES)	1	118
ANTI-AMERICANISM	1	41
AMERICAN BIAS AGAINST ARABS	1	23
ATTRIBUTION TO WESTERN MEDIA OF CONFLATION OF ISLAM WITH	1	7

Name	Sources	References
ISLAMIST TERRORISM		
Also, the radical Muslims want to be shown on TV to their supporters	1	1
Because media do not show educated, cultured Muslims on Western TV.	1	1
If something bad happens, by the West or not to Muslims, in our media coverage; we do not refer to him by religion but nationality.~~But in the West they refer to Islam. This creates conflation as you call it!	1	1
It is also lack of understanding of Arabs and Islam.	1	1
many Israelis conflate Islam with extremism – so does Trump!	1	1
There is also lack of study of Middle East and Arabs – not Western advisors sat in air-conditioned offices talking about the Middle East and the Arabs, advising decision makers on wrong advice!	1	1
This is because of media coverage in the West.	1	1
BIAS, INJUSTICE, MANIPULATION	1	10
Now we have two causes – Palestine and the illegal invasion of Iraq.	1	1
Palestine. Normally it was Palestine – the injustice and oppression. Then the illegal invasion of Iraq.	1	1
The US does not stand up for Arab rights. Quite the opposite.	1	1
The US is seen as a country that has bias against Arabs.	1	1
The US manipulated and continues to manipulate Arabs.	1	1
There is strong US bias against Arabs. Arab rights are not respected; they are not the same as Israeli rights.	1	1
This is a big issue! Why~ "Because as some say, "You have brought the enemy to our land!" Do we the Arabs have military bases in America~	1	1
today's Arabs are eyewitnesses to the illegal US invasion of Iraq. They can also see what is happening in Israel and Palestine. It is not history, it is now. We have seen it with our own eyes!	1	1
Trump caused a huge rage and hatred because of the decision to appoint Al-Quds (Jerusalem) as the capital of Israel. As we say, "They will reap what they sow!"	1	1

Name	Sources	References
We say often "Palestine is the great injustice to Arabs" or that "Palestine is the 'First Cause' in Arab lives".	1	1
SUPPORT FOR STRATEGIC ENEMY OF ARABS	1	6
Also, the US supports our strategic enemy – the Zionist Entity (Israel).	1	1
The US supports our strategic enemy - Israel.	1	1
Their support for Israel may weaken in the long term.	1	1
Yes of course. In the West this may seem a reasonable question to ask but to Arabs, it is a ridiculous question. Sorry, I am not getting at you but the US apply a double standard. How can they be independent~ This is a new brand for the US in this negotiate	1	1
Yes, of course. (2)	1	1
Yes, of course. Killing civilians is a terrorist act. The West says it is a terrorist act if Da'ish kill civilians, then why is it not if the Israelis do~	1	1
CAUSES AND GROWTH OF ANTI-AMERICANISM	1	11
AMERICAN INTERFERENCE WITH ARABS AND COLLUSION WITH ISRAEL	1	3
A great degree! You know, if they just stopped interfering in the Arab World and exerted some control over Israel, it might be different. But they don't. Many Arabs say that "Americas are the new Roman Empire; they do what they want".	1	1
More than 90%.	1	1
stirring some Arab countries against other Arab countries to divide the Arabs, selling weapons to both sides, selling weapons to Saddam Hussein to block Iran, supporting him in the Iraq – v – Iran war, then later invading Iraq. Is that enough~	1	1
IRAQ INVASION	1	2
Huge! I said before. It is our Arab dignity, being oppressed, insulted and humiliated. If you want to humiliate an Arab Muslim, take off his clothes and humiliate him and this is what they did. Those photographs will never leave us. That is what America do	1	1
the illegal invasion of Iraq,	1	1
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM	1	2

Name	Sources	References
A lot!	1	1
Palestine, Iraq and Syria	1	1
PALESTINE ISSUE	1	3
Yes - Palestine – Past – Present and Future	1	1
Yes (2)	1	1
Yes, of course.	1	1
THROUGH TEACHERS	1	1
Yes. It was with the teachers but they then had an influence and impact on the students and pupils. It was normally centred around the actions of the US in the Middle East.	1	1
REDUCTION OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN MIDDLE EAST ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS	1	7
AMERICAN NON-INTERFERENCE	1	3
A just and fair solution to Palestine. Stop immediately the support for Israel.	1	1
if they just stopped interfering in the Arab World and exerted some control over Israel, it might be different.	1	1
Stop interfering in Arab affairs	1	1
BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ARABS	1	1
A greater understanding of the Arabs, Arab culture and our religion by the US and West.	1	1
COLLABORATION WITH ARABS	1	1
More collaboration between the West ~ US and Arab world.	1	1
DECLINE OF AMERICA AS SUPERPOWER DUE TO WAGING WARS	1	1
America as a superpower is weakening. It is spending its wealth on wars.	1	1
SOLUTION TO PALESTINE	1	1
A just and fair solution to Palestine. Stop immediately the support for Israel.	1	1

Name	Sources	References
ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICAN CULTURE	1	13
HIGH CONSUMPTION OF AMERICAN PRODUCTS	1	7
'MANY ARABS DO IT'	1	3
Of course. Many Arabs call them "The only game in town" (quoting President Bill Clinton).	1	1
Yes. I think everyone does in the Middle East. But they are mostly made in China.	1	1
Yes. Sure, this is normal. Most Arabs do this.	1	1
PERSONAL VIEW ALWAYS WITH QUALIFICATION	1	3
Yes, but I do not interpret it as 'US style' as you put it but I dress in a casual and modern way NOT because it is American. I do not want to look American or an Arab dressed as an American.	1	1
Yes. It's the 'Only game in town'. I like romantic, historical, police and law movies. But I do not watch US war movies or fighting films where the Americans are always the heroes and other cultures are the bed guys. You know what I mean. There is normally	1	1
Yes. Sure, it is just food. Also, it is made locally. So, all of the above!	1	1
SINGULAR EXCEPTION IS BUYING AMERICAN CAR	1	1
No!~~I will never do. Why would I support the oppressors of the Palestinians~	1	1
PERSONAL VIEWS	1	5
It was negative due the US support for the Zionist Entity (Israel). Also, there was the manipulation of the Arabs by the America and suppression of Palestine by Israel supported by America.	1	1
It was negative.	1	1
No. Not at all. It is still negative	1	1
Yes. As a young person I viewed the US as an ideal society a model society in the world but later I found out that it was not a paradise or model. For those inside America, perhaps it was but for Arabs – no!	1	1
Yes. Sure. We were more aware and more informed at that age. It was more	1	1

Name	Sources	References
acute.		
SOCIAL VIEWS	1	1
Yes. Sure. We were more aware and more informed at that age. It was more acute.	1	1
HISTORY OF ARAB RELATIONSHIP WITH WEST IS IMPORTANT	1	7
COLONIALISM	1	2
It is still negative. It is still used against the British and French, especially when they try to intervene in the Arab World.	1	1
Yes. They form part of our history. In the West, history is old; it is dead and from the past. In the Middle East, history is now, today and unbroken. It is important to us what the West did to us in the Crusades or during empire or more recently. Your his	1	1
CRUSADES	1	3
Crusades	1	1
These are battles in a long war. The Crusaders stayed 300 years. This is a long war.	1	1
This is very important.	1	1
ISRAEL-US RELATIONSHIP	1	2
1973 war and the US support for Israel. The US saved Israel.	1	1
This is the logic of the jungle. When the Serbs did this to Muslims in the Balkans they were taken to the European Court or Human Rights. Why not Israel~ This is because of the US support of Israel. It is immoral and a double standard!	1	1
IRAQ WAR	1	12
REASONS FOR INVASION OF IRAQ	1	1
People say Iraq's oil and Iraq had a strong army with modern weapons and formed a threat to Israel. Some Arabs say, "They invaded for oil and Israel".	1	1
RESULTS OF THE WAR	1	2

Name	Sources	References
I agree! George W Bush said that he was bringing democracy. All he brought was~ starvation, diseases, poverty, death and destruction! That is what the US brought! You know that Iraq was the centre of our ancient civilisation what you in the West call the '	1	1
Yes, of course. The Arab World – yes. The Arabian Gulf countries are especially nervous and feel threatened. Look at Saudi, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria, Iraq – Lebanon. Sunni led power is blocked by Iran. Shia power is growing. It is the new power battle, Shia I	1	1
SENTIMENTS FOR THE IRAQ WAR	1	6
GRIEF	1	3
(No reply but upset)	1	1
(No reply but upset) (2)	1	1
(No reply but upset) (3)	1	1
HATRED OF AMERICA	1	1
Very important. It brings more hatred of America.	1	1
REMEMBERANCE	1	2
The Iraq invasion is over but we will never forget.	1	1
Yes, of course! I mentioned this earlier.	1	1
US SUPPORT FOR, CREATION OF EXTREME ISLAMIST FIGHTERS	1	3
In the Arab street they say the US.	1	1
One created the conditions for the other like an open wound to disease. The Americans created the open wound and the disease of Da'ish came into it.	1	1
They know that the US invaded Iraq and like in Afghanistan where the US supported extreme Islamist fighters like Bin laden and others, they created the situation for Da'ish to come.	1	1
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE	1	3
Extremists use Islam – it is not real Islam	1	1
Muslims in the world are 1.6 Billion. Only a small number are violent.	1	1

Name	Sources	References
Yes (8)	1	1
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM	1	24
CRITICISM TOWARDS ISLAMIST EXTREMISM	1	15
A lot, probably more than 80%. We are already brought up as haters of the US. These groups nourish and manipulate it. Every family in the Arab World bring up their family as haters of Israel and America and for good reason. Look at Iraq. Look at Palestine.	1	1
A sin. A terrible sin against Islam	1	1
CRITICISM OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD	1	7
Never! Not even relevant for his own time	1	1
No! The Muslim Brotherhood leadership have citizenship in the US and UK. Citizenship! The Brotherhood people are living in comfort with children in US and UK.	1	1
Verbally when addressing their own supporters but they have contacts with US – to get into power in Egypt	1	1
Very bad. They failed the people	1	1
Yes (5)	1	1
Yes (6)	1	1
Yes (7)	1	1
Extremists use Islam – it is not real Islam	1	1
INAPPROPRIATENESS OF 'UNBELIEVER' VIEWPOINT	1	2
It is not appropriate to modern life.	1	1
we should not kill someone for this	1	1
It is against Islam. They interpret Islam as they want – their own version to serve their own political agenda.	1	1
No!	1	1
Political	1	1

Name	Sources	References
HAMAS AND HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST	1	7
If Palestinians were living in peace and Israel did not steal their land, allowed returns and Al-Quds (Jerusalem) to be capital and if Palestinians and Hezbollah attacked then – then yes. But now no!	1	1
In the West it may be negative. But to the Arabs, this is something to be proud of.	1	1
No.	1	1
No. How can it be~ It is resistance.	1	1
No. Of course not. They are a resistance organisation. Were the ANC terrorists~ Sure to the apartheid government they were but to the world~	1	1
No. Why should I~ I need to highlight one thing. We Arabs say, "Does Hamas plan attacks against Sweden, Argentina or Japan~ No, only against Israel". The Charlie Hebdo attack. Many Arabs said~ this is what they deserve now, they did against us terrible things.	1	1
Yes, of course they were. It was resistance.	1	1
RELUCTANCE TO TALK ABOUT ISLAMISM	1	2
No answer (but a concerned look). Look, I cannot talk about this. It is too dangerous to talk about this.	1	1
Not here	1	1
NEGATIVE PERSONAL VIEW OF ARAB SPRING	1	5
'ARAB SPRING' A WESTERN TERM	1	2
This is a Western term	1	1
This is a Western term.	1	1
His death was for nothing! Some say if he knew what would be the result of his death, he would not do it.	1	1
Negative	1	1
Negative. Declining economy, more terror attacks, more terror group and more Salafists.	1	1

Name	Sources	References
PALESTINIAN-ISRAEL ISSUE	1	13
HIGH IMPORTANCE FOR SELF AND ARABS	1	7
It is our number one 'living' issue.	1	1
No	1	1
No (getting a little upset)	1	1
No and it will not for the Arabs.	1	1
Not for here. Not for your study and not when you are writing it down.	1	1
This is big. It is strategic for us, Israel and the West.	1	1
Very important. They insult our brothers.	1	1
ISRAEL ILLEGAL, TERRORIST STATE	1	6
A lot.	1	1
Greatly. More hatred to US. I will not say anymore on this.	1	1
No. Never! That is a ridiculous question.	1	1
No. Street Arabs say, "Israel is Al-Kayan Al-Sahyuni" (the Zionist Entity). It occupies Palestine which is Arab land. The average people will never accept this. But not the leaders when they are in power because they play power games. When Arab leaders lea	1	1
Yes! It is an illegal occupier of Arab land.	1	1
Yes! Of course it is. It commits state crimes against innocent Palestinians; it bombs women and children. What do you call it~	1	1
PARTICIPANT 3 (9 THEMES)	1	111
ANTI-AMERICANISM	1	29
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM	1	18
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY	1	3
America is aggressive and does not care about world opinion. They own the UN or can ignore them. As people say, "They do what they want".	1	1

Name	Sources	References
Now it is Trump, the Muslim ban to America, Trump's Islamophobia, Trump's decision to move the US embassy to Al-Quds and the Palestinian issue, America's support for Israel, the American invasion of Iraq.	1	1
SUNNI ARABS	1	1
A lot.	1	1
AMERICAN INTERVENTIONISM	1	1
America's intervention in the Arab World is the problem. For example, Trump's decision to make Al-Quds (Jerusalem) the political centre and main city of Israel. No one forced him to do this. He an American decided to do this.	1	1
AMERICAN KEEPS POOR ARABS POOR BY SUPPORTING AUTOCRATIC ARAB LEADERS	1	3
Also, people will not say to you but America's support for autocratic leaders in the Arab world that keep the poor Arabs poor. You know that there are over one hundred million Egyptians and most of them are poor and kept poor. Did you know that Cairo has d	1	1
I don't want to say any more about this. (Note~ participant – slightly distressed).	1	1
Yes.	1	1
AMERICANISATION	1	1
A lot. (2)	1	1
AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL	1	5
America supports Israeli terrorist war crimes.	1	1
Every day.	1	1
Most.	1	1
This was not fair, not just and not lawful.	1	1
Yes	1	1
HATRED FOR AMERICAN ATROCITIES	1	2
This was very bad. It is even worse because it was done by the West and	1	1

Name	Sources	References
America to Arabs and Muslims. It created deep hatred that will not go quickly.		
Yes	1	1
IRAQ INVASION	1	1
A lot.	1	1
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM	1	1
Yes it does.	1	1
POLITICAL ISLAMISTS PROVIDE SOCIAL AND OTHER SERVICES THAT ARAB GOVERNMENTS DON'T	1	1
Probably.	1	1
DECREASED ANTI-AMERICANISM IN ARAB MEDIA POST-ARAB SPRING	1	2
Before – yes, but after the Arab Spring that has changed. Now Arab leaders want a strong relationship with Trump and they have stopped open criticism of America on state channels. If media is state owned then it has been stopped. Also, people are more intelligent.	1	1
Before the Arab Spring – there was a lot in the Arab media. But now, much of that has gone. There still is some subtle criticism.	1	1
PERSONAL VIEWS SHAPED BY ANTI-AMERICANISM	1	3
No.	1	1
Yes.	1	1
Yes. (2)	1	1
PRESENCE OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN EDUCATION	1	4
SCHOOL	1	2
It was usually about the Palestinian problem.	1	1
Yes.	1	1
UNIVERSITY	1	2
The whole Palestinian issue.	1	1

Name	Sources	References
Yes. (2)	1	1
REDUCTION OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN MIDDLE EAST ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS	1	2
One last thing. Israel is allowed to divide and conquer the Arabs. This is as much the fault of the Arabs. We need to unite, not countries but opinions and policies.	1	1
TWO-STATE SOLUTION WITH EUROPE AS MODERATOR	1	1
A two state solution but not with America moderating. I want the European Union to moderate. America needs to change so that it is fair and seen to be fair to the Arabs. Look at the writings of the Arab writer Mohamed Hassanin Haikal and you will see.	1	1
ARAB SPRING	1	9
BROUGHT REGIONAL INSTABILITY, BUT CAUSED BY POLITICAL ISLAMISM	1	3
Also, our Arab media after the Arab Spring became more controlled and the state controlled media want to cut off anti-Western and anti-American views in case it created more jihādists and more instability. Stability is now much more important for Arab stat	1	1
Regional instability in the Arab Middle East.	1	1
The old regimes of the Arab Middle East became scared. They tightened control. But remember that instability was not caused by the Arab Spring, it was caused by Political Islamists.	1	1
CHANGED FOCUS FROM EXTERNAL ISSUES (PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE, AL-QUDS) TO INTERNAL ISSUES (SYRIA, IRAQ, EGYPT...)	1	2
Before the Arab Spring, Arabs were mostly interested in the Palestinian issue, Israel and Al-Quds (Jerusalem). This applied to nearly all Arabs. But after the Arab Spring it is internal issues which are in Arab minds, like Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, Saud	1	1
but is mixed. It is carried deep in our hearts but now we have other troubles to think about.	1	1
IRAQ AND PALESTINE PUT IN HEART, MIND OCCUPIED WITH JOBS, MONEY, SECURITY, STABILITY	1	4
Before the Arab Spring and after 2003, this was in mind every day. But after	1	1

Name	Sources	References
the Arab Spring, Iraq and Palestine had to be put in our hearts. Our minds every day are occupied with thinking about jobs, money eating and our own security.		
But when something happens and the West or America does something against the Arabs, these move from our hearts to our minds.	1	1
Yes. In my heart.	1	1
Yes. In their hearts.	1	1
ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICAN CULTURE	1	14
MIXED IMPRESSIONS BY SELF AND FRIENDS, FAMILY	1	4
As I said, it was mixed.	1	1
It was mixed.	1	1
Mixed.	1	1
No. (2)	1	1
SOME CONSUMPTION OF AMERICAN PRODUCTS	1	10
EXCEPTION AT BUYING AMERICAN CAR	1	2
No!~~I will never do. Why would I support the oppressors of the Palestinians~	1	1
Some, like most people.	1	1
Like most people from all over the world I buy and use some American products but that does not mean I support America, I just buy what I like.	1	1
No but that is not because they are from the US.	1	1
No.	1	1
Some, like jeans and T shirts.	1	1
Yes.	1	1
Yes. (2)	1	1
Yes. (3)	1	1

Name	Sources	References
Yes. (4)	1	1
HISTORY OF ARAB RELATIONSHIP WITH WEST IS IMPORTANT	1	6
BUT COLONIAL PERIOD OF MIXED IMPORTANCE	1	1
Mixed. In North Africa, the French involvement is more important, for the Egyptians it is the British and so on. Here (UAE) it does not seem important because they were never a colony.	1	1
CRUSADES	1	2
It is important.	1	1
They are important, especially if it is the West interfering in the Middle East.	1	1
From Crusades up to Trump.	1	1
RELEVANT TO MODERN LIFE	1	1
Yes.	1	1
TRUMP'S AL-QUDS DECISION	1	1
As I said, recently, Trump's decision over Al-Quds (Jerusalem).	1	1
IMPROVING THE IMAGE OF THE ARAB MUSLIM WORLD	1	3
FREEDOM OF SPEECH	1	1
Our leaders need to adopt Western values like freedom of speech.	1	1
INVEST IN EDUCATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE	1	1
They need to invest in education and spend on infrastructure and bring about social justice.	1	1
SOCIAL JUSTICE	1	1
They need to invest in education and spend on infrastructure and bring about social justice.	1	1
IRAQ WAR	1	4
REASONS FOR AMERICA'S INVASION OF IRAQ	1	3

Name	Sources	References
Death, destruction and long term hatred.	1	1
It was terrible.	1	1
Unchecked US power and ambition, Israel and stealing our oil.	1	1
WAR CRIMES AND HUMANITARIAN CRIMES AGAINST IRAQ	1	1
These are war crimes and anti-humanitarian.	1	1
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE	1	8
CAVEAT	1	2
SHARED BLAME OF US AND SAUDI ARABIA IN FUNDING AFGHAN FIGHTERS AND ARAB ISLAMIST FIGHTERS	1	2
Also, America and the West like to forget history, even recent history, if you can call recent happenings history. It was the Americans who paid for and equipped the Afghan fighters to fight the Soviets. When the Islamist fundamentalists came along, they f	1	1
Also, the Arab world is not innocent in this. Saudi Arabia also funded the Afghan and Arab Islamist fighters. They also funded the spread of Salafism and Wahhabism not just in Saudi but across the world. Just make any Google search today about the Holy Qur'an.	1	1
There are so many Muslims in the world and only a very small number of violent Muslims.	1	1
UNEASY TALKING ABOUT SUNNI ISLAM SITUATION	1	4
SUNNI ISLAM HAS NO CENTRAL LEADER, HOLY TEXTS MAY BE INTERPRETED BY ISLAMIST EXTREMISTS	1	4
I am not talking about this. I have probably said too much already.	1	1
No reply.	1	1
No reply. (2)	1	1
No reply. (Participant looking uneasy)	1	1
Yes.	1	1
ISLAMISM AND ISLAMIC EXTREMISM	1	29

Name	Sources	References
CRITICISM OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD	1	7
It is anti-anything that opposes it.	1	1
It was terrible. They told lies and did not do what they said they would do. They were a complete failure.	1	1
No	1	1
They plot and take from the people. They make promises that they never keep. Some are OK and some are extremists.	1	1
Yes	1	1
Yes (2)	1	1
Yes (3)	1	1
CRITICISMS OF ISLAMISM, EXTREMISM	1	4
It is against Islam. They interpret Islam as they want – their own version to serve their own political agenda.	1	1
The old regimes of the Arab Middle East became scared. They tightened control. But remember that instability was not caused by the Arab Spring, it was caused by Political Islamists.	1	1
Yes it was wrong.	1	1
Yes, like all kinds of extremism, not just Islamist.	1	1
DAESH OR ISIS AN AMERICAN PROXY	1	3
Da'ish is a US proxy.	1	1
The Americans.	1	1
The US.	1	1
HAMAS AND HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST	1	8
CRITICISM OF HEZBOLLAH	1	2
It is wrong.	1	1
No	1	1

Name	Sources	References
No	1	1
No (2)	1	1
No (3)	1	1
No. But, before 2006 it was fighting Israel's illegal occupation in the West Bank. After that it changed.	1	1
We are proud of them.	1	1
Yes	1	1
MULTIPLE REASONS DRAW SOME ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS TO DAESH OR ISIS	1	1
There are many reasons for many different people. Because the young men who join them come from all over the world. There are political, religious and social reasons. Politically, most Arabs are not free in the Western sense so some wanted to travel to fig	1	1
REASONS FOR THE CONFLATION OF ISLAM WITH EXTREMISM	1	5
LACK OF EDUCATION	1	1
This is a lack of education in the West and America especially about Islam. They just do not know. All that they know is from poor images in Hollywood movies. We have become the bad men or evil monster in those stories told to children to keep them out of	1	1
WESTERN MEDIA	1	4
JEWS, JEWISH MONEY CONTROLS HOLLYWOOD WITH POOR DEPICTIONS OF ARABS	1	1
Also, and you will not like this for your study but it is Jewish money and the Jewish control of Hollywood that makes us look bad. They show positive images of Jewish or Western people and negative images of Arab Muslim men. So these are the reasons that t	1	1
The Western and American media do not like having nice Muslims on their TV because it does not make good TV ratings. They like a good argument between the good, fair, Western, Christian and the evil radical Muslim who is shouting 'death to the kafir'. That	1	1
The Western media like showing radical Muslims on TV and radical Muslims like being on TV, it is a type of cooperation.	1	1

Name	Sources	References
This is a lack of education in the West and America especially about Islam. They just do not know. All that they know is from poor images in Hollywood movies. We have become the bad men or evil monster in those stories told to children to keep them out of	1	1
RELUCTANCE TO TALK ABOUT EFFECT OF ISLAMISM ON SELF AND OTHERS	1	1
I am not going to talk about that.	1	1
PALESTINIAN-ISRAEL ISSUE	1	9
HIGH IMPORTANCE FOR SELF AND ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS	1	4
Extremely important.	1	1
It is very important.	1	1
No	1	1
Not at all.	1	1
LOW ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAEL STATE	1	5
BUT ISRAEL NOT TERRORIST	1	1
No. It is important to make a distinction between Jewish, Zionism and terrorists.	1	1
ISRAEL PERFORMED ACT OF TERRORISM	1	1
Yes. All know it.	1	1
No. Never!	1	1
THE OLD WILL NEVER ACCEPT, THE YOUNG SEE ISRAEL ARABS HAVE WHAT THEY DON'T	1	1
This is difficult. It is not as simple as some people think. The old people, like my parents, do not accept Israel and will never accept it. But many of the young see that in Israel Arabs have rights, education and democracy and that is more than most Arab	1	1
Yes.	1	1
PARTICIPANT 4 (8 THEMES)	1	167

Name	Sources	References
ANTI-AMERICANISM	1	36
AMERICA BLAMED FOR MIDDLE EAST PROBLEMS	1	4
BUT ARAB GOVERNMENTS DIFFERENT FROM PEOPLE, DO NOT CRITICISE THEIR BUSINESS PARTNER	1	2
before, the Arab governments let some criticism exist in the Arab press to take the people's eyes off what they were doing with our money or our freedom. They controlled the media. They still do.	1	1
But there is a difference between the people's thoughts and minds and the message from their leaders and governments. Their leaders do business with America and so they do not criticise it. Only Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi did and they were removed	1	1
Most blame America. But this is not a false dream or mirage. America did this by its actions. Not us.	1	1
RELUCTANCE TO TALK ABOUT AMERICAN MILITARY BASES IN MIDDLE EAST	1	1
I am not going to talk about that. As we Arabs say, "If you say it you own it". Do you understand~	1	1
ARAB GOVERNMENTS DO NOTHING TO AMELIORATE	1	1
Again, there is an Arab government view and the Arab Street view. As they say in the street, "Arab governments are like a blind man on a black night, seeing nothing and saying nothing".	1	1
CAUSES	1	15
AGGRESIVE 'DO WHAT I WANT' AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY	1	3
A lot. Of course it does. Everyone knows this. The invasion of Iraq, Palestine, Making Al Quds the capital city and supporting the Jewish lobby in the US. All of this.	1	1
Aggressive and does not care about world opinion. They own the UN or can ignore them and they do what they want.	1	1
Negative. As people say, "America has destroyed the Arab World". (2)	1	1
IRAQ WAR	1	2
A lot. Sure.	1	1

Name	Sources	References
It is still Iraq and the Palestinian issue.	1	1
ISLAMIC EXTREMISM	1	2
Yes of course. (2)	1	1
Yes, I think so.	1	1
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE	1	7
AMERICAN-ISRAELI COLLUSION	1	6
Back in 1973, our president – President Anwar el-Sadat said "I can fight the Israelis but I cannot fight America". What he meant by this was, of course I would attack Israel if I was only fighting them, but I cannot because I would have to fight Israel and	1	1
It makes Arabs hate America. The Israeli war criminals could not do it without their permission, munitions, funding or help.	1	1
Sure. I just said this.	1	1
We live with this humiliation every day of our lives. It sits deep inside us and we do not forget, nor should we.	1	1
Yes of course.	1	1
Yes, as I said before.	1	1
It is still Iraq and the Palestinian issue.	1	1
TRUMP'S MUSLIM BAN	1	1
But now there is also Trump. He has created hatred of Muslims in America. With him producing the Muslim ban and saying bad things about Islam, he is saying it is OK for others to do the same, and they are doing it. Just look on YouTube.	1	1
EMOTIONS FOR IRAQ WAR	1	4
ANGER	1	1
I also became angry. Many people became angry. It is like some strange man that you heard about before, came to your house and kicked your door in and then set fire to your house. It was terrible.	1	1

Name	Sources	References
GRIEF-SADNESS	1	1
Take the Iraq invasion. The day the Americans invaded Iraq, I was at school. It was a very sad day for us all. You cannot believe it. We were all asked to go to the computer room at school by our teachers. We all stood and watched, our teachers and us (2)	1	1
NEGATION OF PERSONAL VIEW OF AMERICA AS AN ADVANCED SOCIETY FOREVER	1	2
Not really. As time has passed my views about America have become milder but they will never go away.	1	1
Yes. It changed them forever. There was a time when I saw America as an example of an advanced society. People had nice houses, cars, jobs and there people have a chance to live. But after what they did to Iraq, no. I have never thought about them like that.	1	1
IN EDUCATION	1	3
Iraq and Palestine.	1	1
Yes	1	1
Yes, especially after the invasion.	1	1
IN MEDIA TOO BUT LESS DUE TO GOVERNMENT CONTROL	1	1
Yes, especially about Iraq and Palestine. Well before it was a lot but now it is much less because of government control. You know what I am saying	1	1
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM	1	4
TWO-STATE SOLUTION WITH EUROPE, NOT AMERICA, AS MODERATOR	1	3
But we of this new generation need to find a way to deal with them. Maybe a fair settlement of a Two State Solution can be achieved but not if America is the mediator or negotiator. Europe and the European Union could do this. They do not have an interest	1	1
Try to settle the conflict between Israel and Palestine by bringing about a two state solution.	1	1
Use - not America but the European Union to moderate. We need a just and lasting settlement.	1	1
WESTERN SUPPORT OF AUTOCRATIC ARAB REGIMES SHOULD CEASE	1	1

Name	Sources	References
REGARDLESS OF PAST AGREEMENTS OR FINANCIAL GAIN		
I am going to take a risk here by saying, the West must not support Arab autocratic regimes just because they have a treaty with them or because they buy US weapons.	1	1
UNRELIABILITY OF AMERICA AS ALLY	1	3
"He who is covered by America is stripped naked because America is not a reliable ally"	1	1
Yes (2)	1	1
Yes. Common on the Arab Street.	1	1
AMERICANISATION DESTROYS CULTURES	1	1
A lot. Americanisation is slowly destroying distinctive global cultures. It makes our young people more vulnerable to influence by America.	1	1
ARAB SPRING	1	22
CAME AT PERFECT TIME BUT FAILED DUE TO JIHADISTS	1	5
But the outcome was worse than any of us could have imagined.	1	1
It came at the perfect time and was long overdue.	1	1
It is fine. What is more important is that it happened at the perfect time and it was long overdue.	1	1
The Arab Spring failed in Egypt, Libya, Syria and even Tunisia.	1	1
The jihādists ruined it. I think that if there had been no jihādists in Iraq, Libya or Libya it may have worked.	1	1
DUE TO ELITE FAMILIES	1	1
It was really caused by poor governance, and the rule by the elite families, for the elite families. If people had better social conditions and social justice then it may not have happened. As people say, "If a man has a job, car, apartment, wife, children	1	1
DUE TO POOR GOVERNANCE	1	1
It was really caused by poor governance, and the rule by the elite families, for the elite families. If people had better social conditions and social justice then it	1	1

Name	Sources	References
may not have happened. As people say, "If a man has a job, car, apartment, wife, children		
DUE TO SOCIAL INJUSTICE	1	1
It was really caused by poor governance, and the rule by the elite families, for the elite families. If people had better social conditions and social justice then it may not have happened. As people say, "If a man has a job, car, apartment, wife, children	1	1
LESSON FROM	1	2
The main consequence of the Arab Spring to Arabs is to teach them that the risks of overthrowing the government by a popular uprising are too high.	1	1
The only exception is where autocratic Arab states start killing their own people and calling them traitors.	1	1
UNANTICIPATED NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR EGYPT, LIBYA, SYRIA, TYNISIA	1	12
But in my country Egypt, you need clearance from the Security Police for everything. No really. They even have State Security inside Egyptian universities.	1	1
Chaos. They did not help the nation or the common man. It was a complete failure.	1	1
Even in Tunisia, it is going back and the government and as people say, "The government has the people by the throat" in this so-called 'anti-terrorist campaign'.	1	1
In Egypt the outcome was really bad.	1	1
In Libya, it was a disaster. The country is in ruins.	1	1
In Syria, it destroyed a great Arab country and let in the extremists, jihādists, Russians, Iranians, Turkish and Americans. They are all there in our beautiful Syria.	1	1
So we stay poor.	1	1
So-called 'democracy' brought the Muslim Brotherhood to power. Although, it is better to say that because of their organisation they were able to get to power. The others had no real chance.	1	1
Strangely, the consequences have been the very opposite of what was	1	1

Name	Sources	References
intended.		
The state is more concerned with sitting on the people rather than let the economy grow because the elite and the government can get their money from the US.	1	1
They also use many informers so you cannot speak freely.	1	1
when they ruled Egypt, it was a disaster. They had no strategy to help the nation, just themselves. It probably has some extremists in it.	1	1
IMPROVING THE IMAGE OF THE ARAB MUSLIM WORLD	1	5
FREEDOM, ACCOUNTABILITY, EDUCATION, SOCIAL JUSTICE	1	3
Arab leaders need to embrace more Western values like freedom of speech and accountability.	1	1
free the press, free the courts and let their people 'breathe the breath of freedom'. and enjoy social justice.	1	1
They must spend on the people rather than buying US weapons. Invest in education, health,	1	1
INTEGRATION AND MODERNIZATION	1	2
Muslims living in the West should not point fingers at the West. They should integrate better.	1	1
Wearing Middle Eastern clothing in Europe that was designed for the deserts of the Arabian Gulf make no sense in the 21st Century. In Egypt, most of us in Cairo wear suits.	1	1
IRAQ WAR	1	24
AMERICAN WAR CRIMES	1	10
ARAB GOVERNMENTS OBFUSCATE BECAUSE THEY DO BUSINESS WITH AMERICA	1	4
But again, most Arabs do not know the full story.	1	1
Most people do not know this and our governments do want us to know. Do you know why~ They want to do weapons deals and other business with America and this gets in the way. They do not want the people to know.	1	1

Name	Sources	References
So they did not want the people to know the truth and they did not want any trouble from the people. So, the police collected all the newspapers in the hotel and left with them to burn them.	1	1
That is because the Egyptian government was so close to the American government and they got hundreds of millions of US dollars every year from America. Also our government did not make any protest to the US government. They also allowed the US to use the	1	1
NOT KNOWN BY MANY	1	1
But you know; only a small percentage of university graduates in certain subjects in the Middle East will have access to this information.	1	1
RELATED ATROCITIES-HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS	1	4
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE FINDING OUT	1	2
But the man on reception had one newspaper hidden away and we all read it and looked at it over and over again, until it fell apart.	1	1
I was staying at a hotel when the newspaper came out with those terrible photographs in it of what they did to Arab Muslims. It was terrible. But as we were gathered around in the hotel lounge, the police arrived to collect all the newspapers. The Min (2)	1	1
This was terrible. It shocked us. Really!	1	1
We never thought that as bad as America was that they could do this	1	1
This is terrible - war crimes.	1	1
BUT PEOPLE ARE BUSY WITH THEIR LIVES AND JOBS	1	2
But we do not talk about it every day. We are too busy with life.	1	1
Many Arabs since the 2008 financial crisis have had other things to worry about like jobs, employment, bank loans and the collapse of the Arab Spring.	1	1
DAESH CREATED BY US	1	2
The common view is that the US created it.	1	1
The US paved the way, made a pathway and helped to bring it into reality.	1	1
HUMILIATION	1	1

Name	Sources	References
Yes. This humiliation sits deep within us.	1	1
INCREASED ISLAMIST EXTREMISM	1	1
Yes, of course.	1	1
It could not have been worse.	1	1
REASONS	1	7
ISRAEL'S SECURITY	1	3
and for the security of Israel.	1	1
Oil and Israel.	1	1
The Islamists say it was to destroy "The Axis of Arab power" in the Middle East. By this they mean, destroy Iraq and destroy Syria. And they did. Iraq is in ruins and Syria is in ruins.	1	1
OIL	1	3
All Arabs know and even the rest of the world knows, it was oil	1	1
Oil and Israel.	1	1
They came and stole the oil and destroyed Iraq. No one ever believed the reasons that they gave and those reasons turned out to be lies, as we knew.	1	1
PURPOSEFUL DESTABILISATION	1	1
Yes. Iraq was the strongest Arab country. It blocked Iran and held back the Iranian flood and the Shī'a flood. It was the largest Arab buffer zone.	1	1
ISLAMISM AND ISLAMIC EXTREMISM	1	34
CRITICISMS OF ISLAMIC EXTREMISM	1	27
BETTER IN THE PAST	1	1
But we once had a Golden Age of Islamic learning when such ideologies were defeated by logic and debate.	1	1
CRITICISM OF DAESH	1	1
Also, in Jordan they are very tribal. This is even worse in a tribal society. It	1	1

Name	Sources	References
offended the whole of Jordan and the Arab world.		
CRITICISM OF HAMAS ACTIONS	1	1
No. Again for the same reasons. But the use of suicide bombers in Iraq is not Islamic and not acceptable.	1	1
CRITICISM OF HEZBOLLAH ACTIONS	1	3
but as I said before, it is not simple. If the Syrian government falls, the extremists will take over. So they are supporting the Syrian regime but killing Sunnis. It is not easy	1	1
It is wrong	1	1
No.	1	1
CRITICISM OF ISIS	1	1
They are wrong. They sometimes kill Sufis praying in masjids in Egypt. This is terribly wrong.	1	1
CRITICISM OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD	1	5
BUT SHOULD NOT BE BANNED	1	1
No	1	1
KGB-LIKE ESPIONAGE TACTICS	1	1
Yes and no. It is in a conceptual sense. But they also live in the West and use it to spread their message. They are also happy to have their wives and daughters educated in the West. They do not wear the niqāb and their men do not have beards.	1	1
MESSAGE DISTORTED, GOING TOO FAR	1	3
In Egypt the outcome was really bad. So-called 'democracy' brought the Muslim Brotherhood to power. Although, it is better to say that because of their organisation they were able to get to power. The others had no real chance	1	1
No. He was an Islamic scholar but he went too far in his books 'Milestones' and 'On the Shadows of Islam'.	1	1
Their message is a distortion and when they ruled Egypt, it was a disaster. They had no strategy to help the nation, just themselves. It probably has some	1	1

Name	Sources	References
extremists in it.		
IGNORANCE OF EXTREMISTS, BOTH ARAB AND WESTERN	1	3
As people say, "Our future lies in education".	1	1
There are extremists there and they seem ignorant.	1	1
Yes, but this also applies to the West.	1	1
NO WAY OUT FOR MEMBERS OF EXTREMIST GROUPS	1	1
It is like a vortex in bathwater that draws many small particles into it. The force just pulls them in with different messages, different incentives, different reasons – adventure, money, Islamic passion; many people for many reasons. But when they are ins	1	1
PERSPECTIVES OF ISLAMISTS AND EXTREMISTS	1	4
in general terms, he who does not follow the Sunnah is a Kafir or an unbeliever. But Al Azar Islamic University in Cairo does not use the term Kafir and they never apply the death penalty for being an unbeliever.	1	1
The extremists and jihādists use a very rigid interpretation and meaning. They do this for their own gain.	1	1
The Islamists and extremists have their own meaning and interpretation and even they cannot agree with each other.	1	1
This goes back to the Salafists and Wahhabis. This is not something that the Arab World wants the West to know about but it is true. They have their own interpretation. "To them their way, to me, mine".	1	1
PROPAGANDA AND KEEPING PUBLIC AWAY FROM KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING	1	1
Also, they want to give us ideology but keep us in poverty, poverty of knowledge and understanding. They only want us to think what they think.	1	1
REASONS OF CONFLATION OF ISLAM WITH ISLAMIC EXTREMISM	1	4
INDIFFERENCE	1	1
For others, they just don't care. I see many American and British tourists in Arab countries. They come to the Middle East and Arab countries and bring their Western attitudes. They want to drink alcohol, go to night clubs but know nothing about and want t	1	1

Name	Sources	References
LACK OF EDUCATION	1	1
Often it a lack of education or lack of knowledge.	1	1
WESTERN MEDIA	1	2
Also, all they get from Hollywood is awful projections of Arabs as terrorists. So they get confused.	1	1
It's mostly Hollywood and Western media.	1	1
SHARIA THREATENED	1	2
No. It simply is not.	1	1
No. Not at all. It is threatened by Islamist extremism and jihādism.	1	1
HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST	1	6
No.	1	1
No. Absolutely no. If you come to my house, kick in my front door and occupy it; it is my duty to resist.	1	1
No. Absolutely not.	1	1
No. Again for the same reasons. But the use of suicide bombers in Iraq is not Islamic and not acceptable.	1	1
They must resist. It is their duty as Arab men and we support them.	1	1
Yes of course. What else can we do~ We must resist in any way we can. This is also about Arab pride and dignity.	1	1
PERSONAL DISTANCE FROM ISLAMISM AND ITS MESSAGE	1	1
Not me. I am not with them or their message. They are only for themselves. That is what happened when they took over Egypt. They had a great chance but they did nothing with it.	1	1
MIXED VIEWS OF AMERICAN CULTURE	1	14
ARABS IN GENERAL	1	2
Mixed. Those with higher education can see that the US people and culture are different from the decisions of the US government. They can see the good and the bad. But those with lower education only see negative images like their	1	1

Name	Sources	References
support for Israel.		
Yes. The coming of Trump has increased the negative image of the US in the Arab World. The banning of Muslims from America and the declaration that Al Quds (Jerusalem) is the capital of Israel are two examples. Now their hatred of the Arabs is open for all	1	1
HIGH PERSONAL AND FAMILY CONSUMPTION OF AMERICAN PRODUCTS	1	10
I buy Tommy Hilfiger, American Eagle because I like them.	1	1
I like the Ford.	1	1
No	1	1
No. I don't like their movies.	1	1
Of course especially for the children. .	1	1
Sometimes I will watch CNN.	1	1
Sometimes, especially with my children. They like it like all kids. Also it is not expensive.	1	1
Yes	1	1
Yes, I do wear this type of clothes but I would never wear a baseball cap.	1	1
Yes, like many people.	1	1
SELF	1	2
Mixed	1	1
Negative. As people say, "America has destroyed the Arab World".	1	1
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE	1	20
AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL	1	2
UNDERMINES PALESTINIAN ISSUE	1	1
Sure. I said so.	1	1
we beat them, destroyed their whole air force, destroyed their tanks and beat them. But our final victory was stolen by America. This was so sad for us	1	1

Name	Sources	References
because this war was supposed to restore our pride, our dignity and our stolen land. All Arabs know this		
IMPORTANCE OF PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE	1	7
ARAB GOVERNMENTS WORRIED, EXERCISE CONTROL, JOURNALIST ARRESTS	1	1
But some Arab governments get worried about it. In Egypt some journalists get arrested if they speak about Egypt's cooperation with Israel.	1	1
HIGH FOR ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS	1	4
Iraq is lost but this is still a 'game that can be won'; do you know this football term~	1	1
It is highly important at a popular level.	1	1
Many say, "Palestine is our living cause"	1	1
No	1	1
HIGH FOR SELF	1	2
No (2)	1	1
Very important.	1	1
ISRAEL TERRORIST, ILLEGAL STATE	1	9
ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS DO NOT ACCEPT EITHER	1	1
No. Never. They stole our land and occupied it and then threw our people off their own land. How could any Arab accept this~	1	1
ATROCITIES	1	3
But also they wanted to destroy the future elections of the Palestinians by sending a message that any opposition would be crushed.	1	1
It also became punishment and cheapens the price of our lives to the world.	1	1
This was a war crime. All Arabs know this. Even the rest of the world knows that it was unfair and illegal. It was aimed at civilians.	1	1
No. Never!	1	1

Name	Sources	References
This was an illegal occupation of Arab soil.	1	1
Yes. All Arabs do.	1	1
Yes. All in the Arab world believe this. Even the UN knows this but they are weak against the American control of the UN. Arabs know this.	1	1
Yes. They are a terrorist state because they stole our land, kill and torture innocent Palestinians. They are still stealing our land by using these foreign settlers and the world does nothing. This Zionism and terrorism. The two are no different. But when	1	1
SHAME AND HUMILIATION	1	2
It is like a great shame to us that we could not protect these old men, women and children.	1	1
We live with this humiliation every day of our lives. It sits deep inside us and we do not forget, nor should we.	1	1
PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS	1	12
CRUEL ARAB GOVERNMENTS MAY PROTECT FROM EVEN CRUELER OUTSIDERS	1	2
But as I said before, it is not simple or easy. Some street Arabs say that "Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi were like cruel step fathers who beat their step children but they protected them from an even worse person outside the family". You can say the	1	1
You know one of my professors at university said that "The Arabs are not taught to live together but are forced to do so". He is correct. What he meant by this is that the Sunni, Shi'a, different ethnic groups, different tribes and so on all need to be sup	1	1
PEOPLE ARE TIRED OF GOVERNMENTS	1	1
We are tired of America, Israel and our own governments.	1	1
PEOPLE ARE TIRED OF WAR AND VIOLENCE	1	2
Many Arabs are tired of the war and destruction in Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen, the refugees flowing into other Arab countries and they do not want any of that where they live. So it has made them tired. We are tired of violence. Not like before. This is a c	1	1
the people are tired of war, fighting and all of that.	1	1

Name	Sources	References
PEOPLE WANT FOR A DECENT LIFE	1	1
We just want a decent life for our families.	1	1
THERE ARE MULTIPLE VIEWPOINTS	1	6
MANY INTERPRETATIONS OF ISLAM	1	3
And all along Muslims who do not agree with each other accuse others of being kafir.	1	1
It depends on which Islam you are speaking about. Is it Shi'a, Sunni or Salafism and Wahhabism or jihādism.	1	1
Yes, of course and they do.	1	1
NO SINGLE ARAB MIND	1	3
As I said before, there is no single Arab Mind.	1	1
But as I said before, there is no single Arab mind.	1	1
There is no single Arab 'Mind' and there is no single 'Muslim Mind'.	1	1
PARTICIPANT 5 (9 THEMES)	1	108
ANTI-AMERICANISM	1	30
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM	1	17
AMERICAN INTERFERENCE WITH ARAB COUNTRIES	1	5
DAESH CREATED DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY BY AMERICA	1	3
The chaos caused in Iraq by America. Without the invasion there would have been no Daesh.	1	1
The US.	1	1
Yes – again.	1	1
US PAYS ARAB COUNTRIES TO DO WHAT IT WANTS	1	2
Yes, "you have to tie the donkey where the owner wants". This means if the US is paying, you have to do what they want. You know what I mean here~ If you are an Arab dictator and the US is paying to keep you in power, you keep	1	1

Name	Sources	References
your mouth shut and do what t		
Yes. This saying is common to many Arabs.	1	1
INVASION OF IRAQ	1	1
Yes – very.	1	1
IRAQ AND PALESTINE	1	2
ARAB GOVERNMENTS SILENT	0	0
But you will not hear that from Arab governments. But you will from the people if you listen.	1	1
Iraq and Palestine.	1	1
Yes. We all know it. It is our open secret.	1	1
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM	1	1
Of course.	1	1
PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI FIGHT NOT PROPORTIONATE	1	7
RELATIONSHIP WITH US	1	7
COMPOUNDS THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE	1	4
ISRAELI TERRORIST ACTS	1	1
Yes. (4)	1	1
Negative	1	1
Of course. They are not independent.	1	1
Yes (2)	1	1
It is there. I see it. But seeing it is not the same as accepting it.	1	1
It is.	1	1
Yes	1	1
Sure. This is how it works.	1	1

Name	Sources	References
PERSONAL INFLUENCESS	1	9
FROM FRIENDS	1	4
I was surprised how strongly they felt.	1	1
It was mostly the US support for Israel.	1	1
It was really in 2008 from friends.	1	1
Sure – those but friends had more influence.	1	1
FROM MEDIA	1	5
A little.	1	1
A little. (2)	1	1
Not really.	1	1
Sure – those but friends had more influence.	1	1
Yes, it is there but less than before.	1	1
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM	1	1
BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ISLAM AND ARABS BY AMERICA-WEST	1	1
Understand Islam and the Arabs much better.	1	1
RESENTMENT FOR AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY	1	3
ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS	1	1
It does.	1	1
MIDDLE EAST AND ARABS RESENT IT	1	2
The 'Arab Street' blames America.	1	1
the Middle East and the Arabs resent their policies.	1	1
ARAB SPRING	1	11
NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES	1	11

Name	Sources	References
DESTRUCTION OF ARAB COUNTRIES	1	7
CREATION OF REFUGEE WAVE	1	1
and millions are refugees.	1	1
LIBYA	1	1
Also, it destroyed Libya.	1	1
SYRIA	1	4
Also, the country is devastated.	1	1
Do you know Dr. Mohammed Maaz~ He was a doctor who worked to save the injured in Syria. He was trying to help people but he was killed in Aleppo in 2016 when the Russians or Syrian Air Force bombed his hospital. He is just one of many thousands.	1	1
In Syria, it started because the Al-Assad family believed that they owned the country like a big family company in the West where it is passed from father to son. But the people are not a company and do not want to be owned like in a kingdom. The old were	1	1
It started a fire that destroyed the beautiful country of Syria.	1	1
The fire it started destroyed so many Arab countries	1	1
INTERNATIONAL INFLUX OF JIHADISTS	1	1
Also, it drew jihādists from across the world. How can it be positive~	1	1
LESS FREEDOM IN ARAB COUNTRIES	1	3
But the rest; - the leaders have closed in on their people. The leaders never want this to happen again and the West is helping them.	1	1
The result is less freedom in Arab countries	1	1
UAE ARE AN EXCEPTION	1	1
except for here (UAE). This place is different to anywhere else in the Arab world. That is why we come here.	1	1
ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICAN CULTURE	1	18

Name	Sources	References
HIGH CONSUMPTION OF AMERICAN PRODUCTS	1	10
I buy Polo and Gap. They look good and have quality.	1	1
I dress in a 'modern' style but not what you would call American.	1	1
I like Subway.	1	1
No	1	1
Not at all. They are not healthy.	1	1
Sometimes CNN.	1	1
Sometimes R&B or jazz. Also, I like the Lebanese interpretation of jazz.	1	1
Yes	1	1
Yes, all.	1	1
Yes. I like movies like Touching My Mind or Inception.	1	1
NEGATIVE FAMILY OUTLOOK AFTER SYRIA, IRAQ	1	2
No. it is still negative.	1	1
Now – negatively. What happened in Syria and Iraq due to the US.	1	1
POSITIVE PERSONAL AND FAMILY OUTLOOK	1	6
AMERICAN DREAM	1	1
Also they talked about social mobility in America what is called the 'American Dream'.	1	1
AMERICANISATION BRINGS THE WORLD TO THE ARABS	1	1
America is changing Arab culture into a more global culture	1	1
FAMILY MEMBER LIVED IN US	1	2
It was positive because of what my parents said that my cousin had told them.	1	1
my cousin, Abdul Salem. He lived there since 1980. So he has been there a long time.	1	1

Name	Sources	References
It was positive.	1	1
RESPECT	1	1
Also, respect. They said that if you get a US passport you are respected and treated better that if you have a Syrian passport.	1	1
AUTOTELIC IMPORTANCE OF HISTORY	1	7
All of it. History is important. Syria, Iraq and Palestine.	1	1
History is important. It tells us our past and why we are the way we are.	1	1
It is all history and therefore important.	1	1
It is our history and history is important. It is part of us.	1	1
Syria, Iraq and Palestine.	1	1
This is all history and it is important to us. We must remember it.	1	1
Yes	1	1
IMPROVING IMAGE OF ARAB MUSLIM WORLD	1	1
ARABS TO LIVE ISLAM PEACEFULLY	1	1
Live Islam in a peaceful way.	1	1
IRAQ WAR	1	16
CONSEQUENSES	1	5
DESTABILISATION	1	1
Yes. (2)	1	1
DESTRUCTION OF IRAQ	1	1
the destruction of Iraq	1	1
DIVISION	1	1
The division of the Arabs	1	1
STRONGER ISLAMIST EXTREMISM	1	2

Name	Sources	References
the increased strength of the Shi'a Crescent and Iran	1	1
Yes.	1	1
GRIEF-SADNESS FOR LOSS OF IRAQI LIFE	1	3
AMERICAN ATROCITIES	1	1
It was really bad.	1	1
People remember. It is sad for us.	1	1
Very sad.	1	1
REASONS FOR THE INVASION	1	8
OIL	1	3
Israel and oil.	1	1
Israel and theft of oil.	1	1
Oil	1	1
POWER	1	2
Do you know that they executed Saddam Hussein on the first day of Eid Al-Adha~ They handed him to the Shi'a to abuse, insult and hang. We all saw it in the internet.	1	1
power	1	1
SELF-INTEREST	1	3
ALLIANCE WITH ISRAEL	1	2
Israel and oil.	1	1
Israel and theft of oil.	1	1
US self-interest	1	1
ISLAM RELIGION OF PEACE	1	2
Islam is a religion of peace.	1	1

Name	Sources	References
Yes	1	1
ISLAMISM AND ISLAMIC EXTREMISM	1	13
CRITICISMS	1	13
HEZBOLLAH ACTS AS ANTI-ARAB ANTI-SUNNI MILITIA	1	8
HOWEVER HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST	1	5
No. (4)	1	1
No. (5)	1	1
No. (6)	1	1
No. (7)	1	1
Yes. (3)	1	1
It is wrong.	1	1
No	1	1
There are acting like a militia for Iran against Arabs.	1	1
IGNORANCE FEEDS EXTREMISM	1	1
Correct.	1	1
IMMORALITY OF MUATH AL-KASASBEH MURDER	1	1
I don't know anyone who thinks that it was a moral thing to do.	1	1
ISIS ATTACKS ON SHIA MOSQUES	1	1
This is killing innocent people who are praying. This is terrible. It is like committing a massacre.	1	1
ISLAMISM MISUSES PEACEFUL ISLAM	1	1
Islamism is a misuse of Islam.	1	1
RELUCTANCE TO TALK ABOUT DAESH AND SYRIAN REGIME AS A SYRIAN	1	1

Name	Sources	References
If I say yes to this as a Syrian, it could cause me a problem.	1	1
PALESTINIAN-ISRAEL ISSUE	1	10
BUT ARAB GOVERNMENTS SUPPRESS ANY FORM OF PROTEST	1	1
But people don't talk about it openly like before. Arab governments want to keep any form of protest suppressed. As they say in the coffee shops, "A man who protests against Israel today may protest against his own government tomorrow!" You understand~	1	1
IMPORTANT TO MOST ARABS	1	2
It is still important to most Arabs.	1	1
No.	1	1
IMPORTANT TO SELF	1	2
Important.	1	1
No. (2)	1	1
STATE OF ISRAEL ILLEGAL	1	5
It is Israel. It is what they do to the Arabs.	1	1
It is there so I just accept it.	1	1
No, but it is there.	1	1
No. (3)	1	1
Yes.	1	1

Appendix 16

¶1: **Primary Research**
¶2: **Semi-Structured Interviews**
¶3: **(Highlighted with Line Numbers)**

¶4: Participant Number: 01

¶5: **Interview Date**: 6 Jan 18

¶6: **Duration**: 3 hours 17 minutes

¶7: **All participant replies are in green**

¶8: **RESEARCH QUESTION**

¶9: An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim males to Islam*ist* extremism in the contemporary era.

¶10: **KEY WORDS**
¶11:
¶12: Anti-Americanism, Middle Eastern, Arab Sunni Muslim, Males, Islamist extremism and contemporary era.
¶13:
¶14: QUESTIONS

¶15: **Introduction – Early Years and America**

- ¶16: Can you please tell me a little about yourself and your formative years?

  - ¶17: Born – I was born in Libya.

  - ¶18: Formative years – I lived most of my life in Egypt, in Cairo.

  - ¶19: Education – I have a Degree in telecommunications which I got in Egypt.

  - ¶20: Employment – I work as a telecommunications manager for Etisalat. I

    - ¶21: Am based in the UAE but travel and work across the Middle East. I have also been sent on work trips to the US. I am living in Al

Reef, in Abu Dhabi but working in Saudi Arabia from Sunday to Thursday.

- o ¶22: I am married with a happy family and family life.

- ¶23: When did you first become aware of America? ¶24:

  - o ¶25: Home – I first became aware of America through TV, movies, Hollywood.

  - o ¶26: School – I also learned about America from history lessons and teaching at school, like most Arabs children.

  ¶27:

  - o ¶28: Was it in a positive or negative context?

    - • ¶29: It was positive in general from the TV

    - • ¶30: My school and teachers appeared neutral

  ¶31:

  - o ¶32: Can you please elaborate?

  ¶33:

    - • ¶34: I viewed the US as developed, modern and with a great lifestyle. They seemed to have a higher quality of life. The US kids seemed to have so much.

    ¶35:

- ¶36: Have you visited America?

  - o ¶37: Yes, a couple of times or a number of occasions

  - o ¶38: I have been to: Atlanta, Virginia, Las Vegas, Florida, New York and Boston.

  ¶39:

  - o ¶40: In what capacity – work, student, tourist or other?

  ¶41:

    - • ¶42: I went with work, for example Boston.

    ¶43:

- o ¶44: For how long did you stay?

  - • ¶45: I stayed for about one week each stay.

  ¶46:

- o ¶47: Were your impressions positive or negative?

  - • ¶48: My impressions were mixed, mostly positive but some negative.

  ¶49:

- o ¶50: Have your opinions been altered in any way by your visit(s)?

  - • ¶51: Actually it enhanced my view of how positive the US is – its diversity, and complexity.

  - • ¶52: It is well managed and developed.

  ¶53:

  - • ¶54: If so, in what way?

¶55:

  - • ¶56: They have good airports and good infrastructure. 'Things work there'.

    ¶57:

- • ¶58: Do you or would you:

  - o ¶59: **Purchase** American products?

    - • ¶60: Yes, I have no problem with buying American products. I buy them happily and often.

    ¶61:

    ¶62:

  - o **¶63: Wear** American brands, such as Nike, Calvin Klein, Polo Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, Levi Strauss, Gap, or American Eagle?

    - • ¶64: Yes, I buy American brands but mostly sportswear and casual wear.

¶65:

o **¶66: Dress** in a contemporary US style such as baseball cap, jeans, 'T' shirt, trainers?

- ¶67: Yes, I am happy to do so but not 'formal US style suits' which are strange and differ from formal wear in Europe and even internationally.

¶68:

- ¶69: If so, which?

¶70:

- ¶71: But I do not wear a baseball cap. The rest is fine.

¶72:

o **¶73: Eat** American fast food such as McDonald's, KFC, Subway, Dunkin' Donuts or Pizza Hut?

- ¶74: Yes, of course. We can't avoid it!

¶75:

o **¶76: Drink** American soft drinks such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi or Dr Pepper?

- ¶77: Yes, but we are trying to reduce or avoid these for health reasons. But it is difficult – they are everywhere.

¶78:

o **¶79: Watch** American made Hollywood movies?

- ¶80: If so which?

  - ¶81: Yes. Sure. I mostly watch historical movies like Lincoln, Gettysburg and Sci-Fi. I like Sci-Fi.

o ¶82: **Watch** US news channels such as CNN, Fox or NBC, on any media platform?

- ¶83: Sure. I have seen all of these at one time. I tend to switch around a lot to get different perspectives on the same story. Then I make my own mind up. I will watch CNN, NMC, RT, BBC, Fox etc. You see as many Arabs say, "Western media is a 'camouflage', you need to look to find the truth hidden in it".

¶84:

- ¶85: **Listen** to American music such as Pop, Rock, Rap, Heavy Metal, R&B, or Jazz, on any music platform?

  - ¶86: If so which?

  - ¶87: No. I don't but I don't object to it.

¶88:

- ¶89: **Drive** an American car such as GMC, Ford, Chrysler or Cadillac?

  - ¶90: No but I do not have a problem with them.

    ¶91:

- ¶92: **Possess** an Apple iPhone, iPad, MacBook, iMac or use Microsoft?

  - ¶93: If so, which?

    - ¶94: All of the above! It's the global world we live in.

¶95: **Family Relatives & Friends**

- ¶96: How is the West and America generally regarded by you, your family, relatives, and friends?

  - ¶97: The US has gone through a Bell Curve. The libertarian vision of the Founding Fathers seems to have been abandoned and even reversed by George W Bush and especially Donald Trump.

¶98:

  - ¶99: Has this changed in any way recently?

¶100:

    - ¶101: I think that post World War II it changed slightly from inward to outward looking with aggressive interventions. But definitely after 9/11 – a spike occurred. But now I think of it, also before, Mohammad Mosaddeq; you remember him? That was a CIA coup to overthrow a Middle Eastern democratically elected Prime Minister. I think that it shocked many in the Middle East. You see, we had never thought of America in an imperialist light before that. That really changed their image in the Middle East.

    ¶102:

  - ¶103: If so how?

575

- ¶104: Perhaps even earlier, probably in the 1920s / 1930s the US changed in its approach to other countries in the Middle East.

¶105:

o ¶106: Why?

- ¶107: (No answer provided by participant)

¶108:

- ¶109: How often is America, its foreign policy, or actions in the Middle East a topic of conversation for you, your family or friends?

¶110:

o ¶111: Often, sometimes, never?

o ¶112: If so, in what way?

- ¶113: Often. For example, the Palestinians, the establishment of Israel, US – Israel support, Afghanistan, Iraq Gulf War One, you know the first one and of course the big one, the one that changed a whole generation's view of America, the invasion of Iraq in 2003 !!!!! But also: Libya and Syria. In football terms it is 6 – v – 2. 6 = bad and 2 = good.

¶114: **Anti-Americanism**

- ¶115: When did you first become aware of anti-Americanism?

o ¶116: For me it was at school during history lessons, like most children. This was when the Palestinian question was taught. They also taught about Suez where the US was not seen as a hero but Russia for stopping the British, French and Israelis.

¶117:

o ¶118: Within a Middle Eastern context?

¶119:

o ¶120: How did it manifest itself?

¶121:

- ¶122: We were taught that when Gamal Abdel Nasser wanted to build the 'High Dam' in Egypt he went to the US controlled World

Bank who refused him the money. The US refused him the money. But he went to Russia who helped him and the Arabs.

¶123:

o ¶124: Media, social commentators, politicians, religious leaders, organisations, friends, relatives, family or other?

¶125:

- ¶126: Sure. I would see some people burning flags. That kind of thing.

¶127:

o ¶128: Did it affect you in any way? If so how?

¶129:

- ¶130: Not really.

¶131:

¶132:

o ¶133: Did it shape your views? If so how?

¶134:

- ¶135: No. It did not shape my views.

¶136:

o ¶137: Have these views changed?

- ¶138: Yes. The Arab Spring changed my views. It caused me to read much. I have been reading internet sites, blogs, watching documentaries and reading.

¶139:

- ¶140: If so how and why?

- ¶141: The US has moved away from their liberal origins. It is no longer liberal in its external relations and this includes the Middle East.

¶142:

- ¶143: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your school?

¶144:

- ¶145: If so, how? Why?

  ¶146:

  - ¶147: No.

  ¶148:

- ¶149: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your college or university?

  - ¶150: Yes. It was mostly the Palestinian cause because of the obvious injustice. But also because Israel was supported by the West, initially by the UK and then the US.

¶151:

- ¶152: If so, how? Why?

  - ¶153: It is the clear lack of balance, fairness and proportionality by Israel that is the problem. This is supported by the US and there is never any just criticism of Israel by the US. Therefore, the lesson is – power and might rules or might over right. You know this saying – might is right. It is tribal. The lesson is - the weak tribes or clans lose. The Founding Fathers would not have approved.

  ¶154:

- ¶155: Are you consciously aware of anti-Americanism in the Arab media?

  - ¶156: Yes, definitely. It tends to focus on: Palestine, anti-Trump messages, of course the banning of Arab Muslims from the US, Islam being projected as the enemy and Trump's language – Islamic Terrorism!

  ¶157:

- ¶158: If so – which parts of the media?

  - ¶159: As we say, "The Western media is a 'Trumpet'; but who is blowing the trumpet?" For example, Al Jazeera is the 'trumpet' for Qatar and Turkey, Al Arabia and MBC Saudi are the 'trumpet' for Saudia Arabia, Sky News Arabia is the 'trumpet' for the UAE, ON TV is the 'trumpet' for Egypt and so on and on. You understand this very well.

  ¶160:

- ¶161: What effect impact this have on your opinions?

    - ¶162: (No answer given)

¶163:

¶164:

- ¶165: To what degree if any does American foreign policy in the Middle East have on Arab Sunni anti-Americanism?

    - ¶166: It has a huge amount. You see during the Cold War with the Soviets, the US supported Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan against the USSR. We all know this. It is what the British call public knowledge. But American administrations or governments have no real understanding about Islamist extremism. Not really. You see, religious extremism cannot just be turned off when it is no longer of use. This is a fire which was lit by the US and left to burn after they abandoned Afghanistan after the Cold War. It then spread elsewhere like a virus. I know that I am mixing fire with virus but you know what I mean.

¶167:

    - ¶168: How do you view American foreign policy?

¶169:

        - ¶170: We say that, "Religious extremism is like a fire, if you start it, you cannot control it". I think that America used religion like a fire, but it is so dangerous, like in Afghanistan and Syria. You understand?

¶171:

- ¶172: To what degree if any does the presence of American military bases in the Middle East and especially in Saudi Arabia, contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

    - ¶173: I think that this is trivial and superficial. I hope that it does impact on Islam to get the Arab World out of our dilemma!

¶174:

- ¶175: To what degree if any does 'Americanisation' (globalisation) and its impact on Arab culture and Islamic life contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

    - ¶176: The real question for Arab Muslims and other Muslims is does religion rule our lives or does it fit into our life? This is our problem – not the

West's. We cannot blame the West for that question. This is our question and we must answer it. Western civilisation did not make the leap until this issue was resolved – the Enlightenment. They did it, we have to do it and we have not done it yet. Some are still living their lives as it was at the time of the Prophet.

¶177:

- **¶178:** To what degree do Middle Eastern Arabs blame America for preexisting problems within the Middle East?

    o ¶179: Is it justified?

    o ¶180: (covered above)

¶181: Causes of Contemporary Anti-Americanism

- ¶182: What do you think are the causes of contemporary anti-Americanism within the Middle East?

    o ¶183: Can you please provide some examples?

        - ¶184: I think there are many but if you want the main causes, these are the Palestinian issue and the illegal invasion of Iraq.

    ¶185:

    o ¶186: Is your opinion commonly held?

        - ¶187: Yes. Ask any Arab. They will tell you that it is the Palestinian issue and the invasion of Iraq. This is because injustice shines clear for all to see. You do not need to have been to university to know this. All Arabs know this.

    ¶188:

    o ¶189: What are the opposing views?

    o ¶190: (not answered)

        ¶191:

¶192: Sayings or Common Phrases

- ¶193: What Arab phrases or sayings about the West or America are most memorable to you, or come quickly to your mind?

- o   ¶194: There are many, but probably – "Death to America", "US Cowboy policies", "America is the Mother of Israel; if you touch the child, you have the mother to deal with". You cannot touch it; she will always protect her child. Also, we say that when Israel attacks innocent Palestinians - "What is wrong is wrong".

¶195:

- o   ¶196: Are these common?

    - •   ¶197: Yes. There are everywhere. You can find them in coffee shops and in private.

¶198:

- o   ¶199: Do you agree with them?

    - •   ¶200: (Did not answer but smiled)

¶201: **Historical Events**

¶202:

¶203:

- •   ¶204: What do you consider to be the most important historical events in relation to the West's historical relationship with Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    ¶205:

    - o   ¶206: Can you explain why?

        - •   ¶207: Palestine, 1967, 1973, recent Israeli shelling of Palestinians.

        - •   ¶208: You see, they have no passports in their own land. If I had no passport I would be angry. Arabs say quietly to each other that "The Palestinians are like the poor man at a party" and they are so toxic about it. We also say that "They are like a member of a family who was the only one who did not get anything from a will"; they attack other members of the family. Also, the MB (Muslim Brotherhood) use the Palestinians as a tool for their own reasons to give them legitimacy.

    ¶209:

- •   ¶210: How important or relevant do you think historical events such as the Crusades are to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

- o ¶211: Unfortunately – a lot!

¶212:

- o ¶213: How important is it to you?

¶214:

  - ¶215: (no reply just a smile)

  ¶216:

- ¶217: What historical events can you recall or are important to you in relation to Western interventionism in the Middle East?

  - o ¶218: Palestine and the illegal invasion of Iraq in 2003.

¶219:

- ¶220: How important do you think the colonial period is to Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - o ¶221: How important is it to you?

    - ¶222: It is definitely important in North African Arab countries. But it is also, I think, distracting. It gives a backward push and is draining our resources. It was not just the West- don't forget the Ottomans.

    ¶223:

  - o ¶224: Do you think that these events are relevant to modern Arab life?

    - ¶225: Yes of course. They are a legacy but they are also distracting.

¶226: **Islam*ism***

- ¶227: What do you understand by the word Islam*ism*?

  - o ¶228: It is Political Islam. Political Islam in education, society, wearing veils and so on.

  ¶229:

- ¶230: When did you first become aware of Islam*ism* or Islam*ist* ideologues?

  - o ¶231: If so, which ideologues?

    - ¶232: I first became aware of them at college in 1996 / 1997. But later in 2009, in Egypt and elsewhere. But I do not want to talk about it.

¶233:

- ¶234: How did their message affect you or others that you know?

    - ¶235: I was not engaged with them.

¶236: **Palestine & Israel**

- ¶237: How important is the Palestinian issue to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    - ¶238: It is very, very important to us Arabs. They are our brothers in Islam and Arab brothers. Do not underestimate the importance of Palestine to the Arabs.

¶239:

- ¶240: If this is important, explain why?

¶241:

    - ¶242: It is a dignity issue

    - ¶243: We say that "Palestine is like a thorn sticking in Arab dignity, always there, and always painful". This means that as an Arab you feel that your dignity is hurt like a thorn; you know a '*shoka*'. It is always there, annoying, painful when any pressure is put on it.

¶244:

- ¶245: Is this issue reducing in importance in Arab minds in any way?

    - ¶246: (Covered above)

¶247:

- ¶248: How important is the Palestinian issue to you?

    - ¶249: It is very important to me and Arab Muslims.

¶250:

- ¶251: If so, why?

¶252:

    - ¶253: It is the injustice of it - the Israeli overreaction and it is also the 'dignity of the Arabs' which is being insulted.

¶254:

- ¶255: Is this issue reducing in importance in your mind?

  - ¶256: It continues to be as important and relevant as ever. There is nothing more important to us.

¶257:

  - ¶258: Can you please elaborate?

¶259:

    - ¶260: I have said already.

¶261:

- ¶262: How do you feel about the 1948, 1967, 1973 wars?

  - ¶263: They are an indication of how Arab civilisation has deteriorated. The result of Ottoman and Western domination.

¶264:

¶265:

- ¶266: Do you view Israel as an illegal occupier of Palestine and Palestinian territory?

  - ¶267: Yes! Not just me but the Arab World.

¶268:

  - ¶269: If so, why?

¶270:

    - ¶271: (No reply. Smile)

¶272:

- ¶273: Do most Arab Sunni Muslims accept the existence of the State of Israel?

  - ¶274: Do you?

    - ¶275: It is a state of reality. We say that "Israel is like a wart on my hand; I see it but do not accept its right to be there". It is occupying part of my hand without my permission. It is sometimes painful, sometimes annoying but if I could remove it, I would. It is not what we wish. But some Arabs do deny its very existence.

¶276:

584

- o   ¶277: If not, why not?

¶278:

¶279: (Not answered)

¶280:

- ¶281: How do you view the Israeli occupation of Lebanon which lasted 18 years (1982-2000)?

    - o   ¶282: Negative. This was not good.

- ¶283: Do you view the State of Israel as legitimate?

    - o   ¶284: No. Never, and Arabs in general do not.

¶285:

- o   ¶286: If not, why?

¶287:

    - ¶288: They are an exported people to a foreign land! They are the West's foothold in the Arab Middle East. Some of the Islamists say that "Israel is the Last Crusader State". Other extremist say that Israel is the 'Tenth Crusade'. I do not agree with the extremists but I do see what they mean. Israel is not Middle Eastern or Arab they are Western and democratic. Their Prime Minister wears suits, was educated in the US and speaks with an American accent. He and his people are not Middle Eastern.

        ¶289:

- ¶290: Do you view Israel as a terrorist state?

    - o   ¶291: Yes!

¶292:

- o   ¶293: If so, why?

¶294:

    - ¶295: (No answer)

        ¶296:

- ¶297: To what extent is anti-Americanism caused by US support for the State of Israel or linked to the US/ Israeli alliance?

    - ¶298: I would estimate 70/80%.

  ¶299:

    - ¶300: How do you feel about American support for Israel?

  ¶301:

        - ¶302: It is a reality. Israel could not survive without them. "America and Israel are joined at the hip". Have you heard this saying?

      ¶303:

      ¶304:

    - ¶305: How do you feel about this alliance?

        - ¶306: It is a reality.

      ¶307:

- ¶308: To what extent is America's support for Israeli used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab Sunni Muslims?

    - ¶309: A lot. Of course a lot. Why wouldn't they?

  ¶310:

- ¶311: Does the US support for Israel undermine its purported independence in negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?

    - ¶312: Yes. A lot. "America and Israel are like two wolves negotiating with a Palestinian lamb what they will have for lunch. You know the lamb will get eaten!"

  ¶313:

- ¶314: Do many Arab Sunni Muslims conflate Judaism with Israelis or Zionism?

  ¶315:

    - ¶316: If so, which? In what way? Why?

        - ¶317: It depends on their level of knowledge and education. The less educated do. Also, the press, extremist groups and even some

> > Arab states do this intentionally to divert their eyes from internal affairs.

> ¶318:

¶319:

- ¶320: Do you consider Hamas (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah*) to be a terrorist organisation? If so why? If not, why not?

    - o   ¶321: Not really. We say, "If someone kicks your door in, you must defend your home". What are you going to do? You must fight. Some do fight but very few.

¶322:

- ¶323: Do you consider the military wing of Hamas (*Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades*) to be a terrorist organisation?

    - o   ¶324: No difference. They are both the same, two hands of the same body – left hand and right hand. What is the difference?

¶325:

    - o   ¶326: Were the Intifadas against Israel justified?

¶327:

        - ¶328: Yes, of course. What else are the Arabs going to do? The West does not help us, so we must do what we can.

    ¶329:

    - o   ¶330: If so, why?

        - ¶331: (No reply)

    ¶332:

- ¶333: Do you consider Hezbollah to be a terrorist organisation?

¶334:

    - o   ¶335: If so, why?

        - ¶336: Not before – no. Not when they gave Israel a beating in Lebanon and forced them to leave. But recently since Syria and Iraq – yes, I do. Their militias have done terrible things against Sunnis in Iraq and Syria. They were as bad as Da'ish.

¶337:

- ¶338: Do you consider Hezbollah's attacks on Israel to be terrorist? If so why?

    ¶339:

    - o   ¶340: No. I explained before.

        ¶341:

    - o   ¶342: If not, why not?

    ¶343:

        - • ¶344: (No reply)

    ¶345:

- ¶346: Were the deaths of 7 x family members of a Palestinian family (Ghaliya family) on Gaza beach in 2006 caused by an Israeli artillery barrage, an act of terrorism?

    - o   ¶347: I am not sure. It would be too easy to say yes. But I want to base my decision on facts. I do not know. Maybe it was an accident or a mix-up. I don't think we will ever know because the Israelis keep their errors as secret, as they can.

    ¶348:

- ¶349: In the 2014 Gaza conflict, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) state that 1,462 x Palestinian civilians were killed by Israeli Defence Force (IDF) aerial bombing, tank and artillery fire and that 5 x Israeli civilians were killed by Hamas rockets.

    ¶350:

    - o   ¶351: What is your view on the proportionality of this?

        - •   ¶352: It is not just. Surely that is clear for all to see.

    ¶353:

    - o   ¶354: In what way does this influence your opinion of America and its support for Israel?

        - •   ¶355: I don't want to say.

        ¶356:

- o ¶357: In what way does this impact on Arab minds in relation to America's support for Israel?

    - ¶358: It is not good because it is in our lifetime. We can see it with our own eyes. It is not an account from history which may or may not be real or true.

  ¶359:

- o ¶360: Does it contribute to anti-Americanism?

    - ¶361: (No reply)

¶362:

  ¶363:

- o ¶364: Do you have any other related views?

    - ¶365: (No reply)

  ¶366:

- ¶367: Do you believe that America considers 'Israeli blood' to be more valuable than Arab 'Palestinian blood'?

  - o ¶368: Yes. This is clear for all to see.

¶369:

  - o ¶370: If so why?

¶371:

    - ¶372: (No reply)

  ¶373:

  - o ¶374: In what way?

    - ¶375: (No reply)

¶376: **US Led Invasion of Iraq**

- ¶377: Is the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq still a 'burning issue' to Arab Sunni Muslims?

- ¶378: It is like a thorn sticking into us. It does not go away. But also the US keeps twisting this Shoka or thorn with its support to Israel, or banning Arab Muslims from America.

¶379:

- ¶380: If yes, explain.

  - ¶381: (No reply)

  ¶382:

- ¶383: If no, explain.

  - ¶384: (No reply)

¶385:

- ¶386: How do you feel about it?

  ¶387:

  - ¶388: (No reply)

- ¶389: **Iraqi loss of life due to the war**

¶390:

- ¶391: John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health calculated that 655,000 Iraqis died as a consequence of the 2003 Iraq War (reported in *The Lancet* medical journal).

  ¶392:

- ¶393: The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that 151,000 violent deaths in Iraq occurred from March 2003 to June 2006.

¶394:

- ¶395: Classified Pentagon files released by WikiLeaks recorded in excess of 66,000 civilians killed in the Iraq War between 2004 and 2009.

  ¶396:

- ¶397: How do you feel about these statistics?

  - ¶398: Very angry! This is an example of the brutal US system. It is unjustified. Many say, "In the Arab World, the weak have no rights". Might is right.

¶399:

- ¶400: Is the loss of Iraqi life still a 'burning issue'?

  ¶401:

  - ¶402: (No reply)

  ¶403:

  ¶404:

  - ¶405: With you?

    ¶406:

    - ¶407: (No reply)

    ¶408:

    ¶409:

  - ¶410: With other Arabs?

  ¶411:

    - ¶412: (No reply)

  ¶413:

- ¶414: How important to modern Arab Sunni Muslims are the documented American atrocities and human rights violations at *Abu Ghraib* detention facility, the assaults on *Fallujah* (Apr & Nov 2004), the use of extraordinary rendition, or the existence of Guantanamo Bay detention facility?

- ¶415: Very negative. These were great insults at many levels – culturally, religiously, our dignity, our unity and so on.

  ¶416:

- ¶417: To what extent do you think the US led invasion of Iraq contributed to:

  - ¶418: A growth in anti-Americanism?

    - ¶419: Greatly! It remains the second greatly issue. Palestine remains the first.

    ¶420:

  - ¶421: The formation of *Daesh* or ISIS?

- ¶422: Yes, of course. The invasion was illegal and it destroyed the government and infrastructure of Iraq. It created chaos and a power vacuum but more importantly it created a common enemy for Iraqis and Arabs. The extremists like ISIS exploited this.

¶423:

- ¶424: Who do you think created Daesh?

¶425:

  - ¶426: The ideology existed before but was fed by the Iraq war and national interest.

¶427:

- ¶428: What is the common opinion of the 'Arab Street'?

  - ¶429: (No reply)

¶430:

¶431:

o ¶432: Destabilisation of the region -

¶433: Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Influence of Iran or Turkey or others?

  - ¶434: Yes of course. Iraq was a strong Arab country. It was a block to Iran and created balance in the Middle East. The destruction of Iraq created instability in the whole region.

¶435:

o ¶436: Increased Islam*ist* extremism?

  - ¶437: Yes. This is obvious.

¶438:

- ¶439: What do you believe are the consequences of the invasion?

  o ¶440: Widespread instability in the Middle East. There has also been an increase in extremism and Islamism.

¶441:

- ¶442: What do you think about the US led invasion of Iraq?

- o ¶443: It was illegal and it has caused so many problems for Arabs across the whole region.

¶444:

- ¶445: What do you think was the primary reason for the invasion?

¶446:

- o ¶447: Most Arabs say "Iraq was all about oil". But I think it was a combination of opportunity, unfinished business and oil. Opportunity because the invasion of Afghanistan was over so quickly, unfinished business because the 'son' (G W Bush) wanted to finish what 'the father' had started and oil because they wanted it. There is an Arab saying about Bush, "The son finished what the father started".

¶448:

- o ¶449: What is the common reason given for the invasion in the 'Arab street'?

  - ¶450: Oil.

¶451:

- o ¶452: What is the common reason given by Islam*ists*?

  - ¶453: Some Arabs call it "The American Crusade". Others say it was the Western / American 'Crusade' and oil.

¶454: **Daesh / ISIS / Jihād / Syria**

- ¶455: What do you think draws some Arab Sunni Muslims to *Daesh* or ISIS?

  - o ¶456: I think that belief in an Islamic state used to be a powerful idea. Also, it was a utopian idea and was very appealing and many just wanted adventure.

  ¶457:

- ¶458: Islam*ists* derive their Islam*ic* theological credibility by claiming to be waging *jihād* and living according to the Hadith and Sunnah, similar to the earlier caliphates. To what extent is this correct?

¶459:

¶460:

- o ¶461: It is all about interpretation. That is how they see it.

¶462:

¶463:

- o ¶464: Can you please provide examples?

¶465:

- • ¶466: Jihād. They see it one way, moderate Muslims see it another way.

¶467:

- • ¶468: What do you understand as the meaning of *jihād*?

  - o ¶469: It is often debated!

¶470:

  - o ¶471: In what circumstances may it be waged?

    ¶472:

    - • ¶473: (No reply)

    ¶474:

- • ¶475: What do you understand as the meaning of the terms *Takfir* and *Kafir* or unbeliever?

  - o ¶476: Unbeliever. I will not say any more about this.

¶477:

  - o ¶478: How do you feel about this concept in the modern world?

    - • ¶479: (No reply)

    ¶480:

- • ¶481: Islam*ist* extremism can be said to grow in the 'fertile ground of ignorance'. Is this correct?

  - o ¶482: Yes. I will not say any more.

¶483:

  - o ¶484: To what extent does this fuel anti-Americanism?

¶485:

- ¶486: Much!

¶487:

- ¶488: Can you please provide examples?

  - ¶489: Yes, Syria and Iraq.

¶490:

- ¶491: It is said by some Arab Sunni Muslims that "*Daesh* are extreme and do terrible things but they 'fight' the Syrian regime with commitment and the other opposition groups do not".

  - ¶492: To what extent is this correct, if at all?

    ¶493:

    - ¶494: (No reply)

    ¶495:

- ¶496: Was the burning alive of Muath Al-Kasasbeh a terrorist act or an act of *jihād*?

  - ¶497: No. It was a deception! But I will not say any more about this.

¶498:

- ¶499: What do you think of ISIS attacks on Shia *masjids* (mosques) and the Shia community?

  - ¶500: (No reply)

¶501:

¶502:

- ¶503: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be fair and reasonable?

  - ¶504: (No reply)

¶505:

  - ¶506: If so, why?

    ¶507:

- o   ¶508: If not, why not?

¶509:

- • ¶510: (No reply)

¶511:

- • ¶512: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be terrorist?

  - o   ¶513: I answered this before

¶514:

  - o   ¶515: If so, why?

¶516:

  - o   ¶517: If not, why not?

¶518:

- • ¶519: (No reply)

¶520: **'Arab Spring' (*Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī*)**

- •   ¶521: What have been the consequences of the *Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī* - 'Arab Spring' for Middle Eastern Arabs?

¶522:

  - o   ¶523: (No reply)

¶524:

- • ¶525: What was the impact of the 'Arab Spring' on the current situation in the Muslim world and its relationship with the outside world?

¶526:

  - o   ¶527: (No reply)

¶528:

- • ¶529: Do you like or use the term 'Arab Spring'?

  - o   ¶530: Yes – I like it. But many don't

¶531:

- o ¶532: If not, why not?

  ¶533:

- ¶534: Do you view the 'Arab Spring' positively or negatively?

  - o ¶535: Many Arabs say, "We needed the medicine but it was the wrong medicine!"

  ¶536:

- ¶537: Do you consider the death of Mohamed Bouazizi to have been worth it?

  - o ¶538: Yes. I am not going to say any more on this.

  ¶539:

¶540: Muslim Brotherhood

- ¶541: The Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) are viewed as an extremist organisation in some countries but not in others and is banned in some countries but not in others; do you believe that it is extremist?

  - o ¶542: (No reply)

  ¶543:

  - o ¶544: Do you believe that it should be banned?

  ¶545:

    - ¶546: I think about 55% of Arabs think so.

    ¶547:

    ¶548:

  - o ¶549: What do you think of their recent experience in Egypt?

    - ¶550: Negative.

    ¶551:

  - o ¶552: Are the teachings of Sayyid Qutb relevant to modern Arabs?

    ¶553:

- ¶554: It is said that political Islamists such as the Muslim Brotherhood only gain popularity because they replace the social and other services that should be delivered by many Arab governments.

- ¶555: (No reply)

¶556:

- ¶557: Is this correct?

  - ¶558: (No reply)

  ¶559:

- ¶560: Does this contribute to anti-Americanism?

¶561:

  - ¶562: (No reply)

¶563:

  ¶564:

  - ¶565: If so, how?

    - ¶566: (No reply)

    ¶567:

- ¶568: Does this contribute to extremism?

¶569:

  - ¶570: (No reply)

¶571:

  - ¶572: If so how?

    - ¶573: (No reply)

    ¶574:

- ¶575: Is the Muslim Brotherhood anti-Western?

  - ¶576: (No reply)

- ¶577: If so, in what way?

  ¶578:

  - ¶579: (No reply)

¶580: **Islam**

- ¶581: Do you think that Islam is a religion of peace?

- ¶582: If so why? If not why not?

  ¶583:

    o ¶584: Yes.

  ¶585:

  ¶586:

- ¶587: What do you think that some and possibly many Westerners conflate Islam with Islamist terrorism?

    o ¶588: No reply due to having to leave the interview.

      ¶589:

      ¶590:

      ¶591: INTERVIEW TERMINATED AT 5:17 PM ON 6 JAN 18 AT THE REQUEST OF THE PARTICIPANT DUE TO ANOTHER APPOINTMENT

¶592:

- ¶593: Why are 'radical Muslims' seen as representative of Islam in the West?

  ¶594:

  ¶595:

  ¶596:

  ¶597:

  ¶598:

  ¶599:

  ¶600:

  ¶601:

- ¶602: Sunni Islam has no globally accepted central religious leader or doctrinal centre such as the Grand *Ayatollah* in Shia Islam or the Pope or Vatican for Roman Catholics;

  ¶603:

  ¶604:

  ¶605:

¶606:

¶607:

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¶609:

¶610:

¶611:

- o ¶612: Does this contribute to a situation where Islam*ist* extremists can interpret Quranic texts in an extremist manner?

    ¶613:

    ¶614:

    ¶615:

    ¶616:

    ¶617:

    ¶618:

    ¶619:

- o ¶620: Who speaks or should speak for Sunni Islam?

¶621:

¶622:

¶623:

¶624:

¶625:

¶626:

¶627:

¶628:

¶629:

¶630:

¶631:

- o ¶632: What do you view as the solution to this challenge?

¶633:

¶634:

¶635:

¶636:

¶637:

¶638:

¶639:

- ¶640: Is Sharia compatible with democracy?

  ¶641:

  ¶642:

  ¶643:

  ¶644:

  ¶645:

  ¶646:

  - o ¶647: If not, why not?

    ¶648:

    ¶649:

    ¶650:

    ¶651:

    ¶652:

    ¶653:

    ¶654:

    ¶655:

- ¶656: Is Islam or Sharia threatened by Western scientific humanism or the secular 'Enlightenment'?

  ¶657:

  ¶658:

  ¶659:

¶660:

¶661:

¶662:

¶663: Possible Solutions

- ¶664: What do you think the West or America can do to reduce the levels of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

¶665:

¶666:

¶667:

¶668:

¶669:

¶670:

¶671:

  - o ¶672: Can you please provide examples?

¶673:
¶674:
¶675:
¶676:
¶677:
¶678:
¶679:
¶680:
¶681:

¶682: Improvements in the Image of Arab Muslim World
¶683:

- ¶684: What do you think can be done to improve the image of the Arab / Muslim world in the rest of the world?
  ¶685:
¶686:
¶687:
¶688:
¶689:
¶690:
¶691:
¶692:
¶693:
¶694:
¶695:

¶696: Any Other Matters
¶697:

- ¶698: Is there any other matter related to the research question (directly or indirectly) which you would like to mention?

¶1: **Primary Research**
¶2: **Semi-Structured Interviews**
¶3: **(Highlighted with Line Numbers)**

¶4: Participant Number: 02

¶5: **Interview Date**: 9 Jan 18

¶6: **Duration**: 2 hrs 27 mins.

¶7: (NB – the interview had to be interrupted and relocated, following an official looking Arab man sitting behind us and showing more than a degree of interest in the discussion. He arrived following the commencement of the interview and sat beside us despite us being in an almost empty room).

¶8: **Duration**: 2 hours 27 minutes

¶9: **All participant replies are in green**

¶10: **RESEARCH QUESTION**

¶11: An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim males to Islam*ist* extremism in the contemporary era.

¶12: **KEY WORDS**
¶13:
¶14: Anti-Americanism, Middle Eastern, Arab Sunni Muslim, Males, Islamist extremism and contemporary era.
¶15:
¶16: QUESTIONS

¶17: **Introduction – Early Years and America**

- ¶18: Can you please tell me a little about yourself and your formative years?

- ¶19: Born – I was born in Egypt in Alexandria in 1980.

- ¶20: I am number one of 5 children.

- ¶21: Both my parents still alive.

- ¶22: I have a happy and close family life.

- ¶23: Formative years – I lived most of my life in Egypt, in Alexandria.

- ¶24: Education – (Egypt) I hold a University Degree from the prestigious Al-Azhar Islamic University in Cairo

  - ¶25: I studied Modern Languages and Islamic Theology / Studies

- ¶26: Current Employment – I am currently working as a translator and interpreter for the government

  - ¶27: I am based in the UAE in Abu Dhabi.

- ¶28: Marital Status – I am married with a happy family life.

- ¶29: When did you first become aware of America?

¶30:

- ¶31: I heard about America first at school during history lessons and formal teaching and at home from TV and movies. This is all normal in the Arab world.

¶32:

- ¶33: Was it in a positive or negative context?

  - ¶34: It was negative.

¶35:

- ¶36: Can you please elaborate?

¶37:

  - ¶38: It was negative due the US support for the Zionist Entity (Israel). Also, there was the manipulation of the Arabs by the America and suppression of Palestine by Israel supported by America.

¶39:

- ¶40: Have you visited America?

  - o ¶41: No

¶42:

  - o ¶43: In what capacity – work, student, tourist or other?

¶44:

    - ¶45: N/A

    ¶46:

  - o ¶47: For how long did you stay?

    - ¶48: N/A

    ¶49:

  - o ¶50: Were your impressions positive or negative?

    - ¶51: N/A

    ¶52:

  - o ¶53: Have your opinions been altered in any way by your visit(s)?

    - ¶54: N/A

    ¶55:

    - ¶56: If so, in what way?

¶57:

      - ¶58: N/A

      ¶59:

- ¶60: Do you or would you:

  - o ¶61: **Purchase** American products?

    - ¶62: Yes. I think everyone does in the Middle East. But they are mostly made in China.

    ¶63:

  - o ¶64: **Wear** American brands, such as Nike, Calvin Klein, Polo Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, Levi Strauss, Gap, or American Eagle?

- - ¶65: Yes. Sure, this is normal. Most Arabs do this.

¶66:

- o **¶67: Dress** in a contemporary US style such as baseball cap, jeans, 'T' shirt, trainers?

  - - ¶68: Yes, but I do not interpret it as 'US style' as you put it but I dress in a casual and modern way NOT because it is American. I do not want to look American or an Arab dressed as an American.

¶69:

  - - ¶70: If so, which?

¶71:

    - - ¶72: Not baseball cap. Never!

      ¶73:

- o **¶74: Eat** American fast food such as McDonald's, KFC, Subway, Dunkin' Donuts or Pizza Hut?

  - - ¶75: Yes. Sure, it is just food. Also, it is made locally. So, all of the above!

    ¶76:

- o **¶77: Drink** American soft drinks such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi or Dr Pepper?

  - - ¶78: Of course. Many Arabs call them "The only game in town" (quoting President Bill Clinton).

  ¶79:

- o **¶80: Watch** American made Hollywood movies?

  - - ¶81: If so which?

    - - ¶82: Yes. It's the 'Only game in town'. I like romantic, historical, police and law movies. But I do not watch US war movies or fighting films where the Americans are always the heroes and other cultures are the bed guys. You know what I mean. There is normally a bad Arab with a gun and a crazy laugh.

- o ¶83: **Watch** US news channels such as CNN, Fox or NBC, on any media platform?

  - ¶84: Yes. Sure. Why not? I watch them on TV and internet and on websites.

  - ¶85: I watch CNN, NMC but not Fox – never! Fox is ultra-right and anti-Arab.

- o ¶86: **Listen** to American music such as Pop, Rock, Rap, Heavy Metal, R&B, or Jazz, on any music platform?

  - ¶87: If so which?

  - ¶88: At home - No.

  - ¶89: Car – No.

  - ¶90: Cafes as background – no problem, but I do not like it.

  ¶91:

  ¶92:

- o **¶93: Drive** an American car such as GMC, Ford, Chrysler or Cadillac?

  - ¶94: No!

  - ¶95: I will never do. Why would I support the oppressors of the Palestinians?

    ¶96:

- o **¶97: Possess** an Apple iPhone, iPad, MacBook, iMac or use Microsoft?

  - ¶98: If so, which?

    - ¶99: No.

    - ¶100: I am Samsung approved! ☺

¶101: **Family Relatives & Friends**

- ¶102: How is the West and America generally regarded by you, your family, relatives, and friends?

  - o ¶103: The US is seen as a country that has bias against Arabs. Also, the US supports our strategic enemy – the Zionist Entity (Israel). The US

manipulated and continues to manipulate Arabs. The US does not stand up for Arab rights. Quite the opposite.

¶104:

- ¶105: Has this changed in any way recently?

  - ¶106: No!

- ¶107: If so how?

  - ¶108: N/A

  ¶109:

- ¶110: How often is America, its foreign policy, or actions in the Middle East a topic of conversation for you, your family or friends?

¶111:

- ¶112: Often, sometimes, never?

  - ¶113: Often

- ¶114: If so, in what way?

  - ¶115: We say often "Palestine is the great injustice to Arabs" or that "Palestine is the 'First Cause' in Arab lives". Did you hear this? The US supports our strategic enemy - Israel. Also, the illegal US invasion of Iraq in 2003 has become 'its brand'.

  - ¶116: Now we have two causes – Palestine and the illegal invasion of Iraq.

¶117: **Anti-Americanism**

- ¶118: When did you first become aware of anti-Americanism?

  - ¶119: At school – history lessons and teachers who would talk to students about America. This was sometimes inside the class and sometimes outside.

¶120:

- ¶121: Within a Middle Eastern context?

¶122:

  - ¶123: Students and teachers.

¶124:

- ¶125: How did it manifest itself?

  ¶126:

  - ¶127: Palestine. Normally it was Palestine – the injustice and oppression. Then the illegal invasion of Iraq.

  ¶128:

- ¶129: Media, social commentators, politicians, religious leaders, organisations, friends, relatives, family or other?

  ¶130:

  - ¶131: Most of the above.

    ¶132:

- ¶133: Did it affect you in any way? If so how?

  ¶134:

  - ¶135: Yes. As a young person I viewed the US as an ideal society a model society in the world but later I found out that it was not a paradise or model. For those inside America, perhaps it was but for Arabs – no!

  ¶136:

- ¶137: Did it shape your views? If so how?

  ¶138:

  - ¶139: Yes. As I said above.

  ¶140:

- ¶141: Have these views changed?

  - ¶142: No. Not at all. It is still negative

  ¶143:

  - ¶144: If so how and why?

    - ¶145: I said before.

    ¶146:

- ¶147: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your school?

  ¶148:

  - o ¶149: If so, how? Why?

    ¶150:

    - ¶151: Yes. It was with the teachers but they then had an influence and impact on the students and pupils. It was normally centred around the actions of the US in the Middle East.

    ¶152:

- ¶153: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your college or university?

  - o ¶154: Yes. Sure. We were more aware and more informed at that age. It was more acute.

  ¶155:

  - o ¶156: If so, how? Why?

    - ¶157: Then, it was Palestine and Israel, before 2003.

    ¶158:

- ¶159: Are you consciously aware of anti-Americanism in the Arab media?

  - o ¶160: Yes. Sure. Everyone knows this.

  ¶161:

- ¶162: If so – which parts of the media?

  - o ¶163: It is strong in some TV channels and less in others. It is strong in local and independent channels and the internet but less so in state run channels.

    ¶164:

  - o ¶165: What effect impact this have on your opinions?

    - ¶166: (No answer given)

    ¶167:

- ¶168: To what degree if any does American foreign policy in the Middle East have on Arab Sunni anti-Americanism?

    o ¶169: A great degree! You know, if they just stopped interfering in the Arab World and exerted some control over Israel, it might be different. But they don't. Many Arabs say that "Americas are the new Roman Empire; they do what they want".

¶170:

    o ¶171: How do you view American foreign policy?

¶172:

        - ¶173: There is strong US bias against Arabs. Arab rights are not respected; they are not the same as Israeli rights. Trump caused a huge rage and hatred because of the decision to appoint Al-Quds (Jerusalem) as the capital of Israel. As we say, "They will reap what they sow!"

    ¶174:

- ¶175: To what degree if any does the presence of American military bases in the Middle East and especially in Saudi Arabia, contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

    o ¶176: This is a big issue! Why? "Because as some say, "You have brought the enemy to our land!" Do we the Arabs have military bases in America?

¶177:

- ¶178: To what degree if any does 'Americanisation' (globalisation) and its impact on Arab culture and Islamic life contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

    o ¶179: In the early days like the Sykes-Picot and Balfour Promise, we the Arabs blamed the empires of the French and British. But after World War II America was seen as the only real superpower. But that was history; the Arabs who witnessed that are all dead. Now, todays Arabs are eyewitnesses to the illegal US invasion of Iraq. They can also see what is happening in Israel and Palestine. It is not history, it is now. We have seen it with our own eyes!

¶180:

- ¶181: To what degree do Middle Eastern Arabs blame America for preexisting problems within the Middle East?

- o ¶182: Is it justified?

- o ¶183: Look, I have spoken about this already. Is that OK?

¶184: Causes of Contemporary Anti-Americanism

- ¶185: What do you think are the causes of contemporary anti-Americanism within the Middle East?

  - o ¶186: Can you please provide some examples?

    - ¶187: Yes - Palestine – Past – Present and Future, the illegal invasion of Iraq, stirring some Arab countries against other Arab countries to divide the Arabs, selling weapons to both sides, selling weapons to Saddam Hussein to block Iran, supporting him in the Iraq – v – Iran war, then later invading Iraq. Is that enough?

    ¶188:

  - o ¶189: Is your opinion commonly held?

    - ¶190: Yes

    ¶191:

  - o ¶192: What are the opposing views?

    - ¶193: Israel!

    ¶194:

¶195: Sayings or Common Phrases

- ¶196: What Arab phrases or sayings about the West or America are most memorable to you, or come quickly to your mind?

  - o ¶197: You know this saying? "If you plant wars, you cannot reap flowers". The Arab Street say, "America is the Shaytan Kabīr (great devil)" or "America is the al-kazab kabīr (great liar)".

    ¶198:

  - o ¶199: Are these common?

    - ¶200: Yes

    ¶201:

  - o ¶202: Do you agree with them?

- ¶203: Yes

¶204: **Historical Events**

- ¶205: What do you consider to be the most important historical events in relation to the West's historical relationship with Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

  ¶206:

    o ¶207: Can you explain why?

      - ¶208: *Sure, Al-Haroob Al-Salebeah* – Crusades, Sykes–Picot, Balfour, Tripartite Aggression in 1956 against Egypt, 1973 war and the US support for Israel. The US saved Israel.

- ¶209: How important or relevant do you think historical events such as the Crusades are to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o ¶210: They are very important. They are part of us and form an unbroken connection from the Crusades to Bush declaring a Crusade against the Arabs. Also, you know what the Arabs say about the Balfour promise? "He who did not own it, gave it to he who did not deserve it".

  ¶211:

    o ¶212: How important is it to you?

  ¶213:

      - ¶214: This is very important.

    ¶215:

- ¶216: What historical events can you recall or are important to you in relation to Western interventionism in the Middle East?

    o ¶217: Above

  ¶218:

- ¶219: How important do you think the colonial period is to Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o ¶220: How important is it to you?

      - ¶221: It is still negative. It is still used against the British and French, especially when they try to intervene in the Arab World.

    ¶222:

- ¶223: Do you think that these events are relevant to modern Arab life?

    - ¶224: Yes. They form part of our history. In the West, history is old; it is dead and from the past. In the Middle East, history is now, today and unbroken. It is important to us what the West did to us in the Crusades or during empire or more recently. Your history is dead because you are at peace. We are not at peace and for us our history is still a living thing.

¶225: **Islam*ism***

- ¶226: What do you understand by the word Islam*ism*?

    - ¶227: It is related to Political Islam.

    ¶228:

- ¶229: When did you first become aware of Islam*ism* or Islam*ist* ideologues?

    - ¶230: If so, which ideologues?

        - ¶231: At university. They were there.

    ¶232:

    - ¶233: How did their message affect you or others that you know?

        - ¶234: No answer (but a concerned look). Look, I cannot talk about this. It is too dangerous to talk about this.

¶235: **Palestine & Israel**

- ¶236: How important is the Palestinian issue to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    - ¶237: It is our number one 'living' issue. The Iraq invasion is over but we will never forget.

¶238:

    - ¶239: If this is important, explain why?

    ¶240:

        - ¶241: This is big. It is strategic for us, Israel and the West.

    ¶242:

    - ¶243: Is this issue reducing in importance in Arab minds in any way?

- ¶244: No and it will not for the Arabs.

¶245:

- ¶246: How important is the Palestinian issue to you?

    o ¶247: Very important. They insult our brothers.

    o ¶248:

    ¶249: If so, why?

¶250:

- ¶251: No answer

¶252:

    o ¶253: Is this issue reducing in importance in your mind?

    - ¶254: No

¶255:

- ¶256: Can you please elaborate?

¶257:

- ¶258: No (getting a little upset)

¶259:

- ¶260: How do you feel about the 1948, 1967, 1973 wars?

    o ¶261: These are battles in a long war. The Crusaders stayed 300 years. This is a long war. America as a superpower is weakening. It is spending its wealth on wars. Their support for Israel may weaken in the long term.

¶262:

¶263:

- ¶264: Do you view Israel as an illegal occupier of Palestine and Palestinian territory?

    o ¶265: Yes! It is an illegal occupier of Arab land.

¶266:

    o ¶267: If so, why?

¶268:

- ¶269: I said before

¶270:

- ¶271: Do most Arab Sunni Muslims accept the existence of the State of Israel?

  - ¶272: Do you?

    - ¶273: No. Street Arabs say, "Israel is Al-Kayan Al-Sahyuni" (the Zionist Entity). It occupies Palestine which is Arab land. The average people will never accept this. But not the leaders when they are in power because they play power games. When Arab leaders leave power then they can and do speak the truth.

  ¶274:

  - ¶275: If not, why not?

¶276:

  ¶277: (Not answered)

¶278:

- ¶279: How do you view the Israeli occupation of Lebanon which lasted 18 years (1982-2000)?

  - ¶280: This was an illegal invasion of an Arab land.

- ¶281: Do you view the State of Israel as legitimate?

  - ¶282: No. Never! That is a ridiculous question.

¶283:

  - ¶284: If not, why?

¶285:

- ¶286: Do you view Israel as a terrorist state?

  - ¶287: Yes! Of course it is. It commits state crimes against innocent Palestinians; it bombs women and children. What do you call it?

¶288:

  - ¶289: If so, why?

¶290:

- ¶291: (No answer)

¶292:

- ¶293: To what extent is anti-Americanism caused by US support for the State of Israel or linked to the US/ Israeli alliance?

  o ¶294: More than 90%.

¶295:

  o ¶296: How do you feel about American support for Israel?

¶297:

- ¶298: No Answer.

¶299:

  o ¶300: How do you feel about this alliance?

- ¶301: No answer

¶302:

- ¶303: To what extent is America's support for Israeli used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab Sunni Muslims?

  o ¶304: A lot, probably more than 80%. We are already brought up as haters of the US. These groups nourish and manipulate it. Every family in the Arab World bring up their family as haters of Israel and America and for good reason. Look at Iraq. Look at Palestine.

¶305:

- ¶306: Does the US support for Israel undermine its purported independence in negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?

  o ¶307: Yes of course. In the West this may seem a reasonable question to ask but to Arabs, it is a ridiculous question. Sorry, I am not getting at you but the US apply a double standard. How can they be independent? This is a new brand for the US in this negotiation, if you know what I mean. Do you know the common Arab saying "Its protector is its thief".

¶308:

- ¶309: Do many Arab Sunni Muslims conflate Judaism with Israelis or Zionism?

- o   ¶310: Yes

¶311:

- o   ¶312: If so, which? In what way? Why?

    - ¶313: Yes. Sure. But it is mostly due to a lack of education. Also, many Israelis conflate Islam with extremism – so does Trump!

¶314:

- ¶315: Do you consider Hamas (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah*) to be a terrorist organisation? If so why? If not, why not?

    - o   ¶316: No. Of course not. They are a resistance organisation. Were the ANC terrorists? Sure to the apartheid government they were but to the world?

¶317:

- ¶318: Do you consider the military wing of Hamas (*Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades*) to be a terrorist organisation?

    - o   ¶319: No. Why should I? I need to highlight one thing. We Arabs say, "Does Hamas plan attacks against Sweden, Argentina or Japan? No, only against Israel". The Charlie Hebdo attack. Many Arabs said: this is what they deserve now, they did against us terrible things, the US gave Arabs a moral reason to hate them; so when tornadoes and attacks etc hit the US or West; we say good, we are happy!!

¶320:

- o   ¶321: Were the Intifadas against Israel justified?

¶322:

    - ¶323: Yes, of course they were. It was resistance.

¶324:

- o   ¶325: If so, why?

    - ¶326: In the West it may be negative. But to the Arabs, this is something to be proud of.

¶327:

- ¶328: Do you consider Hezbollah to be a terrorist organisation?

618

¶329:

 o ¶330: If so, why?

  • ¶331: No.

 ¶332:

• ¶333: Do you consider Hezbollah's attacks on Israel to be terrorist? If so why?

 ¶334:

 o ¶335: No. How can it be? It is resistance.

  ¶336:

 o ¶337: If not, why not?

 ¶338:

  • ¶339: If Palestinians were living in peace and Israel did not steal their land, allowed returns and Al-Quds (Jerusalem) to be capital and if Palestinians and Hezbollah attacked then – then yes. But now no!

 ¶340:

• ¶341: Were the deaths of 7 x family members of a Palestinian family (Ghaliya family) on Gaza beach in 2006 caused by an Israeli artillery barrage, an act of terrorism?

 o ¶342: Yes, of course. Killing civilians is a terrorist act. The West says it is a terrorist act if Da'ish kill civilians, then why is it not if the Israelis do?

 ¶343:

 o ¶344: If so, please explain. If not, please explain.

 ¶345:

• ¶346: In the 2014 Gaza conflict, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) state that 1,462 x Palestinian civilians were killed by Israeli Defence Force (IDF) aerial bombing, tank and artillery fire and that 5 x Israeli civilians were killed by Hamas rockets.

 ¶347:

 o ¶348: What is your view on the proportionality of this?

- ¶349: This is the logic of the jungle. When the Serbs did this to Muslims in the Balkans they were taken to the European Court or Human Rights. Why not Israel? This is because of the US support of Israel. It is immoral and a double standard!

¶350:

- ¶351: In what way does this influence your opinion of America and its support for Israel?

  - ¶352: Greatly. More hatred to US. I will not say anymore on this.

¶353:

- ¶354: In what way does this impact on Arab minds in relation to America's support for Israel?

  - ¶355: A lot.

¶356:

¶357:

- ¶358: Does it contribute to anti-Americanism?

  - ¶359: Yes, of course.

¶360:

- ¶361: Do you have any other related views?

  - ¶362: Not for here. Not for your study and not when you are writing it down.

¶363:

- ¶364: Do you believe that America considers 'Israeli blood' to be more valuable than Arab 'Palestinian blood'?

  - ¶365: Yes, of course.

¶366:

  - ¶367: If so why?

¶368:

  - ¶369: (No reply)

¶370:

- ¶371: In what way?

  - ¶372: (No reply)

¶373: **US Led Invasion of Iraq**

- ¶374: Is the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq still a 'burning issue' to Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - ¶375: Yes, of course! I mentioned this earlier.

¶376:

  - ¶377: If yes, explain.

    - ¶378: (No reply)

  ¶379:

  - ¶380: If no, explain.

    - ¶381: (No reply)

¶382:

  - ¶383: How do you feel about it?

  ¶384:

    - ¶385: (No reply)

- ¶386: **Iraqi loss of life due to the war**

¶387:

  - ¶388: John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health calculated that 655,000 Iraqis died as a consequence of the 2003 Iraq War (reported in *The Lancet* medical journal).

  ¶389:

  - ¶390: The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that 151,000 violent deaths in Iraq occurred from March 2003 to June 2006.

¶391:

  - ¶392: Classified Pentagon files released by WikiLeaks recorded in excess of 66,000 civilians killed in the Iraq War between 2004 and 2009.

  ¶393:

- ¶394: How do you feel about these statistics?

    - o ¶395: I agree! George W Bush said that he was bringing democracy. All he brought was: starvation, diseases, poverty, death and destruction! That is what the US brought! You know that Iraq was the centre of our ancient civilisation what you in the West call the 'cradle of civilisation' and the Americans did this to it!

    ¶396:

- ¶397: Is the loss of Iraqi life still a 'burning issue'?

    ¶398:

    - o ¶399: (No reply but upset)

    ¶400:

    ¶401:

    - o ¶402: With you?

        ¶403:

        - ¶404: (No reply but upset)

        ¶405:

        ¶406:

    - o ¶407: With other Arabs?

    ¶408:

        - ¶409: (No reply but upset)

    ¶410:

- ¶411: How important to modern Arab Sunni Muslims are the documented American atrocities and human rights violations at *Abu Ghraib* detention facility, the assaults on *Fallujah* (Apr & Nov 2004), the use of extraordinary rendition, or the existence of Guantanamo Bay detention facility?

    - o ¶412: Very important. It brings more hatred of America.

    ¶413:

- ¶414: To what extent do you think the US led invasion of Iraq contributed to:

    - o ¶415: A growth in anti-Americanism?

- ¶416: Huge! I said before. It is our Arab dignity, being oppressed, insulted and humiliated. If you want to humiliate an Arab Muslim, take off his clothes and humiliate him and this is what they did. Those photographs will never leave us. That is what America does to the Arabs and the Arab World.

¶417:

o ¶418: The formation of *Daesh* or ISIS?

- ¶419: One created the conditions for the other like an open wound to disease. The Americans created the open wound and the disease of Da'ish came into it.

¶420:

- ¶421: Who do you think created Daesh?

¶422:

- ¶423: In the Arab street they say the US.

¶424:

- ¶425: What is the common opinion of the 'Arab Street'?

- ¶426: As I said. They know that the US invaded Iraq and like in Afghanistan where the US supported extreme Islamist fighters like Bin laden and others, they created the situation for Da'ish to come.

¶427:

o ¶428: Destabilisation of the region -

¶429: Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Influence of Iran or Turkey or others?

- ¶430: Yes, of course. The Arab World – yes. The Arabian Gulf countries are especially nervous and feel threatened. Look at Saudi, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria, Iraq – Lebanon. Sunni led power is blocked by Iran. Shia power is growing. It is the new power battle, Shia Iran against the Sunni. But the Sunni are split. Turkey and Qatar are separate from the weakened Sunni Gulf. Now Iraq is a Shia government under Iranian control. That is what America did!

¶431:

- o ¶432: Increased Islam*ist* extremism?

    - • ¶433: (No reply)

  ¶434:

- • ¶435: What do you believe are the consequences of the invasion?

    - o ¶436: I already said

  ¶437:

- • ¶438: What do you think about the US led invasion of Iraq?

    - o ¶439: (No reply)

  ¶440:

- • ¶441: What do you think was the primary reason for the invasion?

  ¶442:

    - o ¶443: (No reply)

  ¶444:

    - o ¶445: What is the common reason given for the invasion in the 'Arab street'?

        - • ¶446: People say Iraq's oil and Iraq had a strong army with modern weapons and formed a threat to Israel. Some Arabs say, "They invaded for oil and Israel".

      ¶447:

      ¶448:

    - o ¶449: What is the common reason given by Islam*ists*?

        - • ¶450: (No reply)

¶451: **Daesh / ISIS / Jihād / Syria**

- • ¶452: What do you think draws some Arab Sunni Muslims to *Daesh* or ISIS?

    - o ¶453: Islamic fundamentalism, it was not money as some say. The Arab world has many poor people. They are not attracted by money.

      ¶454:

- ¶455: Islam*ists* derive their Islam*ic* theological credibility by claiming to be waging *jihād* and living according to the Hadith and Sunnah, similar to the earlier caliphates. To what extent is this correct?

  ¶456:

  - o ¶457: Yes

  ¶458:

  - o ¶459: Can you please provide examples?

  ¶460:

    - • ¶461: Not here

  ¶462:

- ¶463: What do you understand as the meaning of *jihād*?

  - o ¶464: Religious war!

  ¶465:

  - o ¶466: In what circumstances may it be waged?

    ¶467:

      - • ¶468: In Islam, it should be ordered by a leader of a country when attacked. It has controls.

      - • ¶469: Don't kill: women, children, old people, disabled, don't destroy buildings, property, plants, don't steal. Only against people who carry weapons.

      ¶470:

- ¶471: What do you understand as the meaning of the terms *Takfir* and *Kafir* or unbeliever?

  - o ¶472: It is declaring someone to be an apostate. But who should say this? Muftis but we should not kill someone for this.

  ¶473:

  - o ¶474: How do you feel about this concept in the modern world?

    - • ¶475: It is not appropriate to modern life.

    ¶476:

- ¶477: Islam*ist* extremism can be said to grow in the 'fertile ground of ignorance'. Is this correct?

    o ¶478: Yes

¶479:

    o ¶480: To what extent does this fuel anti-Americanism?

¶481:

        • ¶482: A lot!

    ¶483:

    ¶484:

    o ¶485: Can you please provide examples?

        • ¶486: No reply and then after a pause – Palestine, Iraq and Syria.

¶487:

- ¶488: It is said by some Arab Sunni Muslims that "*Daesh* are extreme and do terrible things but they 'fight' the Syrian regime with commitment and the other opposition groups do not".

    o ¶489: To what extent is this correct, if at all?

    ¶490:

        • ¶491: No!

    ¶492:

- ¶493: Was the burning alive of Muath Al-Kasasbeh a terrorist act or an act of *jihād*?

    o ¶494: A sin. A terrible sin against Islam

¶495:

- ¶496: What do you think of ISIS attacks on Shia *masjids* (mosques) and the Shia community?

    o ¶497: It is against Islam. They interpret Islam as they want – their own version to serve their own political agenda.

¶498:

¶499:

- ¶500: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be fair and reasonable?

    o   ¶501: No!

¶502:

    o   ¶503: If so, why?

        ¶504:

    o   ¶505: If not, why not?

¶506:

            - ¶507: (No reply)

        ¶508:

- ¶509: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be terrorist?

    o   ¶510: Political

¶511:

    o   ¶512: If so, why?

        ¶513:

    o   ¶514: If not, why not?

¶515:

            - ¶516: (No reply)

¶517: **'Arab Spring' (*Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī*)**

- ¶518: What have been the consequences of the *Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī* - 'Arab Spring' for Middle Eastern Arabs?

    o   ¶519: Negative

¶520:

¶521:

- ¶522: What was the impact of the 'Arab Spring' on the current situation in the Muslim world and its relationship with the outside world?

¶523:

- o ¶524: Negative. Declining economy, more terror attacks, more terror group and more Salafists.

¶525:

- ¶526: Do you like or use the term 'Arab Spring'?

  - o ¶527: This is a Western term.

¶528:

  - o ¶529: If not, why not?

¶530:

    - ¶531: No reply

¶532:

¶533:

- ¶534: Do you view the 'Arab Spring' positively or negatively?

  - o ¶535: This is a Western term

¶536:

- ¶537: Do you consider the death of Mohamed Bouazizi to have been worth it?

  - o ¶538: His death was for nothing! Some say if he knew what would be the result of his death, he would not do it.

¶539:

¶540: Muslim Brotherhood

- ¶541: The Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) are viewed as an extremist organisation in some countries but not in others and is banned in some countries but not in others; do you believe that it is extremist?

  - o ¶542: The MB has two wings – moderate and extremists

¶543:

  - o ¶544: Do you believe that it should be banned?

¶545:

    - ¶546: Yes

¶547:

¶548:

- ¶549: What do you think of their recent experience in Egypt?

  - ¶550: Very bad. They failed the people

¶551:

- ¶552: Are the teachings of Sayyid Qutb relevant to modern Arabs?

  - ¶553: Never! Not even relevant for his own time

¶554:

- ¶555: It is said that political Islamists such as the Muslim Brotherhood only gain popularity because they replace the social and other services that should be delivered by many Arab governments.

¶556:

- ¶557: Is this correct?

  - ¶558: Yes

¶559:

- ¶560: Does this contribute to anti-Americanism?

¶561:

  - ¶562: No! The Muslim Brotherhood leadership have citizenship in the US and UK. Citizenship! The Brotherhood people are living in comfort with children in US and UK.

¶563:

  - ¶564: If so, how?

    - ¶565: (No reply)

¶566:

- ¶567: Does this contribute to extremism?

¶568:

  - ¶569: Yes

¶570:

- ¶571: If so how?

  - ¶572: I said

  ¶573:

- ¶574: Is the Muslim Brotherhood anti-Western?

  - ¶575: Verbally when addressing their own supporters but they have contacts with US – to get into power in Egypt

  o ¶576: If so, in what way?

  ¶577:

  - ¶578: (No reply)

¶579: Islam

- ¶580: Do you think that Islam is a religion of peace?

- ¶581: If so why? If not why not?

  ¶582:

  o ¶583: Yes

  ¶584:

  ¶585:

- ¶586: What do you think that some and possibly many Westerners conflate Islam with Islamist terrorism?

  o ¶587: This is because of media coverage in the West. It is also lack of understanding of Arabs and Islam. There is also lack of study of Middle East and Arabs – not Western advisors sat in air-conditioned offices talking about the Middle East and the Arabs, advising decision makers on wrong advice! The West have derived many words from the word Islam – lexicon, so to speak; you say this? Islamist, Islamist extremist, Islamic terrorism etc. In the Arab world we do not have Christianist, Christianization, Christian fundamentalism. You see? It has relevance to language and imagery. If something bad happens, by the West or not to Muslims, in our media coverage; we do not refer to him by religion but nationality.

  o ¶588: But in the West they refer to Islam. This creates conflation as you call it!

¶589:

- ¶590: Why are 'radical Muslims' seen as representative of Islam in the West?

    o ¶591: Because media do not show educated, cultured Muslims on Western TV. Also, the radical Muslims want to be shown on TV to their supporters

¶592:

- ¶593: Sunni Islam has no globally accepted central religious leader or doctrinal centre such as the Grand *Ayatollah* in Shia Islam or the Pope or Vatican for Roman Catholics;

    o ¶594: Muslims in the world are 1.6 Billion. Only a small number are violent. Most listen to and have a moderate understanding

¶595:

    o ¶596: Does this contribute to a situation where Islam*ist* extremists can interpret Quranic texts in an extremist manner?

¶597:

        - ¶598: We do not need anyone to stand between man and Allah. Extremists use Islam – it is not real Islam

    ¶599:

    o ¶600: Who speaks or should speak for Sunni Islam?

        - ¶601: Holy Qur'an is our official book. It is interpreted by the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar Islamic University in Cairo.

¶602:

    o ¶603: What do you view as the solution to this challenge?

    ¶604:

        - ¶605: It will go with time.

    ¶606:

- ¶607: Is Sharia compatible with democracy?

    o ¶608: Yes

¶609:

    o ¶610: If not, why not?

¶611:

- ¶612: Is Islam or Sharia threatened by Western scientific humanism or the secular 'Enlightenment'?

    o ¶613: There is no contradiction between science and Islam and belief.

¶614:

¶615: Possible Solutions

- ¶616: What do you think the West or America can do to reduce the levels of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o ¶617: A just and fair solution to Palestine. Stop immediately the support for Israel.

    o ¶618: Stop interfering in Arab affairs. More collaboration between the West / US and Arab world. A greater understanding of the Arabs, Arab culture and our religion by the US and West.

¶619:

    o ¶620: Can you please provide examples?

¶621:

¶622: Improvements in the Image of Arab Muslim World

¶623:

- ¶624: What do you think can be done to improve the image of the Arab / Muslim world in the rest of the world?

    ¶625:

¶626:

¶627: Any Other Matters

¶628:

- ¶629: Is there any other matter related to the research question (directly or indirectly) which you would like to mention?

    o ¶630: I need to go home!

<p style="text-align:center">¶1: Primary Research
¶2: Semi-Structured Interviews
¶3: (Highlighted with Line Numbers)</p>

¶4: Participant Number: 03

¶5: **Interview Date**: 3 February 2018

¶6: **Duration**: 2 hours 12 minutes

¶7: **All participant replies are in green**

¶8: **RESEARCH QUESTION**

¶9: An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim males to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era.

¶10: **KEY WORDS**
¶11:
¶12: Anti-Americanism, Middle Eastern, Arab Sunni Muslim, Males, Islamist extremism and contemporary era.
¶13:
¶14: QUESTIONS

¶15: **Introduction – Early Years and America**

- ¶16: Can you please tell me a little about yourself and your formative years?

    - ¶17: I was born in Egypt within a normal family and I have a Bachelor's degree from a university in Egypt. I am married, have young children and live in the UAE.

- ¶18: When did you first become aware of America?

    ¶19:

    - ¶20: I guess like most people in the Arab world, I heard about America first from the TV, newspapers and other media. Also at school.

    ¶21:

    - ¶22: Was it in a positive or negative context?

- ¶23: It was mixed.

¶24:

- ¶25: Can you please elaborate?

¶26:

- ¶27: As I said, it was mixed.

¶28:

- ¶29: Have you visited America?

  - ¶30: No

¶31:

  - ¶32: In what capacity – work, student, tourist or other?

¶33:

    - ¶34: N/A

    ¶35:

  - ¶36: For how long did you stay?

    - ¶37: N/A

    ¶38:

  - ¶39: Were your impressions positive or negative?

    - ¶40: N/A

    ¶41:

  - ¶42: Have your opinions been altered in any way by your visit(s)?

    - ¶43: N/A

    ¶44:

    - ¶45: If so, in what way?

¶46:

      - ¶47: N/A

      ¶48:

- ¶49: Do you or would you:

    - o ¶50: **Purchase** American products?

        - ¶51: Like most people from all over the world I buy and use some American products but that does not mean I support America, I just buy what I like.

      ¶52:

    - o ¶53: **Wear** American brands, such as Nike, Calvin Klein, Polo Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, Levi Strauss, Gap, or American Eagle?

        - ¶54: Some, like most people.

  ¶55:

    - o ¶56: **Dress** in a contemporary US style such as baseball cap, jeans, 'T' shirt, trainers?

        - ¶57: Some, like jeans and T shirts.

  ¶58:

        - ¶59: If so, which?

  ¶60:

            - ¶61: I already said.

          ¶62:

    - o ¶63: **Eat** American fast food such as McDonald's, KFC, Subway, Dunkin' Donuts or Pizza Hut?

        - ¶64: Yes.

      ¶65:

    - o ¶66: **Drink** American soft drinks such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi or Dr Pepper?

        - ¶67: Yes.

      ¶68:

    - o ¶69: **Watch** American made Hollywood movies?

        - ¶70: If so which?

            - ¶71: Yes.

- ¶72: **Watch** US news channels such as CNN, Fox or NBC, on any media platform?

  - ¶73: Yes.

- ¶74: **Listen** to American music such as Pop, Rock, Rap, Heavy Metal, R&B, or Jazz, on any music platform?

  - ¶75: If so which?

  - ¶76: No.

¶77:

- **¶78: Drive** an American car such as GMC, Ford, Chrysler or Cadillac?

  - ¶79: No!

  - ¶80: I will never do. Why would I support the oppressors of the Palestinians?

    ¶81:

- **¶82: Possess** an Apple iPhone, iPad, MacBook, iMac or use Microsoft?

  - ¶83: If so, which?

    - ¶84: No but that is not because they are from the US. I like Samsung.

¶85: **Family Relatives & Friends**

- ¶86: How is the West and America generally regarded by you, your family, relatives, and friends?

  - ¶87: Mixed.

¶88:

  - **¶89:** Has this changed in any way recently?

    - ¶90: No.

  - ¶91: If so how?

    - ¶92: N/A

      ¶93:

- ¶94: How often is America, its foreign policy, or actions in the Middle East a topic of conversation for you, your family or friends?

¶95:

- ¶96: Often, sometimes, never?

  - ¶97: Often

- ¶98: If so, in what way?

  - ¶99: There is a need to separate before and after the 'Arab Spring'. Before the Arab Spring, Arabs were mostly interested in the Palestinian issue, Israel and Al-Quds (Jerusalem). This applied to nearly all Arabs. But after the Arab Spring it is internal issues which are in Arab minds, like Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and others. With Syria it is about freedom and what it will look like after the war and who will rule it?

  - ¶100: Tunisia for example is an educated Arab country. People there are very well educated and first in the Arab World in education but they are seeking freedom. They had it for a time but now may be losing it again. We are not sure.

¶101: **Anti-Americanism**

- ¶102: When did you first become aware of anti-Americanism?

  - ¶103: At school.

¶104:

- ¶105: Within a Middle Eastern context?

¶106:

  - ¶107: Teachers and some students.

¶108:

- ¶109: How did it manifest itself?

  ¶110:

  - ¶111: It was usually about the Palestinian problem.

  ¶112:

- o ¶113: Media, social commentators, politicians, religious leaders, organisations, friends, relatives, family or other?

  ¶114:

  - ¶115: All of the above.

  ¶116:

- o ¶117: Did it affect you in any way? If so how?

  ¶118:

  - ¶119: Yes.

  ¶120:

- o ¶121: Did it shape your views? If so how?

  ¶122:

  - ¶123: Yes.

  ¶124:

- o ¶125: Have these views changed?

  - ¶126: No.

  ¶127:

  - ¶128: If so how and why?

    - ¶129: No reply.

  ¶130:

- ¶131: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your school?

  ¶132:

  - o ¶133: If so, how? Why?

  ¶134:

  - ¶135: Yes.

  ¶136:

- ¶137: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your college or university?

- ¶138: Yes.

¶139:

- ¶140: If so, how? Why?

  - ¶141: The whole Palestinian issue.

¶142:

- ¶143: Are you consciously aware of anti-Americanism in the Arab media?

  - ¶144: Before – yes, but after the Arab Spring that has changed. Now Arab leaders want a strong relationship with Trump and they have stopped open criticism of America on state channels. If media is state owned then it has been stopped. Also, people are more interested in jobs and getting money to eat. The failed Arab Spring has made governments feel more vulnerable – leaders and people.

¶145:

- ¶146: If so – which parts of the media?

  - ¶147: Before the Arab Spring – there was a lot in the Arab media. But now, much of that has gone. There still is some subtle criticism.

¶148:

  - ¶149: What effect impact this have on your opinions?

    - ¶150: (No answer given)

¶151:

- ¶152: To what degree if any does American foreign policy in the Middle East have on Arab Sunni anti-Americanism?

  - ¶153: A lot.

¶154:

  - ¶155: How do you view American foreign policy?

¶156:

    - ¶157: America is aggressive and does not care about world opinion. They own the UN or can ignore them. As people say, "They do what they want".

¶158:

- ¶159: To what degree if any does the presence of American military bases in the Middle East and especially in Saudi Arabia, contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

    o ¶160: I am not going to talk about that.

    ¶161:

- ¶162: To what degree if any does 'Americanisation' (globalisation) and its impact on Arab culture and Islamic life contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

    o ¶163: A lot.

¶164:

- ¶165: To what degree do Middle Eastern Arabs blame America for preexisting problems within the Middle East?

    o ¶166: Is it justified?

    o ¶167: America's intervention in the Arab World is the problem. For example, Trump's decision to make Al-Quds (Jerusalem) the political center and main city of Israel. No one forced him to do this. He an American decided to do this.

¶168: **Causes of Contemporary Anti-Americanism**

- ¶169: What do you think are the causes of contemporary anti-Americanism within the Middle East?

    o ¶170: Can you please provide some examples?

        - ¶171: Now it is Trump, the Muslim ban to America, Trump's Islamophobia, Trump's decision to move the US embassy to Al-Quds and the Palestinian issue, America's support for Israel, the American invasion of Iraq.

        - ¶172: Also, people will not say to you but America's support for autocratic leaders in the Arab world that keep the poor Arabs poor. You know that there are over one hundred million Egyptians and most of them are poor and kept poor. Did you know that Cairo has double the people of London but most of those people are poor and kept poor. In Egypt and across the Arab World there is a big gap between some people with money and most people who are poor.

- ¶173: I don't want to say any more about this. (Note: participant – slightly distressed).

¶174:

o ¶175: Is your opinion commonly held?

- ¶176: Yes.

¶177:

o ¶178: What are the opposing views?

- ¶179: No reply.

¶180:

¶181: Sayings or Common Phrases

- ¶182: What Arab phrases or sayings about the West or America are most memorable to you, or come quickly to your mind?

    o ¶183: "America gives you either food or dogs".

¶184:

    o ¶185: Are these common?

- ¶186: This is well known in Egypt.

¶187:

    o ¶188: Do you agree with them?

- ¶189: Yes

¶190: Historical Events

- ¶191: What do you consider to be the most important historical events in relation to the West's historical relationship with Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

¶192:

    o ¶193: Can you explain why?

- ¶194: As I said, recently, Trump's decision over Al-Quds (Jerusalem).

¶195:

- ¶196: How important or relevant do you think historical events such as the Crusades are to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o ¶197: They are important, especially if it is the West interfering in the Middle East.

  ¶198:

    o ¶199: How important is it to you?

  ¶200:

      - ¶201: It is important.

      ¶202:

- ¶203: What historical events can you recall or are important to you in relation to Western interventionism in the Middle East?

    o ¶204: From Crusades up to Trump.

  ¶205:

- ¶206: How important do you think the colonial period is to Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o ¶207: How important is it to you?

      - ¶208: Mixed. In North Africa, the French involvement is more important, for the Egyptians it is the British and so on. Here (UAE) it does not seem important because they were never a colony.

      ¶209:

    o ¶210: Do you think that these events are relevant to modern Arab life?

      - ¶211: Yes.

¶212: **Islam*ism***

- ¶213: What do you understand by the word Islam*ism*?

    o ¶214: Islamism is Political Islam.

  ¶215:

- ¶216: When did you first become aware of Islam*ism* or Islam*ist* ideologues?

    o ¶217: If so, which ideologues?

- ¶218: University.

¶219:

o ¶220: How did their message affect you or others that you know?

- ¶221: I am not going to talk about that.

¶222: Palestine & Israel

- ¶223: How important is the Palestinian issue to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o ¶224: It is very important.

    o ¶225: If this is important, explain why?

¶226:

- ¶227: No reply.

¶228:

o ¶229: Is this issue reducing in importance in Arab minds in any way?

- ¶230: No.

¶231:

- ¶232: How important is the Palestinian issue to you?

    o ¶233: Extremely important.

    o ¶234:

    ¶235: If so, why?

¶236:

- ¶237: No reply.

¶238:

o ¶239: Is this issue reducing in importance in your mind?

- ¶240: Not at all.

¶241:

- ¶242: Can you please elaborate?

¶243:

- ¶244: No reply.

  ¶245:

- ¶246: How do you feel about the 1948, 1967, 1973 wars?

  - ¶247: I and other Arabs call the 1948 War - *Al-Nakba* (The Catastrophe), the 1967 War - The Day of Humiliation and the 1973 War – 'The Day of Pride but Stolen Victory'.

  ¶248:

- ¶249: Do you view Israel as an illegal occupier of Palestine and Palestinian territory?

  - ¶250: Yes.

    ¶251:

  - ¶252: If so, why?

  ¶253:

    - ¶254: No reply.

    ¶255:

- ¶256: Do most Arab Sunni Muslims accept the existence of the State of Israel?

  - ¶257: Do you?

    - ¶258: This is difficult. It is not as simple as some people think. The old people, like my parents, do not accept Israel and will never accept it. But many of the young see that in Israel Arabs have rights, education and democracy and that is more than most Arabs have in their own country. The young see it.

    ¶259:

  - ¶260: If not, why not?

  ¶261:

    ¶262: (Not answered)

  ¶263:

- ¶264: How do you view the Israeli occupation of Lebanon which lasted 18 years (1982-2000)?

- o ¶265: It was wrong.

- ¶266: Do you view the State of Israel as legitimate?

  - o ¶267: No. Never!

¶268:

  - o ¶269: If not, why?

¶270:

- ¶271: Do you view Israel as a terrorist state?

  - o ¶272: No. It is important to make a distinction between Jewish, Zionism and terrorists.

¶273:

  - o ¶274: If so, why?

¶275:

    - ¶276: (No answer)

¶277:

- ¶278: To what extent is anti-Americanism caused by US support for the State of Israel or linked to the US/ Israeli alliance?

  - o ¶279: Most.

¶280:

  - o ¶281: How do you feel about American support for Israel?

¶282:

    - ¶283: No Answer.

¶284:

  - o ¶285: How do you feel about this alliance?

    - ¶286: Still no answer

¶287:

- ¶288: To what extent is America's support for Israeli used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab Sunni Muslims?

- o ¶289: No reply.

¶290:

- ¶291: Does the US support for Israel undermine its purported independence in negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?

  - o ¶292: No reply.

¶293:

- ¶294: Do many Arab Sunni Muslims conflate Judaism with Israelis or Zionism?

  - o ¶295: Yes

¶296:

  - o ¶297: If so, which? In what way? Why?

    - ¶298: Yes. Sure. But it is mostly due to a lack of education. Also, many Israelis conflate Islam with extremism – so does Trump!

¶299:

- ¶300: Do you consider Hamas (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah*) to be a terrorist organisation? If so why? If not, why not?

  - o ¶301: No.

    ¶302:

- ¶303: Do you consider the military wing of Hamas (*Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades*) to be a terrorist organisation?

  - o ¶304: No.

¶305:

  - o ¶306: Were the Intifadas against Israel justified?

¶307:

    - ¶308: Yes

    ¶309:

  - o ¶310: If so, why?

    - ¶311: We are proud of them.

¶312:

- ¶313: Do you consider Hezbollah to be a terrorist organisation?

    ¶314:

    - o ¶315: If so, why?

        - ¶316: No. But, before 2006 it was fighting Israel's illegal occupation in the West Bank. After that it changed.

            ¶317:

    ¶318:

- ¶319: Do you consider Hezbollah's attacks on Israel to be terrorist? If so why?

    ¶320:

    - o ¶321: No.

        ¶322:

    - o ¶323: If not, why not?

    ¶324:

        - ¶325: No reply.

    ¶326:

- ¶327: Were the deaths of 7 x family members of a Palestinian family (Ghaliya family) on Gaza beach in 2006 caused by an Israeli artillery barrage, an act of terrorism?

    - o ¶328: Yes. All know it.

    ¶329:

    - o ¶330: If so, please explain. If not, please explain.

    ¶331:

- ¶332: In the 2014 Gaza conflict, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) state that 1,462 x Palestinian civilians were killed by Israeli Defence Force (IDF) aerial bombing, tank and artillery fire and that 5 x Israeli civilians were killed by Hamas rockets.

    ¶333:

- o ¶334: What is your view on the proportionality of this?

    - ¶335: This was not fair, not just and not lawful.

¶336:

- o ¶337: In what way does this influence your opinion of America and its support for Israel?

    - ¶338: America supports Israeli terrorist war crimes.

¶339:

- o ¶340: In what way does this impact on Arab minds in relation to America's support for Israel?

    - ¶341: Every day.

¶342:

¶343:

- o ¶344: Does it contribute to anti-Americanism?

    - ¶345: Yes.

¶346:

¶347:

- o ¶348: Do you have any other related views?

    - ¶349: No comment.

¶350:

- ¶351: Do you believe that America considers 'Israeli blood' to be more valuable than Arab 'Palestinian blood'?

    - o ¶352: Yes.

¶353:

- o ¶354: If so why?

¶355:

    - ¶356: (No reply)

¶357:

- o ¶358: In what way?

  - ¶359: (No reply)

¶360: **US Led Invasion of Iraq**

- ¶361: Is the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq still a 'burning issue' to Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - o ¶362: Yes.

¶363:

  - o ¶364: If yes, explain.

    - ¶365: (No reply)

  ¶366:

  - o ¶367: If no, explain.

    - ¶368: (No reply)

¶369:

  - o ¶370: How do you feel about it?

    ¶371:

    - ¶372: (No reply)

- ¶373: **Iraqi loss of life due to the war**

  ¶374:

  - o ¶375: John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health calculated that 655,000 Iraqis died as a consequence of the 2003 Iraq War (reported in *The Lancet* medical journal).

    ¶376:

  - o ¶377: The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that 151,000 violent deaths in Iraq occurred from March 2003 to June 2006.

¶378:

  - o ¶379: Classified Pentagon files released by WikiLeaks recorded in excess of 66,000 civilians killed in the Iraq War between 2004 and 2009.

    ¶380:

- ¶381: How do you feel about these statistics?

    - ¶382: These are war crimes and anti-humanitarian.

  ¶383:

- ¶384: Is the loss of Iraqi life still a 'burning issue'?

  ¶385:

    - ¶386: Yes but is mixed. It is carried deep in our hearts but now we have other troubles to think about. Before the Arab Spring and after 2003, this was in mind every day. But after the Arab Spring, Iraq and Palestine had to be put in our hearts. Our minds every day are occupied with thinking about jobs, money eating and our own security. Also, our Arab media after the Arab Spring became more controlled and the state controlled media want to cut off anti-Western and anti-American views in case it created more *jihādists* and more instability. Stability is now much more important for Arab states. But when something happens and the West or America does something against the Arabs, these move from our hearts to our minds.

  ¶387:

    - ¶388: With you?

      ¶389:

        - ¶390: Yes. In my heart.

      ¶391:

      ¶392:

    - ¶393: With other Arabs?

  ¶394:

        - ¶395: Yes. In their hearts.

  ¶396:

- ¶397: How important to modern Arab Sunni Muslims are the documented American atrocities and human rights violations at *Abu Ghraib* detention facility, the assaults on *Fallujah* (Apr & Nov 2004), the use of extraordinary rendition, or the existence of Guantanamo Bay detention facility?

- ¶398: This was very bad. It is even worse because it was done by the West and America to Arabs and Muslims. It created deep hatred that will not go quickly.

¶399:

- ¶400: To what extent do you think the US led invasion of Iraq contributed to:

  - ¶401: A growth in anti-Americanism?

    - ¶402: A lot.

  ¶403:

  - ¶404: The formation of *Daesh* or ISIS?

    - ¶405: Da'ish is a US proxy.

¶406:

    - ¶407: Who do you think created Daesh?

¶408:

      - ¶409: The US.

¶410:

    - ¶411: What is the common opinion of the 'Arab Street'?

      - ¶412: The Americans.

¶413:

      ¶414:

  - ¶415: Destabilisation of the region -

    ¶416: Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Influence of Iran or Turkey or others?

    - ¶417: Yes.

  - ¶418: Increased Islam*ist* extremism?

    - ¶419: (No reply)

  ¶420:

- ¶421: What do you believe are the consequences of the invasion?

- o ¶422: Death, destruction and long term hatred.

¶423:

- ¶424: What do you think about the US led invasion of Iraq?

  - o ¶425: It was terrible.

¶426:

- ¶427: What do you think was the primary reason for the invasion?

¶428:

  - o ¶429: (No reply)

¶430:

  - o ¶431: What is the common reason given for the invasion in the 'Arab street'?

    - ¶432: Unchecked US power and ambition, Israel and stealing our oil.

¶433:

¶434:

  - o ¶435: What is the common reason given by Islam*ists*?

    - ¶436: (No reply)

¶437: **Daesh / ISIS / Jihād / Syria**

- ¶438: What do you think draws some Arab Sunni Muslims to *Daesh* or ISIS?

  - o ¶439: There are many reasons for many different people. Because the young men who join them come from all over the world. There are political, religious and social reasons. Politically, most Arabs are not free in the Western sense so some wanted to travel to fight for that freedom, others were inspired by the messages of Islamic fundamentalism and the 'fake sheikhs', some Arab men were desperately poor and were also motivated by cash money, some were poorly educated and knew no better and some were encouraged by friends or social media. There are many different reasons for many different people.

¶440:

652

- ¶441: Islam*ists* derive their Islam*ic* theological credibility by claiming to be waging *jihād* and living according to the Hadith and Sunnah, similar to the earlier caliphates. To what extent is this correct?

  ¶442:

  - ¶443: Yes

  ¶444:

  - ¶445: Can you please provide examples?

  ¶446:

    - ¶447: No comment

  ¶448:

- ¶449: What do you understand as the meaning of *jihād*?

  - ¶450: It is a religious war fought for the sake of Allah. But it can also mean a personal struggle, for the sake of Allah.

  ¶451:

  - ¶452: In what circumstances may it be waged?

    ¶453:

    - ¶454: It is all in the Holy Qur'an. Read it.

    ¶455:

- ¶456: What do you understand as the meaning of the terms *Takfir* and *Kafir* or unbeliever?

  - ¶457: In Islam, it is calling a person an unbeliever.

  ¶458:

  - ¶459: How do you feel about this concept in the modern world?

    - ¶460: No comment.

    ¶461:

- ¶462: Islam*ist* extremism can be said to grow in the 'fertile ground of ignorance'. Is this correct?

  - ¶463: Yes, like all kinds of extremism, not just Islamist.

¶464:

  o   ¶465: To what extent does this fuel anti-Americanism?

¶466:

      • ¶467: Yes it does.

    ¶468:

    ¶469:

  o   ¶470: Can you please provide examples?

      • ¶471: No reply.

¶472:

• ¶473: It is said by some Arab Sunni Muslims that "*Daesh* are extreme and do terrible things but they 'fight' the Syrian regime with commitment and the other opposition groups do not".

  o   ¶474: To what extent is this correct, if at all?

    ¶475:

      • ¶476: No comment.

    ¶477:

• ¶478: Was the burning alive of Muath Al-Kasasbeh a terrorist act or an act of *jihād*?

  o   ¶479: Yes it was wrong.

¶480:

• ¶481: What do you think of ISIS attacks on Shia *masjids* (mosques) and the Shia community?

  o   ¶482: It is against Islam. They interpret Islam as they want – their own version to serve their own political agenda.

¶483:

¶484:

• ¶485: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be fair and reasonable?

- o ¶486: No.

¶487:

- o ¶488: If so, why?

  ¶489:

- o ¶490: If not, why not?

¶491:

- - ¶492: (No reply)

  ¶493:

- ¶494: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be terrorist?

  - o ¶495: It is wrong.

¶496:

- o ¶497: If so, why?

  ¶498:

- o ¶499: If not, why not?

¶500:

- - ¶501: (No reply)

¶502: **'Arab Spring' (*Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī*)**

- ¶503: What have been the consequences of the *Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī* - 'Arab Spring' for Middle Eastern Arabs?

  - o ¶504: Regional instability in the Arab Middle East.

¶505:

¶506:

- ¶507: What was the impact of the 'Arab Spring' on the current situation in the Muslim world and its relationship with the outside world?

  ¶508:

- o ¶509: The old regimes of the Arab Middle East became scared. They tightened control. But remember that instability was not caused by the Arab Spring, it was caused by Political Islamists.

¶510:

- ¶511: Do you like or use the term 'Arab Spring'?

  - o ¶512: It is what it is, as they say on television.

¶513:

  - o ¶514: If not, why not?

¶515:

    - ¶516: No reply

¶517:

¶518:

- ¶519: Do you view the 'Arab Spring' positively or negatively?

  - o ¶520: Many people say, "It was the wrong way at the wrong time".

¶521:

- ¶522: Do you consider the death of Mohamed Bouazizi to have been worth it?

  - o ¶523: There is no answer to that question. He did what he did but did not know what it would cause or begin.

¶524:

¶525: Muslim Brotherhood

- ¶526: The Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) are viewed as an extremist organisation in some countries but not in others and is banned in some countries but not in others; do you believe that it is extremist?

  - o ¶527: They plot and take from the people. They make promises that they never keep. Some are OK and some are extremists.

¶528:

  - o ¶529: Do you believe that it should be banned?

¶530:

- ¶531: Yes

¶532:

¶533:

- ¶534: What do you think of their recent experience in Egypt?

    - ¶535: It was terrible. They told lies and did not do what they said they would do. They were a complete failure.

¶536:

- ¶537: Are the teachings of Sayyid Qutb relevant to modern Arabs?

    - ¶538: No.

¶539:

- ¶540: It is said that political Islamists such as the Muslim Brotherhood only gain popularity because they replace the social and other services that should be delivered by many Arab governments.

¶541:

- ¶542: Is this correct?

    - ¶543: Yes

¶544:

- ¶545: Does this contribute to anti-Americanism?

¶546:

    - ¶547: Probably.

¶548:

¶549:

    - ¶550: If so, how?

        - ¶551: (No reply)

    ¶552:

- ¶553: Does this contribute to extremism?

¶554:

- ¶555: Yes

¶556:

- ¶557: Is the Muslim Brotherhood anti-Western?

    - ¶558: It is anti-anything that opposes it.

  o ¶559: If so, in what way?

    ¶560:

        - ¶561: (No reply)

¶562: **Islam**

- ¶563: Do you think that Islam is a religion of peace?

- ¶564: If so why? If not why not?

  ¶565:

  o ¶566: Yes. There are so many Muslims in the world and only a very small number of violent Muslims. Also, America and the West like to forget history, even recent history, if you can call recent happenings history. It was the Americans who paid for and equipped the Afghan fighters to fight the Soviets. When the Islamist fundamentalists came along, they funded them too, like letting Jinn out into this world. This meant funding Jihād but they did not care. From here it grew. They not only allowed it happen but made it grow. What did the US do when the Soviets left Afghanistan? They abandoned it to Islamist extremists like the Taliban. What did they expect to happen?

  o ¶567: Also, the Arab world is not innocent in this. Saudi Arabia also funded the Afghan and Arab Islamist fighters. They also funded the spread of Salafism and Wahhabism not just in Saudi but across the world. Just make any Google search today about the Holy Qur'an on fiqh (jurisprudence) and it will be a Salafist interpretation funded by Saudi money. I am sorry but this must be said.

  ¶568:

- ¶569: What do you think that some and possibly many Westerners conflate Islam with Islamist terrorism?

  o ¶570: This is a lack of education in the West and America especially about Islam. They just do not know. All that they know is from poor images in

Hollywood movies. We have become the bad men or evil monster in those stories told to children to keep them out of the woods; except now these stories are told to American and Western adults and we are the evil monster! Also, they do not have a cultural understanding of the Middle East, the Arabs or Islamic culture. That is also a problem. Also, and you will not like this for your study but it is Jewish money and the Jewish control of Hollywood that makes us look bad. They show positive images of Jewish or Western people and negative images of Arab Muslim men. So these are the reasons that they confuse these things.

¶571:

- ¶572: Why are 'radical Muslims' seen as representative of Islam in the West?

    o ¶573: The Western media like showing radical Muslims on TV and radical Muslims like being on TV, it is a type of cooperation. The Western and American media do not like having nice Muslims on their TV because it does not make good TV ratings. They like a good argument between the good, fair, Western, Christian and the evil radical Muslim who is shouting 'death to the kafir'. That is how we see it and that is how it is.

¶574:

- ¶575: Sunni Islam has no globally accepted central religious leader or doctrinal centre such as the Grand *Ayatollah* in Shia Islam or the Pope or Vatican for Roman Catholics;

    o ¶576: I am not talking about this. I have probably said too much already.

¶577:

    o ¶578: Does this contribute to a situation where Islam*ist* extremists can interpret Quranic texts in an extremist manner?

¶579:

        - ¶580: No reply. (Participant looking uneasy)

¶581:

    o ¶582: Who speaks or should speak for Sunni Islam?

        - ¶583: No reply.

¶584:

    o ¶585: What do you view as the solution to this challenge?

¶586:

- ¶587: No reply.

¶588:

- ¶589: Is Sharia compatible with democracy?

    o ¶590: Yes

¶591:

    o ¶592: If not, why not?

        ¶593:

- ¶594: Is Islam or Sharia threatened by Western scientific humanism or the secular 'Enlightenment'?

    o ¶595: No reply.

¶596:

¶597: Possible Solutions

- ¶598: What do you think the West or America can do to reduce the levels of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o ¶599: A two state solution but not with America moderating. I want the European Union to moderate. America needs to change so that it is fair and seen to be fair to the Arabs. Look at the writings of the Arab writer Mohamed Hassanin Haikal and you will see.

¶600:

    o ¶601: Can you please provide examples?

¶602:
¶603: Improvements in the Image of Arab Muslim World
¶604:

- ¶605: What do you think can be done to improve the image of the Arab / Muslim world in the rest of the world?
    o ¶606: Our leaders need to adopt Western values like freedom of speech. They need to invest in education and spend on infrastructure and bring about social justice.
¶607:
¶608:
¶609: Any Other Matters

¶610:

- ¶611: Is there any other matter related to the research question (directly or indirectly) which you would like to mention?

  - o ¶612: One last thing. Israel is allowed to divide and conquer the Arabs. This is as much the fault of the Arabs. We need to unite, not countries but opinions and policies.

¶1: **Primary Research**
¶2: **Semi-Structured Interviews**
¶3: **(Highlighted with Line Numbers)**

¶4: Participant Number: 04

¶5: **Interview Date**: 3 February 18

¶6: **Duration**: 2 hours 18 minutes

¶7: **All participant replies are in green**

¶8: **RESEARCH QUESTION**

¶9: An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim males to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era.

¶10: **KEY WORDS**
¶11:
¶12: Anti-Americanism, Middle Eastern, Arab Sunni Muslim, Males, Islamist extremism and contemporary era.
¶13:
¶14: QUESTIONS

¶15: **Introduction – Early Years and America**

- ¶16: Can you please tell me a little about yourself and your formative years?

  - o ¶17: I was born in Egypt. I grew up there and went to school there and I went to university there. I have one brother which is unusual in Egypt so I am from a small family. I am married with children.

- ¶18: When did you first become aware of America?

  - o ¶19: Really it was when I was at senior school but also TV.

¶20:

¶21:

    o ¶22: Was it in a positive or negative context?

        • ¶23: Mixed.

¶24:

    o ¶25: Can you please elaborate?

¶26:

        • ¶27: Silence.

    ¶28:

• ¶29: Have you visited America?

    o ¶30: No

¶31:

    o ¶32: In what capacity – work, student, tourist or other?

¶33:

        • ¶34: N/A

    ¶35:

    o ¶36: For how long did you stay?

        • ¶37: N/A

    ¶38:

    o ¶39: Were your impressions positive or negative?

        • ¶40: N/A

    ¶41:

    o ¶42: Have your opinions been altered in any way by your visit(s)?

        • ¶43: N/A

    ¶44:

        • ¶45: If so, in what way?

¶46:

- ¶47: N/A

¶48:

- ¶49: Do you or would you:

  o ¶50: **Purchase** American products?

    - ¶51: Yes.

  ¶52:

  o ¶53: **Wear** American brands, such as Nike, Calvin Klein, Polo Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, Levi Strauss, Gap, or American Eagle?

    - ¶54: I buy Tommy Hilfiger, American Eagle because I like them.

¶55:

  o ¶56: **Dress** in a contemporary US style such as baseball cap, jeans, 'T' shirt, trainers?

    - ¶57: Yes, I do wear this type of clothes but I would never wear a baseball cap.

¶58:

    - ¶59: If so, which?

¶60:

  o ¶61: **Eat** American fast food such as McDonald's, KFC, Subway, Dunkin' Donuts or Pizza Hut?

    - ¶62: Sometimes, especially with my children. They like it like all kids. Also it is not expensive.

  ¶63:

  o ¶64: **Drink** American soft drinks such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi or Dr Pepper?

    - ¶65: Of course especially for the children. .

  ¶66:

  o ¶67: **Watch** American made Hollywood movies?

    - ¶68: If so which?

- ¶69: No. I don't like their movies.

- ¶70: **Watch** US news channels such as CNN, Fox or NBC, on any media platform?

  - ¶71: Sometimes I will watch CNN.

- ¶72: **Listen** to American music such as Pop, Rock, Rap, Heavy Metal, R&B, or Jazz, on any music platform?

  - ¶73: If so which?

  - ¶74: No.

¶75:

- **¶76: Drive** an American car such as GMC, Ford, Chrysler or Cadillac?

  - ¶77: I like the Ford.

    ¶78:

- **¶79: Possess** an Apple iPhone, iPad, MacBook, iMac or use Microsoft?

  - ¶80: If so, which?

    - ¶81: Yes, like many people.

¶82: **Family Relatives & Friends**

- ¶83: How is the West and America generally regarded by you, your family, relatives, and friends?

  - ¶84: Mixed. Those with higher education can see that the US people and culture are different from the decisions of the US government. They can see the good and the bad. But those with lower education only see negative images like their support for Israel and the invasion of Iraq.

¶85:

- ¶86: Has this changed in any way recently?

  - ¶87: Yes. The coming of Trump has increased the negative image of the US in the Arab World. The banning of Muslims from America and the declaration that Al Quds (Jerusalem) is the capital of Israel are two examples. Now their hatred of the Arabs is open for all to see. Before they denied it, now they don't care who knows.

- o ¶88: If so how?

  - • ¶89: N/A

    ¶90:

- • ¶91: How often is America, its foreign policy, or actions in the Middle East a topic of conversation for you, your family or friends?

  ¶92:

  - o ¶93: Often, sometimes, never?

    - • ¶94: Very often.

  - o ¶95: If so, in what way?

    - • ¶96: Especially since Trump made the declaration about Al-Quds.

¶97: **Anti-Americanism**

- • ¶98: When did you first become aware of anti-Americanism?

  - o ¶99: At senior school.

  ¶100:

  - o ¶101: Within a Middle Eastern context?

  ¶102:

    - • ¶103: Students.

  ¶104:

  - o ¶105: How did it manifest itself?

    ¶106:

    - • ¶107: Palestine and the American support for Israel.

    ¶108:

  - o ¶109: Media, social commentators, politicians, religious leaders, organisations, friends, relatives, family or other?

    ¶110:

    - • ¶111: Yes, most of those listed.

      ¶112:

- ¶113: Did it affect you in any way? If so how?

  ¶114:

  - ¶115: Sure. Take the Iraq invasion. The day the Americans invaded Iraq, I was at school. It was a very sad day for us all. You cannot believe it. We were all asked to go to the computer room at school by our teachers. We all stood and watched, our teachers and us all. We watched the Americans bombing the strongest Arab country. They bombed Baghdad and all over. As we stood and watched this, I was crying and so were others. I also became angry. Many people became angry. It is like some strange man that you heard about before, came to your house and kicked your door in and then set fire to your house. It was terrible.

  ¶116:

- ¶117: Did it shape your views? If so how?

  ¶118:

  - ¶119: Yes. It changed them forever. There was a time when I saw America as an example of an advanced society. People had nice houses, cars, jobs and there people have a chance to live. But after what they did to Iraq, no. I have never thought about them like that again.

  ¶120:

- ¶121: Have these views changed?

  - ¶122: Not really. As time has passed my views about America have become milder but they will never go away.

  ¶123:

  - ¶124: If so how and why?

    - ¶125: No reply.

    ¶126:

- ¶127: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your school?

  ¶128:

- ¶129: If so, how? Why?

¶130:

- **¶131:** Yes, especially after the invasion.

¶132:

- **¶133:** Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your college or university?

    o **¶134:** Yes.

¶135:

    o **¶136:** If so, how? Why?

        - **¶137:** Iraq and Palestine.

¶138:

- **¶139:** Are you consciously aware of anti-Americanism in the Arab media?

    o **¶140:** Yes, especially about Iraq and Palestine. Well before it was a lot but now it is much less because of government control. You know what I am saying.

¶141:

- **¶142:** If so – which parts of the media?

    o **¶143:** TV newspapers and radio.

¶144:

    o **¶145:** What effect impact this have on your opinions?

        - **¶146:** Negative. As people say, "America has destroyed the Arab World".

¶147:

- **¶148:** To what degree if any does American foreign policy in the Middle East have on Arab Sunni anti-Americanism?

    o **¶149:** A lot. Of course it does. Everyone knows this. The invasion of Iraq, Palestine, Making Al Quds the capital city and supporting the Jewish lobby in the US. All of this.

¶150:

- o ¶151: How do you view American foreign policy?

¶152:

- • ¶153: Aggressive and does not care about world opinion. They own the UN or can ignore them and they do what they want.

¶154:

- • ¶155: To what degree if any does the presence of American military bases in the Middle East and especially in Saudi Arabia, contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

  - o ¶156: I am not going to talk about that. As we Arabs say, "If you say it you own it". Do you understand?

  ¶157:

- • ¶158: To what degree if any does 'Americanisation' (globalisation) and its impact on Arab culture and Islamic life contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

  - o ¶159: A lot. Americanisation is slowly destroying distinctive global cultures. It makes our young people more vulnerable to influence by America.

¶160:

- • ¶161: To what degree do Middle Eastern Arabs blame America for preexisting problems within the Middle East?

  - o ¶162: Is it justified?

  - o ¶163: Most blame America. But this is not a false dream or mirage. America did this by its actions. Not us. But there is a difference between the people's thoughts and minds and the message from their leaders and governments. Their leaders do business with America and so they do not criticise it. Only Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi did and they were removed from power by America and the West.

  - o ¶164: Also before, the Arab governments let some criticism exist in the Arab press to take the people's eyes off what they were doing with our money or our freedom. They controlled the media. They still do.

¶165: **Causes of Contemporary Anti-Americanism**

- • ¶166: What do you think are the causes of contemporary anti-Americanism within the Middle East?

  - o ¶167: Can you please provide some examples?

668

- ¶168: It is still Iraq and the Palestinian issue. But now there is also Trump. He has created hatred of Muslims in America. With him producing the Muslim ban and saying bad things about Islam, he is saying it is OK for others to do the same, and they are doing it. Just look on YouTube.

- ¶169: Again, there is an Arab government view and the Arab Street view. As they say in the street, "Arab governments are like a blind man on a black night, seeing nothing and saying nothing".

¶170:

o ¶171: Is your opinion commonly held?

- ¶172: Yes.

¶173:

o ¶174: What are the opposing views?

- ¶175: Silence.

¶176:

¶177: Sayings or Common Phrases

- ¶178: What Arab phrases or sayings about the West or America are most memorable to you, or come quickly to your mind?

  o ¶179: Yes, I know many but the best one for you is – "He who is covered by America is stripped naked because America is not a reliable ally".

¶180:

  o ¶181: Are these common?

- ¶182: Yes. Common on the Arab Street.

¶183:

  o ¶184: Do you agree with them?

- ¶185: Yes

¶186: Historical Events

- ¶187: What do you consider to be the most important historical events in relation to the West's historical relationship with Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

¶188:

- ¶189: Can you explain why?

    - ¶190: Iraq, Palestine and Trump's decision over Al-Quds.

        ¶191:

- ¶192: How important or relevant do you think historical events such as the Crusades are to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    - ¶193: To some uneducated people they are important. But the more people learn at university, the less important they become.

¶194:

- ¶195: How important is it to you?

¶196:

    - ¶197: It is not important to me. It is just dates and events.

        ¶198:

- ¶199: What historical events can you recall or are important to you in relation to Western interventionism in the Middle East?

    - ¶200: Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan, Al Quds and Trump.

¶201:

- ¶202: How important do you think the colonial period is to Arab Sunni Muslims?

    - ¶203: How important is it to you?

        - ¶204: Again, to some it is and to many it is not. There is no single Arab 'Mind' and there is no single 'Muslim Mind'.

        ¶205:

    - ¶206: Do you think that these events are relevant to modern Arab life?

        - ¶207: The colonial period is only important because of what they have left behind. In North Africa, French is still spoken and the French make sure that it is. Did you know that a Moroccan Education Minister was removed from his post because he suggested only using Arabic in schools and dropping French. It was the French government who put pressure on the Moroccan

government to remove him. So it is still important for some Arabs in some places.

¶208: **Islam*ism***

- ¶209: What do you understand by the word Islam*ism*?

    o ¶210: Islamism is Political Islam.

  ¶211:

- ¶212: When did you first become aware of Islam*ism* or Islam*ist* ideologues?

    o ¶213: If so, which ideologues?

        - ¶214: They are not in the schools with the students but they are with the teachers who teach in the schools. But university is where I came into contact with them first.

      ¶215:

    o ¶216: How did their message affect you or others that you know?

        - ¶217: Not me. I am not with them or their message. They are only for themselves. That is what happened when they took over Egypt. They had a great chance but they did nothing with it.

¶218: **Palestine & Israel**

- ¶219: How important is the Palestinian issue to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o ¶220: It is highly important at a popular level.

    o ¶221: If this is important, explain why?

  ¶222:

        - ¶223: Many say, "Palestine is our living cause". Iraq is lost but this is still a 'game that can be won'; do you know this football term?

      ¶224:

    o ¶225: Is this issue reducing in importance in Arab minds in any way?

        - ¶226: No. But some Arab governments get worried about it. In Egypt some journalists get arrested if they speak about Egypt's cooperation with Israel.

  ¶227:

- ¶228: How important is the Palestinian issue to you?

    - ¶229: Very important.

        ¶230:

        ¶231: If so, why?

    ¶232:

            - ¶233: No reply.

        ¶234:

    - ¶235: Is this issue reducing in importance in your mind?

            - ¶236: No.

    ¶237:

            - ¶238: Can you please elaborate?

    ¶239:

                - ¶240: I explained before.

                ¶241:

- ¶242: How do you feel about the 1948, 1967, 1973 wars?

    - ¶243: We call, what you call the 1948 War - *Al-Nakba* (The Catastrophe) and we call 1967 War – Our Humiliation Day. In the 1973 War what the Americans call by the Jewish name the Yom Kippur War, we call it 'The Day of Victory or Pride'. This might be strange to you and the West to call it victory or pride but we beat them, destroyed their whole air force, destroyed their tanks and beat them. But our final victory was stolen by America. This was so sad for us because this war was supposed to restore our pride, our dignity and our stolen land. All Arabs know this.

    ¶244:

- ¶245: Do you view Israel as an illegal occupier of Palestine and Palestinian territory?

    - ¶246: Yes. All Arabs do.

        ¶247:

    - ¶248: If so, why?

¶249:

- ¶250: No reply.

¶251:

- ¶252: Do most Arab Sunni Muslims accept the existence of the State of Israel?

  o ¶253: Do you?

    - ¶254: No. Never. They stole our land and occupied it and then threw our people off their own land. How could any Arab accept this?

  ¶255:

  o ¶256: If not, why not?

¶257:

¶258: (Not answered)

¶259:

- ¶260: How do you view the Israeli occupation of Lebanon which lasted 18 years (1982-2000)?

  o ¶261: This was an illegal occupation of Arab soil.

- ¶262: Do you view the State of Israel as legitimate?

  o ¶263: No. Never!

¶264:

  o ¶265: If not, why?

¶266:

- ¶267: Do you view Israel as a terrorist state?

  o ¶268: Yes. They are a terrorist state because they stole our land, kill and torture innocent Palestinians. They are still stealing our land by using these foreign settlers and the world does nothing. This Zionism and terrorism. The two are no different. But when do you hear the world media talk about the Zionist terrorists?

  o ¶269: But we of this new generation need to find a way to deal with them. Maybe a fair settlement of a Two State Solution can be achieved but not if

> America is the mediator or negotiator. Europe and the European Union could do this. They do not have an interest in the region.

¶270:

- ¶271: If so, why?

¶272:

- ¶273: (No answer)

¶274:

- ¶275: To what extent is anti-Americanism caused by US support for the State of Israel or linked to the US/ Israeli alliance?

  - ¶276: Sure. I just said this.

¶277:

  - ¶278: How do you feel about American support for Israel?

¶279:

- ¶280: I told you so much already.

¶281:

  - ¶282: How do you feel about this alliance?

- ¶283: I told you.

¶284:

- ¶285: To what extent is America's support for Israeli used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - ¶286: Yes but this is not simple. Many people join them for many reasons. As I said before, there is no single Arab Mind.

¶287:

- ¶288: Does the US support for Israel undermine its purported independence in negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?

  - ¶289: Sure. I said so.

¶290:

- ¶291: Do many Arab Sunni Muslims conflate Judaism with Israelis or Zionism?

- o ¶292: Some, mostly the uneducated.

¶293:

- o ¶294: If so, which? In what way? Why?

  - • ¶295: It is to do with lack of education.

¶296:

- • ¶297: Do you consider Hamas (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah*) to be a terrorist organisation? If so why? If not, why not?

  - o ¶298: No. Absolutely no. If you come to my house, kick in my front door and occupy it; it is my duty to resist.

  ¶299:

- • ¶300: Do you consider the military wing of Hamas (*Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades*) to be a terrorist organisation?

  - o ¶301: No. Again for the same reasons. But the use of suicide bombers in Iraq is not Islamic and not acceptable.

¶302:

- o ¶303: Were the Intifadas against Israel justified?

¶304:

  - • ¶305: Yes of course. What else can we do? We must resist in any way we can. This is also about Arab pride and dignity.

  ¶306:

- o ¶307: If so, why?

  - • ¶308: They must resist. It is their duty as Arab men and we support them.

  ¶309:

- • ¶310: Do you consider Hezbollah to be a terrorist organisation?

¶311:

- o ¶312: If so, why?

  - • ¶313: No.

¶314:

- ¶315: Do you consider Hezbollah's attacks on Israel to be terrorist? If so why?

¶316:

- o ¶317: No. Absolutely not.

  ¶318:

- o ¶319: If not, why not?

¶320:

- ¶321: No reply.

¶322:

- ¶323: Were the deaths of 7 x family members of a Palestinian family (Ghaliya family) on Gaza beach in 2006 caused by an Israeli artillery barrage, an act of terrorism?

  - o ¶324: Yes. All in the Arab world believe this. Even the UN knows this but they are weak against the American control of the UN. Arabs know this.

  ¶325:

  - o ¶326: If so, please explain. If not, please explain.

  ¶327:

- ¶328: In the 2014 Gaza conflict, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) state that 1,462 x Palestinian civilians were killed by Israeli Defence Force (IDF) aerial bombing, tank and artillery fire and that 5 x Israeli civilians were killed by Hamas rockets.

  ¶329:

  - o ¶330: What is your view on the proportionality of this?

    - ¶331: This was a war crime. All Arabs know this. Even the rest of the world knows that it was unfair and illegal. It was aimed at civilians. But also they wanted to destroy the future elections of the Palestinians by sending a message that any opposition would be crushed. It also became punishment and cheapens the price of our lives to the world. It is like a great shame to us that we could not protect these old men, women and children.

  ¶332:

- ¶333: In what way does this influence your opinion of America and its support for Israel?

  - ¶334: It makes Arabs hate America. The Israeli war criminals could not do it without their permission, munitions, funding or help.

  ¶335:

- ¶336: In what way does this impact on Arab minds in relation to America's support for Israel?

  - ¶337: We live with this humiliation every day of our lives. It sits deep inside us and we do not forget, nor should we.

  ¶338:

  ¶339:

- ¶340: Does it contribute to anti-Americanism?

  - ¶341: Yes of course.

¶342:

  ¶343:

- ¶344: Do you have any other related views?

  - ¶345: Back in 1973, our president – President Anwar el-Sadat said "I can fight the Israelis but I cannot fight America". What he meant by this was, of course I would attack Israel if I was only fighting them, but I cannot because I would have to fight Israel and America and by doing than I cannot win. Did you hear about this?

  ¶346:

- ¶347: Do you believe that America considers 'Israeli blood' to be more valuable than Arab 'Palestinian blood'?

  - ¶348: Yes, as I said before.

¶349:

- ¶350: If so why?

¶351:

  - ¶352: I said before.

¶353:

¶354: US Led Invasion of Iraq

- ¶355: Is the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq still a 'burning issue' to Arab Sunni Muslims?

    - ¶356: Yes. This humiliation sits deep within us. But as I said before, there is no single Arab mind. Many Arabs since the 2008 financial crisis have had other things to worry about like jobs, employment, bank loans and the collapse of the Arab Spring. Many Arabs are tired of the war and destruction in Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen, the refugees flowing into other Arab countries and they do not want any of that where they live. So it has made them tired. We are tired of violence. Not like before. This is a change.

    - ¶357: Look at Morocco. The people there are so poor, struggling to stay afloat as you say in the West but they are kept poor by their own government. It is so corrupt. We are tired of America, Israel and our own governments. Only the Emirates give Arabs a chance of a life like in the West. Here we can breathe, earn money and look after our families. That is all we want. In Libya before, the rulers were criminals like in Syria. It was one family that owned the country. If they wanted your business, they just took it. No; here is better, here we have rights, the law and can make a good life.

    ¶358:

    - ¶359: How do you feel about it?

        ¶360:

        - ¶361: I said before

- ¶362: **Iraqi loss of life due to the war**

    ¶363:

    - ¶364: John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health calculated that 655,000 Iraqis died as a consequence of the 2003 Iraq War (reported in *The Lancet* medical journal).

        ¶365:

    - ¶366: The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that 151,000 violent deaths in Iraq occurred from March 2003 to June 2006.

¶367:

- o ¶368: Classified Pentagon files released by WikiLeaks recorded in excess of 66,000 civilians killed in the Iraq War between 2004 and 2009.

  ¶369:

- ¶370: How do you feel about these statistics?

  - o ¶371: This is terrible - war crimes. But you know; only a small percentage of university graduates in certain subjects in the Middle East will have access to this information. Most people do not know this and our governments do want us to know. Do you know why? They want to do weapons deals and other business with America and this gets in the way. They do not want the people to know.

¶372:

- ¶373: Is the loss of Iraqi life still a 'burning issue'?

¶374:

  - o ¶375: Yes but as I said the people are tired of war, fighting and all of that. We just want a decent life for our families.

    ¶376:

¶377:

  - o ¶378: With you?

    ¶379:

      - ¶380: Yes. I carry it deep in my heart.

    ¶381:

    ¶382:

  - o ¶383: With other Arabs?

¶384:

      - ¶385: The same. But we do not talk about it every day. We are too busy with life.

¶386:

- ¶387: How important to modern Arab Sunni Muslims are the documented American atrocities and human rights violations at *Abu Ghraib* detention facility,

the assaults on *Fallujah* (Apr & Nov 2004), the use of extraordinary rendition, or the existence of Guantanamo Bay detention facility?

- ¶1388: This was terrible. It shocked us. Really! We never thought that as bad as America was that they could do this. But again, most Arabs do not know the full story. I was staying at a hotel when the newspaper came out with those terrible photographs in it of what they did to Arab Muslims. It was terrible. But as we were gathered around in the hotel lounge, the police arrived to collect all the newspapers. The Ministry of Interior had ordered it across Cairo and other major cities. They then stopped the press printing anymore photographs. That is because the Egyptian government was so close to the American government and they got hundreds of millions of US dollars every year from America. Also our government did not make any protest to the US government. They also allowed the US to use the Suez Canal and US military aircraft to fly across our land to bomb Iraq. So they did not want the people to know the truth and they did not want any trouble from the people. So, the police collected all the newspapers in the hotel and left with them to burn them. But the man on reception had one newspaper hidden away and we all read it and looked at it over and over again, until it fell apart.

¶389:

- ¶390: To what extent do you think the US led invasion of Iraq contributed to:

  - ¶391: A growth in anti-Americanism?

    - ¶392: A lot. Sure.

  ¶393:

  - ¶394: The formation of *Daesh* or ISIS?

    - ¶395: Yes it made the pathway for Da'ish.

¶396:

    - ¶397: Who do you think created Daesh?

¶398:

      - ¶399: The US paved the way, made a pathway and helped to bring it into reality.

¶400:

- ¶401: What is the common opinion of the 'Arab Street'?

    - ¶402: The common view is that the US created it.

  ¶403:

o ¶404: Destabilisation of the region -

  ¶405: Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Influence of Iran or Turkey or others?

    - ¶406: Yes. Iraq was the strongest Arab country. It blocked Iran and held back the Iranian flood and the Shī'a flood. It was the largest Arab buffer zone.

o ¶407: Increased Islam*ist* extremism?

    - ¶408: Yes, of course.

  ¶409:

- ¶410: What do you believe are the consequences of the invasion?

  o ¶411: The removal of the block against Iran, it weakened the Arab Middle East, growth in the power of the Shī'a, a more powerful Israel and of course thousands of dead Arabs.

  ¶412:

- ¶413: What do you think about the US led invasion of Iraq?

  o ¶414: I said before. It could not have been worse.

  ¶415:

- ¶416: What do you think was the primary reason for the invasion?

  ¶417:

  o ¶418: All Arabs know and even the rest of the world knows, it was oil and for the security of Israel. They came and stole the oil and destroyed Iraq. No one ever believed the reasons that they gave and those reasons turned out to be lies, as we knew. But as I said before, it is not simple or easy. Some street Arabs say that "Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi were like cruel step fathers who beat their step children but they protected them from an even worse person outside the family". You can

say the same for Bashar Hafez al-Assad. It is like a choice of, as we say "Our own stale water or someone else's vinegar".

¶419:

- o ¶420: What is the common reason given for the invasion in the 'Arab street'?

    - • ¶421: Oil and Israel.

¶422:

- o ¶423: What is the common reason given by Islam*ists*?

    - • ¶424: The Islamists say it was to destroy "The Axis of Arab power" in the Middle East. By this they mean, destroy Iraq and destroy Syria. And they did. Iraq is in ruins and Syria is in ruins.

¶425: **Daesh / ISIS / Jihād / Syria**

- • ¶426: What do you think draws some Arab Sunni Muslims to *Daesh* or ISIS?

    - o ¶427: It is like a vortex in bathwater that draws many small particles into it. The force just pulls them in with different messages, different incentives, different reasons – adventure, money, Islamic passion; many people for many reasons. But when they are inside the vortex there is no escape, no way back. I think many found this out. I think that Hezbollah is like this.

    - o ¶428: But it was the collapse of the Iraqi state that was the main reason with the collapse of law and order in Iraq and the removal of the Iraqi Army and police by the Americans. The US did all of this; then came the extremists and the patriots to fight the illegal occupation. The previous order of Saddam imposed order and control but with the collapse came chaos and extremism.

    - o ¶429: You know one of my professors at university said that "The Arabs are not taught to live together but are forced to do so". He is correct. What he meant by this is that the Sunni, Shi'a, different ethnic groups, different tribes and so on all need to be suppressed so that they can live together. Saddam did this, Gaddafi did this and Al-Assad did this. This is what we are. It goes back to 1916.

    - ¶430:

- ¶431: Islam*ists* derive their Islam*ic* theological credibility by claiming to be waging *jihād* and living according to the Hadith and Sunnah, similar to the earlier caliphates. To what extent is this correct?

  ¶432:

  - o ¶433: This goes back to the Salafists and Wahhabis. This is not something that the Arab World wants the West to know about but it is true. They have their own interpretation. "To them their way, to me, mine". Also, they want to give us ideology but keep us in poverty, poverty of knowledge and understanding. They only want us to think what they think. But we once had a Golden Age of Islamic learning when such ideologies were defeated by logic and debate.

  ¶434:

  ¶435:

- ¶436: What do you understand as the meaning of *jihād*?

  - o ¶437: The Islamists and extremists have their own meaning and interpretation and even they cannot agree with each other. It can mean a religious war or for example a personal struggle. This is well known.

  ¶438:

  - o ¶439: In what circumstances may it be waged?

    ¶440:

    - ¶441: Silence.

    ¶442:

- ¶443: What do you understand as the meaning of the terms *Takfir* and *Kafir* or unbeliever?

  - o ¶444: The extremists and jihādists use a very rigid interpretation and meaning. They do this for their own gain. But in general terms, he who does not follow the Sunnah is a Kafir or an unbeliever. But Al Azar Islamic University in Cairo does not use the term Kafir and they never apply the death penalty for being an unbeliever.

  ¶445:

  - o ¶446: How do you feel about this concept in the modern world?

- ¶447: No comment.

¶448:

- ¶449: Islam*ist* extremism can be said to grow in the 'fertile ground of ignorance'. Is this correct?

  o ¶450: Yes, but this also applies to the West. There are extremists there and they seem ignorant. As people say, "Our future lies in education".

¶451:

  o ¶452: To what extent does this fuel anti-Americanism?

¶453:

    - ¶454: Yes of course.

¶455:

  o ¶456: Can you please provide examples?

    - ¶457: No reply.

¶458:

- ¶459: It is said by some Arab Sunni Muslims that "*Daesh* are extreme and do terrible things but they 'fight' the Syrian regime with commitment and the other opposition groups do not".

  o ¶460: To what extent is this correct, if at all?

¶461:

    - ¶462: Yes and no.

¶463:

- ¶464: Was the burning alive of Muath Al-Kasasbeh a terrorist act or an act of *jihād*?

  o ¶465: Wrong. It was wrong. Also, in Jordan they are very tribal. This is even worse in a tribal society. It offended the whole of Jordan and the Arab world.

¶466:

- ¶467: What do you think of ISIS attacks on Shia *masjids* (mosques) and the Shia community?

- o ¶468: They are wrong. They sometimes kill Sufis praying in masjids in Egypt. This is terribly wrong.

¶469:

- ¶470: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be fair and reasonable?

  - o ¶471: No.

¶472:

  - o ¶473: If so, why?

    ¶474:

  - o ¶475: If not, why not?

¶476:

    - ¶477: (No reply)

    ¶478:

- ¶479: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be terrorist?

  - o ¶480: It is wrong but as I said before, it is not simple. If the Syrian government falls, the extremists will take over. So they are supporting the Syrian regime but killing Sunnis. It is not easy.

¶481:

  - o ¶482: If so, why?

    ¶483:

  - o ¶484: If not, why not?

¶485:

    - ¶486: (No reply)

¶487: **'Arab Spring' (*Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī*)**

- ¶488: What have been the consequences of the *Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī* - 'Arab Spring' for Middle Eastern Arabs?

- ¶489: Strangely, the consequences have been the very opposite of what was intended. In Egypt the outcome was really bad. So-called 'democracy' brought the Muslim Brotherhood to power. Although, it is better to say that because of their organisation they were able to get to power. The others had no real chance. In Libya, it was a disaster. The country is in ruins. In Syria, it destroyed a great Arab country and let in the extremists, jihādists, Russians, Iranians, Turkish and Americans. They are all there in our beautiful Syria. Even in Tunisia, it is going back and the government and as people say, "The government has the people by the throat" in this so-called 'anti-terrorist campaign'.

- ¶490: So, for many stability is more important than chaos. The main consequence of the Arab Spring to Arabs is to teach them that the risks of overthrowing the government by a popular uprising are too high. The only exception is where autocratic Arab states start killing their own people and calling them traitors.

¶491:

- ¶492: What was the impact of the 'Arab Spring' on the current situation in the Muslim world and its relationship with the outside world?

¶493:

- ¶494: The Arab governments who did survive started to 'grab the people by the throat'. They did this will widespread surveillance, widespread use of informers and more control.

¶495:

- ¶496: Do you like or use the term 'Arab Spring'?

- ¶497: It is fine. What is more important is that it happened at the perfect time and it was long overdue. It was really caused by poor governance, and the rule by the elite families, for the elite families. If people had better social conditions and social justice then it may not have happened. As people say, "If a man has a job, car, apartment, wife, children and social justice; he has no time for trouble".

- ¶498: But in my country Egypt, you need clearance from the Security Police for everything. No really. They even have State Security inside Egyptian universities. They also use many informers so you cannot speak freely. The state is more concerned with sitting on the people rather than let the

economy grow because the elite and the government can get their money from the US. So we stay poor.

¶499:

- ¶500: Do you view the 'Arab Spring' positively or negatively?

  - o   ¶501: It came at the perfect time and was long overdue. But the outcome was worse than any of us could have imagined. The jihādists ruined it. I think that if there had been no jihādists in Iraq, Libya or Libya it may have worked.

¶502:

- ¶503: Do you consider the death of Mohamed Bouazizi to have been worth it?

  - o   ¶504: No one knows. The Arab Spring failed in Egypt, Libya, Syria and even Tunisia. Also, he did not know that he was starting anything. He was just a spark that started a fire.

¶505:

¶506: Muslim Brotherhood

- ¶507: The Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) are viewed as an extremist organisation in some countries but not in others and is banned in some countries but not in others; do you believe that it is extremist?

  - o   ¶508: Their message is a distortion and when they ruled Egypt, it was a disaster. They had no strategy to help the nation, just themselves. It probably has some extremists in it.

¶509:

  - o   ¶510: Do you believe that it should be banned?

¶511:

    - ¶512: No.

¶513:

  - o   ¶514: What do you think of their recent experience in Egypt?

    - ¶515: Chaos. They did not help the nation or the common man. It was a complete failure.

¶516:

- o ¶517: Are the teachings of Sayyid Qutb relevant to modern Arabs?

  - ¶518: No. He was an Islamic scholar but he went too far in his books '*Milestones*' and '*On the Shadows of Islam*'.

  ¶519:

- ¶520: It is said that political Islamists such as the Muslim Brotherhood only gain popularity because they replace the social and other services that should be delivered by many Arab governments.

  ¶521:

  - o ¶522: Is this correct?

    - ¶523: Yes

    ¶524:

  - o ¶525: Does this contribute to anti-Americanism?

  ¶526:

    - ¶527: Yes, I think so.

      ¶528:

  - o ¶529: Does this contribute to extremism?

  ¶530:

    - ¶531: Yes, I think so.

  ¶532:

- ¶533: Is the Muslim Brotherhood anti-Western?

  - ¶534: Yes and no. It is in a conceptual sense. But they also live in the West and use it to spread their message. They are also happy to have their wives and daughters educated in the West. They do not wear the niqāb, their men do not have beards, they blend into Western life without being seen. The West think that it is assimilation but it is more like Russian spies living in London. They are living a lie. But all they really want is power.

¶535: **Islam**

- ¶536: Do you think that Islam is a religion of peace?

- ¶537: If so why? If not why not?

  ¶538:

  - o ¶539: It depends on which Islam you are speaking about. Is it Shi'a, Sunni or Salafism and Wahhabism or jihādism. And all along Muslims who do not agree with each other accuse others of being kafir.

  ¶540:

- ¶541: What do you think that some and possibly many Westerners conflate Islam with Islamist terrorism?

  - o ¶542: Often it a lack of education or lack of knowledge. For others, they just don't care. I see many American and British tourists in Arab countries. They come to the Middle East and Arab countries and bring their Western attitudes. They want to drink alcohol, go to night clubs but know nothing about and want to know nothing about the culture of the Arab and Islamic country they are in.

  - o ¶543: Also, all they get from Hollywood is awful projections of Arabs as terrorists. So they get confused.

    ¶544:

- ¶545: Why are 'radical Muslims' seen as representative of Islam in the West?

  - o ¶546: It's mostly Hollywood and Western media.

  ¶547:

- ¶548: Sunni Islam has no globally accepted central religious leader or doctrinal centre such as the Grand *Ayatollah* in Shia Islam or the Pope or Vatican for Roman Catholics;

  - o ¶549: True. This is strength as well as a weakness. There is no one to tell us what to think. We use the Holy Qur'an. But there is also Al-Azar Islamic University in Cairo. The Grand Imam there influences 100 million Arabs with his fatwas.

  ¶550:

  - o ¶551: Does this contribute to a situation where Islam*ist* extremists can interpret Quranic texts in an extremist manner?

  ¶552:

- ¶553: Yes, of course and they do.

¶554:

- ¶555: Who speaks or should speak for Sunni Islam?

  - ¶556: The Holy Qur'an and the message of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

¶557:

- ¶558: What do you view as the solution to this challenge?

  ¶559:

  - ¶560: There isn't one. Some problems cannot be solved.

  ¶561:

- ¶562: Is Sharia compatible with democracy?

  - ¶563: No. It simply is not.

¶564:

- ¶565: If not, why not?

  ¶566:

- ¶567: Is Islam or Sharia threatened by Western scientific humanism or the secular 'Enlightenment'?

  - ¶568: No. Not at all. It is threatened by Islamist extremism and jihādism.

¶569:

¶570: Possible Solutions

- ¶571: What do you think the West or America can do to reduce the levels of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - ¶572: Try to settle the conflict between Israel and Palestine by bringing about a two state solution. Use - not America but the European Union to moderate. We need a just and lasting settlement.

  - ¶573: I am going to take a risk here by saying, the West must not support Arab autocratic regimes just because they have a treaty with them or because they buy US weapons.

¶574:

¶575: Improvements in the Image of Arab Muslim World
¶576:

- ¶577: What do you think can be done to improve the image of the Arab / Muslim world in the rest of the world?
    - o ¶578: Muslims living in the West should not point fingers at the West. They should integrate better. Wearing Middle Eastern clothing in Europe that was designed for the deserts of the Arabian Gulf make no sense in the 21st Century. In Egypt, most of us in Cairo wear suits.
    - o ¶579: Arab leaders need to embrace more Western values like freedom of speech and accountability. They must spend on the people rather than buying US weapons. Invest in education, health, free the press, free the courts and let their people 'breathe the breath of freedom'. and enjoy social justice.
    - ¶580:

¶581:

¶582: Any Other Matters
¶583:

- ¶584: Is there any other matter related to the research question (directly or indirectly) which you would like to mention?
    - o ¶585: This interview was so long but it went quickly!

¶1: **Primary Research**
¶2: **Semi-Structured Interviews**
¶3: **(Highlighted with Line Numbers)**

¶4: Participant Number: 05

¶5: **Interview Date**: 27 February 18

¶6: **Duration**: 2 hours 04 minutes

¶7: **All participant replies are in green**

¶8: **RESEARCH QUESTION**

¶9: An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim males to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era.

¶10: **KEY WORDS**
¶11:
¶12: Anti-Americanism, Middle Eastern, Arab Sunni Muslim, Males, Islamist extremism and contemporary era.
¶13:
¶14: QUESTIONS

¶15: Introduction – Early Years and America

- ¶16: Can you please tell me a little about yourself and your formative years?

  o ¶17: I was born in Syria in Darʿā. I went to school in Darʿā and grew up there. I belong to a family of eleven children. I have six sisters, who are all married and five brothers. I also want to marry soon but it is difficult because of little money and the situation in the Middle East.

- ¶18: When did you first become aware of America?

  o ¶19: I first heard about America from the television and from my cousin, Abdul Salem. He lived there since 1980. So he has been there a long time.

  ¶20:

  o ¶21: Was it in a positive or negative context?

    - ¶22: It was positive.

  ¶23:

  o ¶24: Can you please elaborate?

  ¶25:

    - ¶26: It was positive because of what my parents said that my cousin had told them. Also they talked about social mobility in America what is called the 'American Dream'. Also, respect. They said that if you get a US passport you are respected and treated better that if you have a Syrian passport.

      ¶27:

- ¶28: Have you visited America?

  o ¶29: No

¶30:

- ¶31: In what capacity – work, student, tourist or other?

¶32:

  - ¶33: N/A

  ¶34:

- ¶35: For how long did you stay?

  - ¶36: N/A

  ¶37:

- ¶38: Were your impressions positive or negative?

  - ¶39: N/A

  ¶40:

- ¶41: Have your opinions been altered in any way by your visit(s)?

  - ¶42: N/A

  ¶43:

  - ¶44: If so, in what way?

¶45:

    - ¶46: N/A

    ¶47:

- ¶48: Do you or would you:

  - ¶49: **Purchase** American products?

    - ¶50: Yes.

    ¶51:

  - ¶52: **Wear** American brands, such as Nike, Calvin Klein, Polo Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, Levi Strauss, Gap, or American Eagle?

    - ¶53: I buy Polo and Gap. They look good and have quality.

¶54:

- ¶55: **Dress** in a contemporary US style such as baseball cap, jeans, 'T' shirt, trainers?

  - ¶56: I dress in a 'modern' style but not what you would call American.

¶57:

- ¶58: **Eat** American fast food such as McDonald's, KFC, Subway, Dunkin' Donuts or Pizza Hut?

  - ¶59: I like Subway.

¶60:

- ¶61: **Drink** American soft drinks such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi or Dr Pepper?

  - ¶62: Not at all. They are not healthy.

¶63:

- ¶64: **Watch** American made Hollywood movies?

  - ¶65: If so which?

    - ¶66: Yes. I like movies like Touching My Mind or Inception.

- ¶67: **Watch** US news channels such as CNN, Fox or NBC, on any media platform?

  - ¶68: Sometimes CNN.

- ¶69: **Listen** to American music such as Pop, Rock, Rap, Heavy Metal, R&B, or Jazz, on any music platform?

  - ¶70: If so which?

  - ¶71: Sometimes R&B or jazz. Also, I like the Lebanese interpretation of jazz.

¶72:

- ¶73: **Drive** an American car such as GMC, Ford, Chrysler or Cadillac?

  - ¶74: No.

    ¶75:

- ¶76: **Possess** an Apple iPhone, iPad, MacBook, iMac or use Microsoft?

- ¶77: If so, which?

  - ¶78: Yes, all.

¶79: Family Relatives & Friends

- ¶80: How is the West and America generally regarded by you, your family, relatives, and friends?

  o ¶81: Now – negatively. What happened in Syria and Iraq due to the US.

  ¶82:

  o ¶83: Has this changed in any way recently?

    - ¶84: No. it is still negative.

      ¶85:

- ¶86: How often is America, its foreign policy, or actions in the Middle East a topic of conversation for you, your family or friends?

  ¶87:

  o ¶88: Often, sometimes, never?

    - ¶89: Often.

  o ¶90: If so, in what way?

    - ¶91: Trump, Al Quds, Muslim ban, it just keeps going.

¶92: Anti-Americanism

- ¶93: When did you first become aware of anti-Americanism?

  o ¶94: It was really in 2008 from friends.

  ¶95:

  o ¶96: Within a Middle Eastern context?

  ¶97:

    - ¶98: My friends.

  ¶99:

  o ¶100: How did it manifest itself?

¶101:

- ¶102: It was mostly the US support for Israel.

¶103:

o ¶104: Media, social commentators, politicians, religious leaders, organisations, friends, relatives, family or other?

¶105:

- ¶106: Sure – those but friends had more influence.

¶107:

o ¶108: Did it affect you in any way? If so how?

¶109:

- ¶110: I was surprised how strongly they felt.

¶111:

o ¶112: Did it shape your views? If so how?

¶113:

- ¶114: A little.

¶115:

o ¶116: Have these views changed?

- ¶117: Not really.

¶118:

- ¶119: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your school?

¶120:

o ¶121: If so, how? Why?

¶122:

- ¶123: Not really. It must have been but that is not my thing.

¶124:

- ¶125: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your college or university?

- o ¶126: No reply.

¶127:

- o ¶128: If so, how? Why?

  - • ¶129: I don't know but probably Palestine.

  ¶130:

- • ¶131: Are you consciously aware of anti-Americanism in the Arab media?

  - o ¶132: Yes, it is there but less than before.

¶133:

- • ¶134: If so – which parts of the media?

  - o ¶135: TV and internet. There is so much on the internet.

  ¶136:

  - o ¶137: What effect or impact does this have on your opinions?

    - • ¶138: A little.

  ¶139:

- • ¶140: To what degree if any does American foreign policy in the Middle East have on Arab Sunni anti-Americanism?

  - o ¶141: It does.

¶142:

  - o ¶143: How do you view American foreign policy?

¶144:

    - • ¶145: I can only say about the Middle East and the Arabs resent their policies.

  ¶146:

- • ¶147: To what degree if any does the presence of American military bases in the Middle East and especially in Saudi Arabia, contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

  - o ¶148: I am not sure.

  ¶149:

- ¶150: To what degree if any does 'Americanisation' (globalisation) and its impact on Arab culture and Islamic life contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

    o ¶151: Yes, America is changing Arab culture into a more global culture.

¶152:

- ¶153: To what degree do Middle Eastern Arabs blame America for preexisting problems within the Middle East?

    o ¶154: Is it justified?

    o ¶155: The 'Arab Street' blames America.

¶156: **Causes of Contemporary Anti-Americanism**

- ¶157: What do you think are the causes of contemporary anti-Americanism within the Middle East?

    o ¶158: Can you please provide some examples?

        - ¶159: Iraq and Palestine. But you will not hear that from Arab governments. But you will from the people if you listen.

    ¶160:

    o ¶161: Is your opinion commonly held?

        - ¶162: Yes. We all know it. It is our open secret.

    ¶163:

¶164: **Sayings or Common Phrases**

- ¶165: What Arab phrases or sayings about the West or America are most memorable to you, or come quickly to your mind?

    o ¶166: Yes, "you have to tie the donkey where the owner wants". This means if the US is paying, you have to do what they want. You know what I mean here? If you are an Arab dictator and the US is paying to keep you in power, you keep your mouth shut and do what the US wants. We all know this.

    ¶167:

    o ¶168: Are these common?

        - ¶169: Yes. This saying is common to many Arabs.

¶170:

¶171: Historical Events

- ¶172: What do you consider to be the most important historical events in relation to the West's historical relationship with Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

  ¶173:

  - o ¶174: Can you explain why?

    - ¶175: All of it. History is important. Syria, Iraq and Palestine.

      ¶176:

- ¶177: How important or relevant do you think historical events such as the Crusades are to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - o ¶178: This is all history and it is important to us. We must remember it.

  ¶179:

  - o ¶180: How important is it to you?

  ¶181:

    - ¶182: History is important. It tells us our past and why we are the way we are.

      ¶183:

- ¶184: What historical events can you recall or are important to you in relation to Western interventionism in the Middle East?

  - o ¶185: Syria, Iraq and Palestine.

  ¶186:

- ¶187: How important do you think the colonial period is to Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - o ¶188: How important is it to you?

    - ¶189: It is all history and therefore important.

  ¶190:

  - o ¶191: Do you think that these events are relevant to modern Arab life?

    - ¶192: Yes.

¶193: **Islam*ism***

- ¶194: What do you understand by the word Islam*ism*?

  - o ¶195: Islamism is a misuse of Islam. Islam is a religion of peace.

  ¶196:

- ¶197: When did you first become aware of Islam*ism* or Islam*ist* ideologues?

  - o ¶198: If so, which ideologues?

    - ¶199: I guess at university level.

    ¶200:

  - o ¶201: How did their message affect you or others that you know?

    - ¶202: We heard them.

¶203: **Palestine & Israel**

- ¶204: How important is the Palestinian issue to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - o ¶205: It is still important to most Arabs.

  - o ¶206: If this is important, explain why?

  ¶207:

  - o ¶208: Is this issue reducing in importance in Arab minds in any way?

    - ¶209: No. But people don't talk about it openly like before. Arab governments want to keep any form of protest suppressed. As they say in the coffee shops, "A man who protests against Israel today may protest against his own government tomorrow!" You understand?

  ¶210:

- ¶211: How important is the Palestinian issue to you?

  - o ¶212: Important.

    ¶213:

    ¶214: If so, why?

  ¶215:

- ¶216: No reply.

¶217:

  o ¶218: Is this issue reducing in importance in your mind?

    - ¶219: No.

¶220:

  ¶221:

- ¶222: How do you feel about the 1948, 1967, 1973 wars?

  o ¶223: It is our history and history is important. It is part of us.

¶224:

- ¶225: Do you view Israel as an illegal occupier of Palestine and Palestinian territory?

  o ¶226: Yes.

    ¶227:

- ¶228: Do most Arab Sunni Muslims accept the existence of the State of Israel?

  o ¶229: Do you?

    - ¶230: No.

    ¶231:

  o ¶232: If not, why not?

¶233:

    ¶234: (Not answered)

¶235:

- ¶236: How do you view the Israeli occupation of Lebanon which lasted 18 years (1982-2000)?

  o ¶237: It is Israel. It is what they do to the Arabs.

- ¶238: Do you view the State of Israel as legitimate?

  o ¶239: No, but it is there.

¶240:

- ¶241: If not, why?

¶242:

- ¶243: Do you view Israel as a terrorist state?

  - ¶244: It is there so I just accept it.

¶245:

  - ¶246: If so, why?

¶247:

    - ¶248: (No answer)

  ¶249:

- ¶250: To what extent is anti-Americanism caused by US support for the State of Israel or linked to the US/ Israeli alliance?

  - ¶251: It is.

¶252:

  - ¶253: How do you feel about American support for Israel?

¶254:

    - ¶255: It is there. I see it. But seeing it is not the same as accepting it.

  ¶256:

  - ¶257: How do you feel about this alliance?

    - ¶258: Same.

  ¶259:

- ¶260: To what extent is America's support for Israeli used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - ¶261: Sure. This is how it works.

¶262:

- ¶263: Does the US support for Israel undermine its purported independence in negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?

- o ¶264: Of course. They are not independent.

¶265:

- ¶266: Do many Arab Sunni Muslims conflate Judaism with Israelis or Zionism?

    - o ¶267: Yes.

¶268:

    - o ¶269: If so, which? In what way? Why?

        - ¶270: (No answer)

¶271:

- ¶272: Do you consider Hamas (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah*) to be a terrorist organisation? If so why? If not, why not?

    - o ¶273: No.

        ¶274:

- ¶275: Do you consider the military wing of Hamas (*Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades*) to be a terrorist organisation?

    - o ¶276: No.

¶277:

    - o ¶278: Were the Intifadas against Israel justified?

¶279:

        - ¶280: Yes.

        ¶281:

    - o ¶282: If so, why?

        - ¶283: (No answer)

        ¶284:

- ¶285: Do you consider Hezbollah to be a terrorist organisation?

¶286:

    - o ¶287: If so, why?

        - ¶288: No.

¶289:

- ¶290: Do you consider Hezbollah's attacks on Israel to be terrorist? If so why?

  ¶291:

  - o ¶292: No.

    ¶293:

  - o ¶294: If not, why not?

  ¶295:

    - ¶296: (No answer)

  ¶297:

- ¶298: Were the deaths of 7 x family members of a Palestinian family (Ghaliya family) on Gaza beach in 2006 caused by an Israeli artillery barrage, an act of terrorism?

  - o ¶299: Yes.

  ¶300:

  - o ¶301: If so, please explain. If not, please explain.

  ¶302:

    - ¶303: (No answer)

  ¶304:

- ¶305: In the 2014 Gaza conflict, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) state that 1,462 x Palestinian civilians were killed by Israeli Defence Force (IDF) aerial bombing, tank and artillery fire and that 5 x Israeli civilians were killed by Hamas rockets.

  ¶306:

  - o ¶307: What is your view on the proportionality of this?

    - ¶308: It was not in proportion.

  ¶309:

  - o ¶310: In what way does this influence your opinion of America and its support for Israel?

- ¶311: <mark>Negative</mark>.

¶312:

- ¶313: In what way does this impact on Arab minds in relation to America's support for Israel?

  - ¶314: (No answer)

¶315:

¶316:

- ¶317: Does it contribute to anti-Americanism?

  - ¶318: <mark>Yes</mark>.

¶319:

- ¶320: Do you have any other related views?

  - ¶321: (No answer)

¶322:

- ¶323: Do you believe that America considers 'Israeli blood' to be more valuable than Arab 'Palestinian blood'?

  - ¶324: <mark>Yes</mark>.

¶325:

- ¶326: If so why?

¶327:

  - ¶328: (No answer)

    ¶329:

¶330:

¶331: US Led Invasion of Iraq

- ¶332: Is the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq still a 'burning issue' to Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - ¶333: Yes.

¶334:

- o ¶335: How do you feel about it?

  ¶336:

    - • ¶337: Mariam Nour the Lebanese commentator said to the Arabs about this "Wake up – no makeup". Many Arabs now say this. What she was saying was wake up and see what the Americans have done in Iraq and take our eyes off Western commercialism. Also, she was saying, 'remember who you are' and don't become an Arab copy of some Western ideal.

- • ¶338: **Iraqi loss of life due to the war**

  ¶339:

    - o ¶340: John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health calculated that 655,000 Iraqis died as a consequence of the 2003 Iraq War (reported in *The Lancet* medical journal).

      ¶341:

    - o ¶342: The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that 151,000 violent deaths in Iraq occurred from March 2003 to June 2006.

  ¶343:

    - o ¶344: Classified Pentagon files released by WikiLeaks recorded in excess of 66,000 civilians killed in the Iraq War between 2004 and 2009.

      ¶345:

- • ¶346: How do you feel about these statistics?

    - o ¶347: Very sad.

  ¶348:

- • ¶349: Is the loss of Iraqi life still a 'burning issue'?

  ¶350:

    - o ¶351: Yes.

      ¶352:

    - o ¶353: With you?

      ¶354:

- ¶355: Yes.

¶356:

o ¶357: With other Arabs?

¶358:

- ¶359: Yes.

¶360:

- ¶361: How important to modern Arab Sunni Muslims are the documented American atrocities and human rights violations at *Abu Ghraib* detention facility, the assaults on *Fallujah* (Apr & Nov 2004), the use of extraordinary rendition, or the existence of Guantanamo Bay detention facility?

  o ¶362: People remember. It is sad for us.

¶363:

- ¶364: To what extent do you think the US led invasion of Iraq contributed to:

  o ¶365: A growth in anti-Americanism?

    - ¶366: Yes – very.

  ¶367:

  o ¶368: The formation of *Daesh* or ISIS?

    - ¶369: Yes – again.

¶370:

    - ¶371: Who do you think created Daesh?

¶372:

      - ¶373: No reply.

¶374:

    - ¶375: What is the common opinion of the 'Arab Street'?

      - ¶376: The US.

    ¶377:

  o ¶378: Destabilisation of the region -

¶379: Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Influence of Iran or Turkey or others?

- ¶380: Yes.

o ¶381: Increased Islam*ist* extremism?

- ¶382: Yes.

¶383:

- ¶384: What do you believe are the consequences of the invasion?

  o ¶385: The division of the Arabs, the destruction of Iraq, the increased strength of the Shi'a Crescent and Iran.

¶386:

- ¶387: What do you think about the US led invasion of Iraq?

  o ¶388: It was really bad.

¶389:

- ¶390: What do you think was the primary reason for the invasion?

¶391:

  o ¶392: Oil and power and US self-interest. Do you know that they executed Saddam Hussein on the first day of Eid Al-Adha? They handed him to the Shi'a to abuse, insult and hang. We all saw it in the internet.

¶393:

  o ¶394: What is the common reason given for the invasion in the 'Arab street'?

- ¶395: Israel and oil.

¶396:

  o ¶397: What is the common reason given by Islam*ists*?

- ¶398: Israel and theft of oil.

¶399: **Daesh / ISIS / Jihād / Syria**

- ¶400: The chaos caused in Iraq by America. Without the invasion there would have been no Daesh.

¶401:

- ¶402: Islam*ists* derive their Islam*ic* theological credibility by claiming to be waging *jihād* and living according to the Hadith and Sunnah, similar to the earlier caliphates. To what extent is this correct?

¶403:

  o ¶404: They are wrong.

¶405:

¶406:

- ¶407: What do you understand as the meaning of *jihād*?

  o ¶408: This is in the Qur'an.

¶409:

  o ¶410: In what circumstances may it be waged?

    ¶411:

      • ¶412: It is in the Qur'an.

    ¶413:

- ¶414: What do you understand as the meaning of the terms *Takfir* and *Kafir* or unbeliever?

  o ¶415: An unbeliever.

¶416:

  o ¶417: How do you feel about this concept in the modern world?

      • ¶418: No comment.

    ¶419:

- ¶420: Islam*ist* extremism can be said to grow in the 'fertile ground of ignorance'. Is this correct?

  o ¶421: Correct. Will this take much longer?

¶422:

  o ¶423: To what extent does this fuel anti-Americanism?

¶424:

- ¶425: Of course.

¶426:

o ¶427: Can you please provide examples?

- ¶428: No reply.

¶429:

- ¶430: It is said by some Arab Sunni Muslims that "*Daesh* are extreme and do terrible things but they 'fight' the Syrian regime with commitment and the other opposition groups do not".

  o ¶431: To what extent is this correct, if at all?

  ¶432:

  - ¶433: If I say yes to this as a Syrian, it could cause me a problem.

  ¶434:

- ¶435: Was the burning alive of Muath Al-Kasasbeh a terrorist act or an act of *jihād*?

  o ¶436: I don't know anyone who thinks that it was a moral thing to do. He was a Sunni Arab who was doing his duty.

  ¶437:

- ¶438: What do you think of ISIS attacks on Shia *masjids* (mosques) and the Shia community?

  o ¶439: This is killing innocent people who are praying. This is terrible. It is like committing a massacre.

¶440:

- ¶441: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be fair and reasonable?

  o ¶442: No.

¶443:

o ¶444: If so, why?

¶445:

- ¶446: There are acting like a militia for Iran against Arabs.

  ¶447:

- ¶448: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be terrorist?

  - o ¶449: It is wrong.

  ¶450:

  - o ¶451: If so, why?

    ¶452:

¶453: 'Arab Spring' (*Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī*)

- ¶454: What have been the consequences of the *Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī* - 'Arab Spring' for Middle Eastern Arabs?

  - o ¶455: It started a fire that destroyed the beautiful country of Syria. Also, it destroyed Libya. In Syria, it started because the Al-Assad family believed that they owned the country like a big family company in the West where it is passed from father to son. But the people are not a company and do not want to be owned like in a kingdom. The old were frightened but the young are not.

  ¶456:

- ¶457: What was the impact of the 'Arab Spring' on the current situation in the Muslim world and its relationship with the outside world?

  ¶458:

  - o ¶459: The result is less freedom in Arab countries, except for here (UAE). This place is different to anywhere else in the Arab world. That is why we come here. But the rest; - the leaders have closed in on their people. The leaders never want this to happen again and the West is helping them.

  ¶460:

- ¶461: Do you like or use the term 'Arab Spring'?

  - o ¶462: I do not use it.

  ¶463:

- ¶464: Do you view the 'Arab Spring' positively or negatively?

- ¶465: The fire it started destroyed so many Arab countries and millions are refugees. Also, it drew jihādists from across the world. How can it be positive? Do you know Dr. Mohammed Maaz? He was a doctor who worked to save the injured in Syria. He was trying to help people but he was killed in Aleppo in 2016 when the Russians or Syrian Air Force bombed his hospital. He is just one of many thousands. How can this price be worth it? Also, the country is devastated.

¶466:

- ¶467: Do you consider the death of Mohamed Bouazizi to have been worth it?

    - ¶468: Worth what? He did not know what his death would start. How much longer will this take?

¶469:

¶470: Muslim Brotherhood

- ¶471: The Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) are viewed as an extremist organisation in some countries but not in others and is banned in some countries but not in others; do you believe that it is extremist?

    - ¶472: No answer.

¶473:

    - ¶474: Do you believe that it should be banned?

¶475:

        - ¶476: No answer.

    ¶477:

    - ¶478: What do you think of their recent experience in Egypt?

        - ¶479: No answer.

    ¶480:

    - ¶481: Are the teachings of Sayyid Qutb relevant to modern Arabs?

        - ¶482: No answer.

    ¶483:

- ¶484: It is said that political Islamists such as the Muslim Brotherhood only gain popularity because they replace the social and other services that should be delivered by many Arab governments.

  ¶485:

  - ¶486: Is this correct?

    - ¶487: No answer.

  ¶488:

  - ¶489: Does this contribute to anti-Americanism?

  ¶490:

    - ¶491: No answer.

      ¶492:

  - ¶493: Does this contribute to extremism?

  ¶494:

    - ¶495: No answer.

  ¶496:

- ¶497: Is the Muslim Brotherhood anti-Western?

    - ¶498: No answer.

¶499: **Islam**

- ¶500: Do you think that Islam is a religion of peace?

- ¶501: If so why? If not why not?

  ¶502:

  - ¶503: Yes.

  ¶504:

- ¶505: What do you think that some and possibly many Westerners conflate Islam with Islamist terrorism?

  - ¶506: They get confused.

    ¶507:

- ¶508: Why are 'radical Muslims' seen as representative of Islam in the West?

  - ¶509: Western movies and media.

  ¶510:

- ¶511: Sunni Islam has no globally accepted central religious leader or doctrinal centre such as the Grand *Ayatollah* in Shia Islam or the Pope or Vatican for Roman Catholics;

  - ¶512: No answer.

  ¶513:

  - ¶514: Does this contribute to a situation where Islam*ist* extremists can interpret Quranic texts in an extremist manner?

  ¶515:

    - ¶516: No answer.

    ¶517:

  - ¶518: What do you view as the solution to this challenge?

    ¶519:

    - ¶520: No answer.

    ¶521:

- ¶522: Is Sharia compatible with democracy?

  - ¶523: Not really unless there is compromise, like here (UAE).

  ¶524:

- ¶525: Is Islam or Sharia threatened by Western scientific humanism or the secular 'Enlightenment'?

  - ¶526: Not really.

  ¶527:

¶528: Possible Solutions

- ¶529: What do you think the West or America can do to reduce the levels of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - ¶530: Understand Islam and the Arabs much better.

¶531:

¶532:

¶533: Improvements in the Image of Arab Muslim World
¶534:

- ¶535: What do you think can be done to improve the image of the Arab / Muslim world in the rest of the world?
  - o ¶536: Live Islam in a peaceful way.
  ¶537:

¶538: Any Other Matters
¶539:

- ¶540: Is there any other matter related to the research question (directly or indirectly) which you would like to mention?
  - o ¶541: Is it finished?

¶1:

¶2: Primary Research
¶3: Semi-Structured Interviews
¶4: (Highlighted with Line Numbers)

¶5: Participant Number: 06

¶6: **Interview Date**: 22 February 18

¶7: **Duration**: 2 hours 15 minutes

¶8: **All participant replies are in green**

¶9: **RESEARCH QUESTION**

¶10: An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim males to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era.

¶11: **KEY WORDS**
¶12:
¶13: Anti-Americanism, Middle Eastern, Arab Sunni Muslim, Males, Islamist extremism and contemporary era.
¶14:

¶15: QUESTIONS

¶16: Introduction – Early Years and America

¶17: Can you please tell me a little about yourself and your formative years?

- o ¶18: I was born in Iraq and I grew up in a happy family setting until the US bombarded my house. I am a university graduate and I hold a master's degree.

¶19: When did you first become aware of America?

- o ¶20: When the US bombarded my home with bombs during the war.

¶21:

¶22: Was it in a positive or negative context?

- ¶23: Obviously it was negative.

¶24:

¶25: Can you please elaborate?

¶26:

- ¶27: Many of my friends were killed by the Americans. I lost family members too. My uncles were killed fighting the American invasion. They were in the Republican Guard.

¶28:

- ¶29: Have you visited America?

  - o ¶30: Yes. I went to Texas.

¶31:

- o ¶32: In what capacity – work, student, tourist or other?

¶33:

- ¶34: I was buying cars.

¶35:

- ¶36: For how long did you stay?

  - ¶37: I stayed for about 10 x days.

¶38:

- ¶39: Were your impressions positive or negative?

  - ¶40: Generally, positive.

¶41:

- ¶42: Have your opinions been altered in any way by your visit(s)?

  - ¶43: I like many Arabs separate them. The common US people are unaware of the impact of US foreign policy on other countries.

¶44:

- ¶45: Do you or would you:

  - ¶46: **Purchase** American products?

    - ¶47: Yes. Often. I have no problem with that.

  ¶48:

  - ¶49: **Wear** American brands, such as Nike, Calvin Klein, Polo Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, Levi Strauss, Gap, or American Eagle?

    - ¶50: Yes. Often.

¶51:

  - ¶52: **Dress** in a contemporary US style such as baseball cap, jeans, 'T' shirt, trainers?

    - ¶53: Yes.

¶54:

  - ¶55: **Eat** American fast food such as McDonald's, KFC, Subway, Dunkin' Donuts or Pizza Hut?

    - ¶56: Yes.

  ¶57:

- ¶58: **Drink** American soft drinks such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi or Dr Pepper?

  - ¶59: Yes.

  ¶60:

- ¶61: **Watch** American made Hollywood movies?

  - ¶62: If so which?

    - ¶63: Yes.

- ¶64: **Watch** US news channels such as CNN, Fox or NBC, on any media platform?

  - ¶65: No. It is propaganda based.

  ¶66:

- ¶67: **Listen** to American music such as Pop, Rock, Rap, Heavy Metal, R&B, or Jazz, on any music platform?

  - ¶68: If so which?

  - ¶69: Yes.

  ¶70:

- ¶71: **Drive** an American car such as GMC, Ford, Chrysler or Cadillac?

  - ¶72: No.

  ¶73:

- ¶74: **Possess** an Apple iPhone, iPad, MacBook, iMac or use Microsoft?

  - ¶75: If so, which?

    - ¶76: Yes.

¶77: **Family Relatives & Friends**

- ¶78: How is the West and America generally regarded by you, your family, relatives, and friends?

  - ¶79: Negative. Especially my friends. What the US did in Iraq was terrible.

¶80:

  - ¶81: Has this changed in any way recently?

718

- ¶82: No.

  ¶83:

- ¶84: How often is America, its foreign policy, or actions in the Middle East a topic of conversation for you, your family or friends?

¶85:

- o ¶86: Often, sometimes, never?

  - ¶87: Before - often. Then it went on the 'back-burner' then Trump did the whole Muslim ban, and then declared Al-Quds to be the main city of Israel and these events have brought it all back. Now it is a hot topic.

¶88: **Anti-Americanism**

- ¶89: When did you first become aware of anti-Americanism?

  - o ¶90: When the Americans bombed my home.

¶91:

- o ¶92: Within a Middle Eastern context?

¶93:

  - ¶94: As I said.

¶95:

- o ¶96: How did it manifest itself?

  ¶97:

  - ¶98: Bombs!

  ¶99:

- o ¶100: Media, social commentators, politicians, religious leaders, organisations, friends, relatives, family or other?

  ¶101:

  - ¶102: All of the above.

  ¶103:

- o ¶104: Did it affect you in any way? If so how?

¶105:

- ¶106: Killing our people!

¶107:

o ¶108: Did it shape your views? If so how?

¶109:

- ¶110: What do you think? Yes, obviously. A lot.

¶111:

o ¶112: Have these views changed?

- ¶113: No.

¶114:

- ¶115: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your school?

¶116:

o ¶117: If so, how? Why?

¶118:

- ¶119: It was regime controlled anti-Americanism.

¶120:

- ¶121: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your college or university?

o ¶122: Yes.

¶123:

- ¶124: Are you consciously aware of anti-Americanism in the Arab media?

o ¶125: Yes. Especially Iraqi media.

¶126:

- ¶127: If so – which parts of the media?

o ¶128: TV. Internet too.

¶129:

- ¶130: What effect or impact does this have on your opinions?

  - ¶131: Sure it does, but it is 'drip drip'.

¶132:

- ¶133: To what degree if any does American foreign policy in the Middle East have on Arab Sunni anti-Americanism?

  - ¶134: A lot.

¶135:

  - ¶136: How do you view American foreign policy?

¶137:

    - ¶138: We do not want them. They are not welcome.

¶139:

- ¶140: To what degree if any does the presence of American military bases in the Middle East and especially in Saudi Arabia, contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

  - ¶141: In the GCC they are a guarantor for the safety of the regimes.

¶142:

- ¶143: To what degree if any does 'Americanisation' (globalisation) and its impact on Arab culture and Islamic life contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

  - ¶144: The illegal invasion of Iraq 'woke the world up' to what America really is.

¶145:

- ¶146: To what degree do Middle Eastern Arabs blame America for preexisting problems within the Middle East?

  - ¶147: Is it justified?

  - ¶148: A little.

¶149: **Causes of Contemporary Anti-Americanism**

- ¶150: What do you think are the causes of contemporary anti-Americanism within the Middle East?

  - ¶151: Can you please provide some examples?

- ¶152: The invasion of Iraq and the American support of Israel with their oppression of the Palestinian people. The Arab Muslim ban from Trump and Al-Quds.

¶153:

o ¶154: Is your opinion commonly held?

- ¶155: Yes. It is all around you. You need to look.

¶156:

¶157: Sayings or Common Phrases

- ¶158: What Arab phrases or sayings about the West or America are most memorable to you, or come quickly to your mind?

o ¶159: Yes, "The Americans bring democracy by invasion", or another one is "The Americans have 'Democracy' painted on their B52 bombs" or "American pilots have dollar signs in their eyes!" Also, as Iraqi's say, "The Americans only came to Iraq to steal our oil".

¶160:

o ¶161: Are these common?

- ¶162: There are so many of these sayings in the Arab world.

¶163:

¶164: Historical Events

- ¶165: What do you consider to be the most important historical events in relation to the West's historical relationship with Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

¶166:

o ¶167: Can you explain why?

- ¶168: We should not forget history.

¶169:

- ¶170: How important or relevant do you think historical events such as the Crusades are to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

o ¶171: Very big. Nothing has changed; they still come to take our money or oil.

¶172:

o ¶173: How important is it to you?

¶174:

• ¶175: Very.

¶176:

- ¶177: What historical events can you recall or are important to you in relation to Western interventionism in the Middle East?

  o ¶178: Iraq, Syria and Palestine. Sykes-Picot, Balfour, all of this.

¶179:

- ¶180: How important do you think the colonial period is to Arab Sunni Muslims?

  o ¶181: How important is it to you?

    • ¶182: It still is. Especially in North Africa. Look at the French and their military intervention in Chad. This was to protect their interests. They also protect their interests in the uranium stockpiles and the French high speed rail link from Rabat to Tangier in Morocco. This is still modern French imperialism.

  ¶183:

  o ¶184: Do you think that these events are relevant to modern Arab life?

    • ¶185: Yes.

¶186: **Islam*ism***

- ¶187: What do you understand by the word Islam*ism*?

  o ¶188: As some of say, they are "Men with long beards and a frozen mindset!"

¶189:

- ¶190: When did you first become aware of Islam*ism* or Islam*ist* ideologues?

  o ¶191: If so, which ideologues?

    • ¶192: Saddam Hussein kept them under control. He did not allow them any power or influence. I think he understood how dangerous they could be. As we say, "The Ba'ath party was the belt that held

us together and Saddam was the belt buckle". But after the Americans destroyed the Army and police, they came in large numbers. The military could have kept them under control if they had been allowed to but they were not.

¶193:

o ¶194: How did their message affect you or others that you know?

- ¶195: Never. The Americans were wrong to invade Iraq but the Islamists are really bad.

¶196: **Palestine & Israel**

- ¶197: How important is the Palestinian issue to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

   o ¶198: Iraq in the past under Saddam Hussein strongly supported the Palestinians.

   o ¶199: If this is important, explain why?

¶200:

   o ¶201: Is this issue reducing in importance in Arab minds in any way?

- ¶202: Look, what you have to remember is that 20% of Israel is Arab and there they have more rights that in most Arab countries. Also, what the Palestinians don't tell you is that they sold the land to the Israeli Jews. They sold the land. Arabs will try to explain this by saying that these people were cheated by the Jews but they sold their own land. But that does not excuse the 1967 and later seizure of lands. So it is not as simple as it looks from the outside.

¶203:

- ¶204: How important is the Palestinian issue to you?

   o ¶205: Yes, it is still important.

   ¶206:

   o ¶207: Is this issue reducing in importance in your mind?

- ¶208: No. Arabs do not accept Israel.

   ¶209:

- ¶210: How do you feel about the 1948, 1967, 1973 wars?

- o ¶211: A tragedy.

¶212:

- ¶213: Do you view Israel as an illegal occupier of Palestine and Palestinian territory?

  - o ¶214: Yes.

    ¶215:

- ¶216: Do most Arab Sunni Muslims accept the existence of the State of Israel?

  - o ¶217: Do you?

    - ¶218: No. Never.

    ¶219:

- ¶220: How do you view the Israeli occupation of Lebanon which lasted 18 years (1982-2000)?

  - o ¶221: This was Israeli self-interest.

- ¶222: Do you view the State of Israel as legitimate?

  - o ¶223: No.

¶224:

- ¶225: Do you view Israel as a terrorist state?

  - o ¶226: It is artificial.

¶227:

  - o ¶228: If so, why?

¶229:

    - ¶230: (No answer)

    ¶231:

- ¶232: To what extent is anti-Americanism caused by US support for the State of Israel or linked to the US/ Israeli alliance?

  - o ¶233: 100%!

¶234:

- o ¶235: How do you feel about American support for Israel?

¶236:

  - ¶237: No reply.

¶238:

- o ¶239: How do you feel about this alliance?

  - ¶240: No reply.

¶241:

- ¶242: To what extent is America's support for Israeli used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - o ¶243: Of course.

¶244:

- ¶245: Does the US support for Israel undermine its purported independence in negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?

  - o ¶246: Yes, 100%!

¶247:

- ¶248: Do many Arab Sunni Muslims conflate Judaism with Israelis or Zionism?

  - o ¶249: Yes. Some say Jew but mean Israeli soldiers.

¶250:

- o ¶251: If so, which? In what way? Why?

  - ¶252: It's to do with lack of education.

    ¶253:

- ¶254: Do you consider Hamas (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah*) to be a terrorist organisation? If so why? If not, why not?

  - o ¶255: Now, I don't care because there are so many jihādist groups.

    ¶256:

- ¶257: Do you consider the military wing of Hamas (*Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades*) to be a terrorist organisation?

- o ¶258: As I said before.

¶259:

- o ¶260: Were the Intifadas against Israel justified?

¶261:

- • ¶262: Yes.

¶263:

- o ¶264: If so, why?

- • ¶265: (No answer)

¶266:

- • ¶267: Do you consider Hezbollah to be a terrorist organisation?

¶268:

- o ¶269: If so, why?

- • ¶270: We say, "Hezbollah is like a rose, to some it is beautiful and to others its thorns make them bleed". You see, it all depends on your perspective. Didn't Shakespeare say something about a rose?

¶271:

- • ¶272: Do you consider Hezbollah's attacks on Israel to be terrorist? If so why?

¶273:

- o ¶274: No reply.

¶275:

- o ¶276: If not, why not?

¶277:

- • ¶278: (No answer)

¶279:

- • ¶280: Were the deaths of 7 x family members of a Palestinian family (Ghaliya family) on Gaza beach in 2006 caused by an Israeli artillery barrage, an act of terrorism?

- o ¶281: It is what the Israelis do. It has become a habit for them.

¶282:

  o ¶283: If so, please explain. If not, please explain.

¶284:

  • ¶285: It was just another event in our sad history.

¶286:

• ¶287: In the 2014 Gaza conflict, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) state that 1,462 x Palestinian civilians were killed by Israeli Defence Force (IDF) aerial bombing, tank and artillery fire and that 5 x Israeli civilians were killed by Hamas rockets.

¶288:

  o ¶289: What is your view on the proportionality of this?

    • ¶290: The Israeli's think that it is and the US does nothing. This was Israeli cruelty.

¶291:

  o ¶292: In what way does this influence your opinion of America and its support for Israel?

    • ¶293: Negative.

  ¶294:

  o ¶295: In what way does this impact on Arab minds in relation to America's support for Israel?

    • ¶296: (No answer)

  ¶297:

  ¶298:

  o ¶299: Does it contribute to anti-Americanism?

    • ¶300: Yes.

¶301:

  o ¶302: Do you have any other related views?

    • ¶303: (No answer)

¶304:

- ¶305: Do you believe that America considers 'Israeli blood' to be more valuable than Arab 'Palestinian blood'?

  - ¶306: It has become a fact.

¶307:

  - ¶308: If so why?

¶309:

    - ¶310: (No answer)

      ¶311:

    ¶312:

¶313: US Led Invasion of Iraq

- ¶314: Is the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq still a 'burning issue' to Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - ¶315: Yes. The Americans and the West invaded Iraq and destroyed what we call the Arab Wall to Iran. We say, "Iraq was the Arab Wall to Iran".

¶316:

  - ¶317: How do you feel about it?

    ¶318:

- **¶319: Iraqi loss of life due to the war**

¶320:

  - ¶321: John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health calculated that 655,000 Iraqis died as a consequence of the 2003 Iraq War (reported in *The Lancet* medical journal).

    ¶322:

  - ¶323: The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that 151,000 violent deaths in Iraq occurred from March 2003 to June 2006.

¶324:

  - ¶325: Classified Pentagon files released by WikiLeaks recorded in excess of 66,000 civilians killed in the Iraq War between 2004 and 2009.

¶326:

- ¶327: How do you feel about these statistics?

  - ¶328: The US lost about three thousand plus and we had 655 thousand die or killed. Is that proportionate?

¶329:

- ¶330: Is the loss of Iraqi life still a 'burning issue'?

¶331:

  - ¶332: Yes, especially in Iraq and to Iraqis wherever they are in the world.

  ¶333:

  - ¶334: With you?

  ¶335:

    - ¶336: No reply.

  ¶337:

  - ¶338: With other Arabs?

¶339:

    - ¶340: Yes.

¶341:

- ¶342: How important to modern Arab Sunni Muslims are the documented American atrocities and human rights violations at *Abu Ghraib* detention facility, the assaults on *Fallujah* (Apr & Nov 2004), the use of extraordinary rendition, or the existence of Guantanamo Bay detention facility?

  - ¶343: Yes important, but you did not mention the use of depleted uranium shells in Iraq and the large number of birth defects resulting from their use.

¶344:

- ¶345: To what extent do you think the US led invasion of Iraq contributed to:

  - ¶346: A growth in anti-Americanism?

    - ¶347: Yes – of course. We all saw the photographs of an American woman humiliating Arab men with a dog on a leash very and even having Arab men on a leash, like a dog.

¶348:

o ¶349: The formation of *Daesh* or ISIS?

- ¶350: Yes.

¶351:

- ¶352: Who do you think created Daesh?

¶353:

- ¶354: The US destruction of the Iraqi Army, police and government created the space for freedom fighters to come. They were ex-military who were then joined by the religious extremists and jihādists. They all fought the Americans. But many Arabs say it was a plot from the West and Israel to gather jihādists.

¶355:

- ¶356: What is the common opinion of the 'Arab Street'?

¶357:

o ¶358: Destabilisation of the region -

¶359: Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Influence of Iran or Turkey or others?

- ¶360: Yes, this was a domino effect.

o ¶361: Increased Islam*ist* extremism?

- ¶362: Yes.

¶363:

- ¶364: What do you believe are the consequences of the invasion?

o ¶365: The destruction of Iraq, a stronger Iran and a more secure Israel.

¶366:

- ¶367: What do you think about the US led invasion of Iraq?

o ¶368: Terrible.

¶369:

- ¶370: What do you think was the primary reason for the invasion?

  ¶371:

  - o ¶372: US national interest, oil but influenced by Israel through the lobby in the US.

  ¶373:

  - o ¶374: What is the common reason given for the invasion in the 'Arab street'?

    - • ¶375: The most common view is Israel and oil.

    ¶376:

  - o ¶377: What is the common reason given by Islam*ists*?

    - • ¶378: Israel and theft of oil.

¶379: **Daesh / ISIS / Jihād / Syria**

  ¶380:

- ¶381: Islam*ists* derive their Islam*ic* theological credibility by claiming to be waging *jihād* and living according to the Hadith and Sunnah, similar to the earlier caliphates. To what extent is this correct?

  ¶382:

  - o ¶383: They are wrong.

  ¶384:

  ¶385:

- ¶386: What do you understand as the meaning of *jihād*?

  - o ¶387: It is a magnet drawing foreign fighters and others.

  ¶388:

  - o ¶389: In what circumstances may it be waged?

    ¶390:

    - • ¶391: No reply.

    ¶392:

- ¶393: What do you understand as the meaning of the terms *Takfir* and *Kafir* or unbeliever?

    - ¶394: In Islam it is an unbeliever.

    ¶395:

    - ¶396: How do you feel about this concept in the modern world?

        - ¶397: No comment.

        ¶398:

- ¶399: Islam*ist* extremism can be said to grow in the 'fertile ground of ignorance'. Is this correct?

    - ¶400: Sure.

    ¶401:

    - ¶402: To what extent does this fuel anti-Americanism?

    ¶403:

        - ¶404: It does.

        ¶405:

    - ¶406: Can you please provide examples?

        - ¶407: No reply.

    ¶408:

- ¶409: It is said by some Arab Sunni Muslims that "*Daesh* are extreme and do terrible things but they 'fight' the Syrian regime with commitment and the other opposition groups do not".

    - ¶410: To what extent is this correct, if at all?

        ¶411:

        - ¶412: I am not going there!

        ¶413:

- ¶414: Was the burning alive of Muath Al-Kasasbeh a terrorist act or an act of *jihād*?

    - ¶415: Only Allah has the right to punish by fire.

¶416:

- ¶417: What do you think of ISIS attacks on Shia *masjids* (mosques) and the Shia community?

    o ¶418: Most Sunnis are against it.

¶419:

- ¶420: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be fair and reasonable?

    o ¶421: In Iran and Iranian run Iraq use them against Sunni which is wrong.

¶422:

    o ¶423: If so, why?

¶424:

        - ¶425: They now work for Iran against Sunni Arabs.

    ¶426:

- ¶427: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be terrorist?

    o ¶428: I answered this already. But I would say that in 2006 they were freedom fighters against Israel. The Arab people loved them and respected them. We were proud of them. But now they have changed and have a new role working for Iran against Sunni Arabs.

¶429: **'Arab Spring' (*Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī*)**

- ¶430: What have been the consequences of the *Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī* - 'Arab Spring' for Middle Eastern Arabs?

    o ¶431: It was a disaster. It is worse now than before.

¶432:

- ¶433: What was the impact of the 'Arab Spring' on the current situation in the Muslim world and its relationship with the outside world?

¶434:

    o ¶435: Disaster! Arab rulers have become more difficult and are stronger. Now there is no chance of this again.

¶436:

- ¶437: Do you like or use the term 'Arab Spring'?

    - ¶438: No reply.

¶439:

- ¶440: Do you view the 'Arab Spring' positively or negatively?

    - ¶441: It was a disaster!

¶442:

- ¶443: Do you consider the death of Mohamed Bouazizi to have been worth it?

    - ¶444: In Tunisia he is a hero but elsewhere in the Arab World he is not really. What he did, suicide, is not allowed in Islam.

¶445:

¶446: Muslim Brotherhood

- ¶447: The Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) are viewed as an extremist organisation in some countries but not in others and is banned in some countries but not in others; do you believe that it is extremist?

    - ¶448: They are a political party.

¶449:

    - ¶450: Do you believe that it should be banned?

¶451:

        - ¶452: Maybe in Egypt.

        ¶453:

    - ¶454: What do you think of their recent experience in Egypt?

        - ¶455: No answer.

        ¶456:

    - ¶457: Are the teachings of Sayyid Qutb relevant to modern Arabs?

        - ¶458: No answer.

        ¶459:

- ¶460: It is said that political Islamists such as the Muslim Brotherhood only gain popularity because they replace the social and other services that should be delivered by many Arab governments.

  ¶461:

    o ¶462: Is this correct?

        - ¶463: Mixing religion with politics is a problem.

      ¶464:

    o ¶465: Does this contribute to anti-Americanism?

  ¶466:

        - ¶467: No answer.

          ¶468:

    o ¶469: Does this contribute to extremism?

  ¶470:

        - ¶471: No answer.

  ¶472:

- ¶473: Is the Muslim Brotherhood anti-Western?

        - ¶474: No answer.

¶475: **Islam**

- ¶476: Do you think that Islam is a religion of peace?

- ¶477: If so why? If not why not?

  ¶478:

    o ¶479: Yes.

  ¶480:

- ¶481: What do you think that some and possibly many Westerners conflate Islam with Islamist terrorism?

    o ¶482: It is a lack of knowledge, the media, political manipulation like Trump uses it.

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¶483:

- ¶484: Why are 'radical Muslims' seen as representative of Islam in the West?

    o ¶485: Western and American propaganda funded by lobby groups.

¶486:

- ¶487: Sunni Islam has no globally accepted central religious leader or doctrinal centre such as the Grand *Ayatollah* in Shia Islam or the Pope or Vatican for Roman Catholics;

¶488:

    o ¶489: Does this contribute to a situation where Islam*ist* extremists can interpret Quranic texts in an extremist manner?

¶490:

        - ¶491: We have the Qur'an, hadith and fatwas. Look at the UAE. It works and no extremists.

    ¶492:

    o ¶493: What do you view as the solution to this challenge?

    ¶494:

        - ¶495: The UAE seems to have a practical solution.

    ¶496:

- ¶497: Is Sharia compatible with democracy?

    o ¶498: Yes.

¶499:

- ¶500: Is Islam or Sharia threatened by Western scientific humanism or the secular 'Enlightenment'?

    o ¶501: No!

¶502:

¶503: Possible Solutions

- ¶504: What do you think the West or America can do to reduce the levels of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

o   ¶505: Stop interventionism in the Arab world.

¶506:

¶507:

¶508: Improvements in the Image of Arab Muslim World
¶509:

- ¶510: What do you think can be done to improve the image of the Arab / Muslim world in the rest of the world?
    - o   ¶511: The UAE is a good example of a modern Arab country where all can prosper and where there is law. Try to copy the UAE.
    ¶512:

¶513: Any Other Matters
¶514:

- ¶515: Is there any other matter related to the research question (directly or indirectly) which you would like to mention?
    - o   ¶516: Yes, give more visas to Arabs to visit Europe.

¶1:
¶2:

¶3: Primary Research
¶4: Semi-Structured Interviews
¶5: (Highlighted with Line Numbers)

¶6: Participant Number: 07

¶7: **Interview Date**: 19 March 2018

¶8: **Duration**: 2 hours 24 minutes

¶9: **All participant replies are in green**

¶10: **RESEARCH QUESTION**

¶11: An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim males to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era.

¶12: **KEY WORDS**
¶13:

¶14: Anti-Americanism, Middle Eastern, Arab Sunni Muslim, Males, Islamist extremism and contemporary era.

¶15:

¶16: QUESTIONS

¶17: Introduction – Early Years and America

- ¶18: Can you please tell me a little about yourself and your formative years?

    - ¶19: I was born in the UAE but my parents are from Syria, from Dar'a. My family own a car repair business in Musaffah, UAE.

        ¶20:

- ¶21: When did you first become aware of America?

    - ¶22: Television for sure.

    ¶23:

    - ¶24: Was it in a positive or negative context?

        - ¶25: It was positive.

    ¶26:

    - ¶27: Can you please elaborate?

    ¶28:

        - ¶29: It was movies and all of that.

        ¶30:

- ¶31: Have you visited America?

    - ¶32: No. But I would like to.

    ¶33:

    - ¶34: In what capacity – work, student, tourist or other?

    ¶35:

        - ¶36: N/A.

        ¶37:

    - ¶38: For how long did you stay?

        - ¶39: N/A.

¶40:

- o ¶41: Were your impressions positive or negative?

    - ¶42: N/A.

  ¶43:

- o ¶44: Have your opinions been altered in any way by your visit(s)?

    - ¶45: N/A.

  ¶46:

- ¶47: Do you or would you:

  - o ¶48: **Purchase** American products?

      - ¶49: Yes. I like them.

    ¶50:

  - o ¶51: **Wear** American brands, such as Nike, Calvin Klein, Polo Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, Levi Strauss, Gap, or American Eagle?

      - ¶52: Yes.

¶53:

  - o ¶54: **Dress** in a contemporary US style such as baseball cap, jeans, 'T' shirt, trainers?

      - ¶55: Yes.

¶56:

  - o ¶57: **Eat** American fast food such as McDonald's, KFC, Subway, Dunkin' Donuts or Pizza Hut?

      - ¶58: Yes. Daily.

    ¶59:

  - o ¶60: **Drink** American soft drinks such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi or Dr Pepper?

      - ¶61: Yes but not Dr Pepper.

    ¶62:

  - o ¶63: **Watch** American made Hollywood movies?

- ¶64: If so which?
  - ¶65: Yes. Car movies. The Fast and Furious. I have seen all of them.

- o ¶66: **Watch** US news channels such as CNN, Fox or NBC, on any media platform?

  - ¶67: Yes.

    ¶68:

- o ¶69: **Listen** to American music such as Pop, Rock, Rap, Heavy Metal, R&B, or Jazz, on any music platform?

  - ¶70: If so which?

  - ¶71: Yes. It is youth culture.

  ¶72:

- o ¶73: **Drive** an American car such as GMC, Ford, Chrysler or Cadillac?

  - ¶74: Yes – I drive a Jeep.

    ¶75:

- o ¶76: **Possess** an Apple iPhone, iPad, MacBook, iMac or use Microsoft?

  - ¶77: If so, which?

    - ¶78: Yes. I like Apple products and their style.

¶79: **Family Relatives & Friends**

- ¶80: How is the West and America generally regarded by you, your family, relatives, and friends?

  - o ¶81: Yes we are positive. We live in the UAE, we like Western products and lifestyle. It is free.

  ¶82:

  - o ¶83: Has this changed in any way recently?

    - ¶84: No.

      ¶85:

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- ¶86: How often is America, its foreign policy, or actions in the Middle East a topic of conversation for you, your family or friends?

¶87:

  o ¶88: Often, sometimes, never?

    - ¶89: We talk privately in the family and trusted friends.

¶90: **Anti-Americanism**

- ¶91: When did you first become aware of anti-Americanism?

  o ¶92: It was not in my school and we do not have any friends who are like this.

¶93:

  o ¶94: Within a Middle Eastern context?

¶95:

    - ¶96: N/A.

¶97:

  o ¶98: How did it manifest itself?

  ¶99:

    - ¶100: N/A.

  ¶101:

  o ¶102: Media, social commentators, politicians, religious leaders, organisations, friends, relatives, family or other?

      ¶103:

    - ¶104: All of the above.

      ¶105:

  o ¶106: Did it affect you in any way? If so how?

  ¶107:

    - ¶108: It does not.

  ¶109:

- o ¶110: Did it shape your views? If so how?

  ¶111:

  - ¶112: I heard about it but no.

  ¶113:

- o ¶114: Have these views changed?

  - ¶115: No.

  ¶116:

- ¶117: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your school?

  ¶118:

  - o ¶119: If so, how? Why?

    ¶120:

    - ¶121: No. Not in the UAE. Here people at school are not anti-American.

    ¶122:

- ¶123: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your college or university?

  - o ¶124: I never heard about it in the UAE.

    ¶125:

- ¶126: Are you consciously aware of anti-Americanism in the Arab media?

  - o ¶127: Yes on the Arab TV channels.

  ¶128:

- ¶129: If so – which parts of the media?

  - o ¶130: TV. I am sure it is on the internet if you look for it but in the UAE, such sites are blocked. You cannot access them.

    ¶131:

  - o ¶132: What effect or impact does this have on your opinions?

    - ¶133: None. My father is very strict.

¶134:

- ¶135: To what degree if any does American foreign policy in the Middle East have on Arab Sunni anti-Americanism?

    o   ¶136: I cannot talk about that.

¶137:

    o   ¶138: How do you view American foreign policy?

¶139:

        - ¶140: Me personally? I do not want to answer that question.

        ¶141:

- ¶142: To what degree if any does the presence of American military bases in the Middle East and especially in Saudi Arabia, contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

    o   ¶143: I am not going to speak about that.

        ¶144:

- ¶145: To what degree if any does 'Americanisation' (globalisation) and its impact on Arab culture and Islamic life contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

    o   ¶146: Some talk about drugs and alcohol getting to Arabs, others talk about children swearing or using bad language from rap music, others talk about Arab women using American or Western short clothing. So people do talk about this.

¶147:

- ¶148: To what degree do Middle Eastern Arabs blame America for preexisting problems within the Middle East?

    o   ¶149: Next question.

¶150: **Causes of Contemporary Anti-Americanism**

- ¶151: What do you think are the causes of contemporary anti-Americanism within the Middle East?

    o   ¶152: Can you please provide some examples?

        - ¶153: Some people are like that.

        ¶154:

o   ¶155: Is your opinion commonly held?

- ¶156: In the Middle East many Arab people do not talk openly about such things. They only trust their family and maybe a few very close friends.

¶157:

¶158: Sayings or Common Phrases

- ¶159: What Arab phrases or sayings about the West or America are most memorable to you, or come quickly to your mind?

    o   ¶160: Some people say bad things.

¶161:

    o   ¶162: Are these common?

- ¶163: With some people in the Arab world.

¶164:

¶165: Historical Events

- ¶166: What do you consider to be the most important historical events in relation to the West's historical relationship with Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

¶167:

    o   ¶168: Can you explain why?

- ¶169: History is important to Arabs. For us Arabs, history is like a river flowing from the then to now, from the past to the present, unbroken, bringing the past to the present. This is from the Arab saying that "History is like a flowing river that brings the past to the present".

¶170:

- ¶171: How important or relevant do you think historical events such as the Crusades are to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o   ¶172: It is important.

¶173:

    o   ¶174: How important is it to you?

¶175:

- ¶176: Very.

¶177:

- ¶178: What historical events can you recall or are important to you in relation to Western interventionism in the Middle East?

    o ¶179: Next question.

¶180:

- ¶181: How important do you think the colonial period is to Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o ¶182: How important is it to you?

        - ¶183: Next question.

    ¶184:

    o ¶185: Do you think that these events are relevant to modern Arab life?

        - ¶186: Next question.

¶187: **Islam*ism***

- ¶188: What do you understand by the word Islam*ism*?

    o ¶189: I am not talking about that.

¶190:

- ¶191: When did you first become aware of Islam*ism* or Islam*ist* ideologues?

    o ¶192: If so, which ideologues?

        - ¶193: What is the next subject?

    ¶194:

¶195: **Palestine & Israel**

- ¶196: How important is the Palestinian issue to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o ¶197: Important.

    o ¶198: If this is important, explain why?

¶199:

- ○ ¶200: Is this issue reducing in importance in Arab minds in any way?

    - ¶201: I don't accept it as a country. I would like to see it gone.

¶202:

- ¶203: How important is the Palestinian issue to you?

    - ○ ¶204: It is important.

    ¶205:

    - ○ ¶206: Is this issue reducing in importance in your mind?

        - ¶207: No.

        ¶208:

- ¶209: How do you feel about the 1948, 1967, 1973 wars?

    - ○ ¶210: They are important.

¶211:

- ¶212: Do you view Israel as an illegal occupier of Palestine and Palestinian territory?

    - ○ ¶213: Yes.

    ¶214:

- ¶215: Do most Arab Sunni Muslims accept the existence of the State of Israel?

    - ○ ¶216: Do you?

        - ¶217: No.

    ¶218:

- ¶219: How do you view the Israeli occupation of Lebanon which lasted 18 years (1982-2000)?

    - ○ ¶220: Next question.

- ¶221: Do you view the State of Israel as legitimate?

    - ○ ¶222: Next question.

¶223:

- ¶224: Do you view Israel as a terrorist state?

    o   ¶225: No answer

        ¶226:

- ¶227: To what extent is anti-Americanism caused by US support for the State of Israel or linked to the US/ Israeli alliance?

    o   ¶228: No answer

¶229:

    o   ¶230: How do you feel about American support for Israel?

¶231:

            • ¶232: No reply.

        ¶233:

    o   ¶234: How do you feel about this alliance?

            • ¶235: No reply.

        ¶236:

- ¶237: To what extent is America's support for Israeli used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab Sunni Muslims?

¶238:

- ¶239: Does the US support for Israel undermine its purported independence in negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?

    o   ¶240: Yes.

¶241:

- ¶242: Do many Arab Sunni Muslims conflate Judaism with Israelis or Zionism?

    o   ¶243: Probably.

¶244:

- ¶245: Do you consider Hamas (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah*) to be a terrorist organisation? If so why? If not, why not?

    o   ¶246: I can't speak about them.

¶247:

- ¶248: Do you consider the military wing of Hamas (*Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades*) to be a terrorist organisation?

    o   ¶249: No reply.

¶250:

    o   ¶251: Were the Intifadas against Israel justified?

¶252:

        - ¶253: No answer.

    ¶254:

    o   ¶255: If so, why?

        - ¶256: No answer.

    ¶257:

- ¶258: Do you consider Hezbollah to be a terrorist organisation?

¶259:

    o   ¶260: If so, why?

        - ¶261: No reply.

    ¶262:

- ¶263: Do you consider Hezbollah's attacks on Israel to be terrorist? If so why?

¶264:

    o   ¶265: No reply.

    ¶266:

    o   ¶267: If not, why not?

¶268:

        - ¶269: No answer

¶270:

- ¶271: Were the deaths of 7 x family members of a Palestinian family (Ghaliya family) on Gaza beach in 2006 caused by an Israeli artillery barrage, an act of terrorism?

    o ¶272: No reply.

  ¶273:

- ¶274: In the 2014 Gaza conflict, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) state that 1,462 x Palestinian civilians were killed by Israeli Defence Force (IDF) aerial bombing, tank and artillery fire and that 5 x Israeli civilians were killed by Hamas rockets.

  ¶275:

    o ¶276: What is your view on the proportionality of this?

        • ¶277: I am not talking about this.

  ¶278:

    o ¶279: In what way does this influence your opinion of America and its support for Israel?

        • ¶280: No answer.

      ¶281:

    o ¶282: In what way does this impact on Arab minds in relation to America's support for Israel?

        • ¶283: No answer

      ¶284:

    o ¶285: Does it contribute to anti-Americanism?

        • ¶286: No answer.

  ¶287:

    o ¶288: Do you have any other related views?

        • ¶289: No answer

      ¶290:

- ¶291: Do you believe that America considers 'Israeli blood' to be more valuable than Arab 'Palestinian blood'?

- o ¶292: I cannot talk about this.

¶293:

- o ¶294: If so why?

¶295:

- ¶296: No answer

¶297:

¶298:

¶299: US Led Invasion of Iraq

- ¶300: Is the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq still a 'burning issue' to Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - o ¶301: This is important to Arabs. But many are now hiding their feelings. They will only tell family and sometimes very close friends.

¶302:

- **¶303: Iraqi loss of life due to the war**

¶304:

  - o ¶305: John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health calculated that 655,000 Iraqis died as a consequence of the 2003 Iraq War (reported in *The Lancet* medical journal).

¶306:

  - o ¶307: The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that 151,000 violent deaths in Iraq occurred from March 2003 to June 2006.

¶308:

  - o ¶309: Classified Pentagon files released by WikiLeaks recorded in excess of 66,000 civilians killed in the Iraq War between 2004 and 2009.

¶310:

- ¶311: How do you feel about these statistics?

  - o ¶312: Next.

¶313:

- ¶314: Is the loss of Iraqi life still a 'burning issue'?

¶315:

  - o ¶316: Next.

    ¶317:

  - o ¶318: With you?

    ¶319:

      - ¶320: No reply.

    ¶321:

  - o ¶322: With other Arabs?

¶323:

      - ¶324: No reply.

¶325:

- ¶326: How important to modern Arab Sunni Muslims are the documented American atrocities and human rights violations at *Abu Ghraib* detention facility, the assaults on *Fallujah* (Apr & Nov 2004), the use of extraordinary rendition, or the existence of Guantanamo Bay detention facility?

  - o ¶327: I cannot talk about that either.

¶328:

- ¶329: To what extent do you think the US led invasion of Iraq contributed to:

  - o ¶330: A growth in anti-Americanism?

      - ¶331: No reply.

    ¶332:

  - o ¶333: The formation of *Daesh* or ISIS?

      - ¶334: No reply.

¶335:

      - ¶336: Who do you think created Daesh?

¶337:

- ¶338: No reply.

¶339:

- ¶340: Destabilisation of the region -

  ¶341: Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Influence of Iran or Turkey or others?

  - ¶342: No reply.

- ¶343: Increased Islam*ist* extremism?

  - ¶344: No reply.

  ¶345:

- ¶346: What do you believe are the consequences of the invasion?

  - ¶347: No reply.

¶348:

- ¶349: What do you think about the US led invasion of Iraq?

  - ¶350: No reply.

¶351:

- ¶352: What do you think was the primary reason for the invasion?

¶353:

  - ¶354: No reply.

¶355:

¶356: Daesh / ISIS / Jihād / Syria

¶357:

- ¶358: Islam*ists* derive their Islam*ic* theological credibility by claiming to be waging *jihād* and living according to the Hadith and Sunnah, similar to the earlier caliphates. To what extent is this correct?

¶359:

  - ¶360: I think that it is the media and internet. But also what we Arabs call 'Sunni Fake Sheikhs'.

¶361:

- ¶362: What do you understand as the meaning of *jihād*?

    o ¶363: No reply.

¶364:

    o ¶365: In what circumstances may it be waged?

        ¶366:

            - ¶367: No reply.

        ¶368:

- ¶369: What do you understand as the meaning of the terms *Takfir* and *Kafir* or unbeliever?

    o ¶370: An unbeliever.

¶371:

    o ¶372: How do you feel about this concept in the modern world?

            - ¶373: No comment.

        ¶374:

- ¶375: Islam*ist* extremism can be said to grow in the 'fertile ground of ignorance'. Is this correct?

    o ¶376: I guess so.

¶377:

    o ¶378: To what extent does this fuel anti-Americanism?

¶379:

            - ¶380: I don't know.

        ¶381:

    o ¶382: Can you please provide examples?

            - ¶383: No reply.

¶384:

- ¶385: It is said by some Arab Sunni Muslims that "*Daesh* are extreme and do terrible things but they 'fight' the Syrian regime with commitment and the other opposition groups do not".

  - o ¶386: To what extent is this correct, if at all?

    ¶387:

      - ¶388: I am not going to talk about that.

    ¶389:

- ¶390: Was the burning alive of Muath Al-Kasasbeh a terrorist act or an act of *jihād*?

  - o ¶391: Yes, it was a terrorist act. It was awful.

    ¶392:

- ¶393: What do you think of ISIS attacks on Shia *masjids* (mosques) and the Shia community?

  - o ¶394: This is done to draw young people into it.

  ¶395:

- ¶396: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be fair and reasonable?

  - o ¶397: No.

  ¶398:

- ¶399: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be terrorist?

  - o ¶400: Yes. What they are doing in Syria is wrong! It is terrorist.

¶401: **'Arab Spring' (*Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī*)**

- ¶402: What have been the consequences of the *Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī* - 'Arab Spring' for Middle Eastern Arabs?

  - o ¶403: It failed. But also things have changed because of it. In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood took over and were then thrown out. But in Tunisia they are taking over. But as the youth say, "Now we must be quiet" or "Now we must live like spies in our own country".

755

¶404:

- ¶405: What was the impact of the 'Arab Spring' on the current situation in the Muslim world and its relationship with the outside world?

  ¶406:

  - o ¶407: I must be quiet!

  ¶408:

- ¶409: Do you like or use the term 'Arab Spring'?

  - o ¶410: I don't mind it.

  ¶411:

- ¶412: Do you view the 'Arab Spring' positively or negatively?

  - o ¶413: It failed.

  ¶414:

- ¶415: Do you consider the death of Mohamed Bouazizi to have been worth it?

  - o ¶416: No reply.

¶417: **Muslim Brotherhood**

- ¶418: The Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) are viewed as an extremist organisation in some countries but not in others and is banned in some countries but not in others; do you believe that it is extremist?

  - o ¶419: They are organised and have money and funding.

  ¶420:

  - o ¶421: Do you believe that it should be banned?

  ¶422:

    - ¶423: No reply.

    ¶424:

  - o ¶425: What do you think of their recent experience in Egypt?

    - ¶426: As they say, "It failed; they failed".

    ¶427:

- o ¶428: Are the teachings of Sayyid Qutb relevant to modern Arabs?

  - ¶429: No answer.

  ¶430:

- ¶431: It is said that political Islamists such as the Muslim Brotherhood only gain popularity because they replace the social and other services that should be delivered by many Arab governments.

  ¶432:

  - o ¶433: Is this correct?

    - ¶434: No answer.

  - o ¶435: Does this contribute to anti-Americanism?

  ¶436:

    - ¶437: No answer.

      ¶438:

  - o ¶439: Does this contribute to extremism?

  ¶440:

    - ¶441: No answer.

  ¶442:

- ¶443: Is the Muslim Brotherhood anti-Western?

    - ¶444: No answer.

¶445: **Islam**

- ¶446: Do you think that Islam is a religion of peace?

- ¶447: If so why? If not why not?

  ¶448:

  - o ¶449: Yes.

  ¶450:

- ¶451: What do you think that some and possibly many Westerners conflate Islam with Islamist terrorism?

- o ¶452: It is the Western media and effect it has on the people. It alters their views. The Trump ban on Arab Muslims is an example.

  ¶453:

- ¶454: Why are 'radical Muslims' seen as representative of Islam in the West?

  - o ¶455: Western and American media manipulation.

  ¶456:

- ¶457: Sunni Islam has no globally accepted central religious leader or doctrinal centre such as the Grand *Ayatollah* in Shia Islam or the Pope or Vatican for Roman Catholics;

  ¶458:

  - o ¶459: Does this contribute to a situation where Islam*ist* extremists can interpret Quranic texts in an extremist manner?

    ¶460:

    - ¶461: No reply.

    ¶462:

  - o ¶463: What do you view as the solution to this challenge?

    ¶464:

    - ¶465: Live true Islam by example.

    ¶466:

- ¶467: Is Sharia compatible with democracy?

  - o ¶468: Yes.

  ¶469:

- ¶470: Is Islam or Sharia threatened by Western scientific humanism or the secular 'Enlightenment'?

  - o ¶471: No.

  ¶472:

¶473: **Possible Solutions**

- ¶474: What do you think the West or America can do to reduce the levels of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o ¶475: Stop making Hollywood movies that shows Arab Muslims as being bad. It is propaganda.

¶476:

¶477: Improvements in the Image of Arab Muslim World
¶478:
- ¶479: What do you think can be done to improve the image of the Arab / Muslim world in the rest of the world?

    o ¶480: Sure. Here is a way to do it. The UAE gives Arabs from around the world a way to live. Copy here.
¶481:

¶482: Any Other Matters
¶483:
- ¶484: Is there any other matter related to the research question (directly or indirectly) which you would like to mention?

    o ¶485: No.

¶1:
¶2:

¶3: Primary Research
¶4: Semi-Structured Interviews
¶5: (Highlighted with Line Numbers)

¶6: Participant Number: 08

¶7: **Interview Date**: 19 March 18

¶8: **Duration**: 2 hours 06 minutes

¶9: **All participant replies are in green**

¶10: **RESEARCH QUESTION**

¶11: An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim males to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era.

¶12: **KEY WORDS**

¶13:

¶14: Anti-Americanism, Middle Eastern, Arab Sunni Muslim, Males, Islamist extremism and contemporary era.

¶15:

¶16: QUESTIONS

¶17: Introduction – Early Years and America

- ¶18: Can you please tell me a little about yourself and your formative years?

  o ¶19: I am from Jordon, from the ancient city of Irbid. It used to be called Arbela in the past. It is in the north of our country. I grew up there. My family are all from there. I graduated from university and now work in finance and banking in the UAE in Musaffah.

- ¶20: When did you first become aware of America?

  o ¶21: Television.

  ¶22:

  o ¶23: Was it in a positive or negative context?

    - ¶24: Positive.

  ¶25:

- ¶26: Have you visited America?

  o ¶27: No but I want to.

  ¶28:

  o ¶29: In what capacity – work, student, tourist or other?

  ¶30:

    - ¶31: N/A.

    ¶32:

  o ¶33: For how long did you stay?

    - ¶34: N/A.

    ¶35:

  o ¶36: Were your impressions positive or negative?

- ¶37: N/A.

¶38:

- ¶39: Have your opinions been altered in any way by your visit(s)?

  - ¶40: N/A.

¶41:

- ¶42: Do you or would you:

  - ¶43: **Purchase** American products?

    - ¶44: Yes. Often.

  ¶45:

  - ¶46: **Wear** American brands, such as Nike, Calvin Klein, Polo Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, Levi Strauss, Gap, or American Eagle?

    - ¶47: Yes. I buy Nike, CK, Polo, Tommy and American Eagle.

¶48:

  - ¶49: **Dress** in a contemporary US style such as baseball cap, jeans, 'T' shirt, trainers?

    - ¶50: I wear a Western style suit to work and American casual style at other times.

¶51:

  - ¶52: **Eat** American fast food such as McDonald's, KFC, Subway, Dunkin' Donuts or Pizza Hut?

    - ¶53: Yes. I eat all of these.

  ¶54:

  - ¶55: **Drink** American soft drinks such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi or Dr Pepper?

    - ¶56: Yes, but not Dr Pepper. I don't think they sell it in the Middle East. I have never seen it. Have you?

  ¶57:

  - ¶58: **Watch** American made Hollywood movies?

    - ¶59: If so which?

- ¶60: Yes. I like Hollywood movies very much. I like the Fast and Furious movies. I have seen numbers one to eight. I still have to see number nine. They are great fun.

  - ¶61: **Watch** US news channels such as CNN, Fox or NBC, on any media platform?

    - ¶62: No. I am not interested in politics. I just want to live my life.

      ¶63:

  - ¶64: **Listen** to American music such as Pop, Rock, Rap, Heavy Metal, R&B, or Jazz, on any music platform?

    - ¶65: If so which?

    - ¶66: I can listen to any of this but do not buy it. I am easy about it.

    ¶67:

  - **¶68: Drive** an American car such as GMC, Ford, Chrysler or Cadillac?

    - ¶69: Yes. I have a US Infinity car.

      ¶70:

  - **¶71: Possess** an Apple iPhone, iPad, MacBook, iMac or use Microsoft?

    - ¶72: If so, which?

      - ¶73: Yes.

¶74: **Family Relatives & Friends**

- ¶75: How is the West and America generally regarded by you, your family, relatives, and friends?

  - ¶76: To my family it is positive.

  ¶77:

  - ¶78: Has this changed in any way recently?

    - ¶79: No.

      ¶80:

- ¶81: How often is America, its foreign policy, or actions in the Middle East a topic of conversation for you, your family or friends?

¶82:

- ¶83: Often, sometimes, never?

  - ¶84: We do talk about it like everyone but we avoid politics.

¶85: **Anti-Americanism**

- ¶86: When did you first become aware of anti-Americanism?

  - ¶87: I guess in the Arab media.

¶88:

  - ¶89: Within a Middle Eastern context?

¶90:

  - ¶91: Yes.

¶92:

  - ¶93: How did it manifest itself?

    ¶94:

    - ¶95: I guess TV chat shows and news.

    ¶96:

  - ¶97: Media, social commentators, politicians, religious leaders, organisations, friends, relatives, family or other?

    ¶98:

    - ¶99: I guess.

      ¶100:

  - ¶101: Did it affect you in any way? If so how?

    ¶102:

    - ¶103: No. Look, I know what this is about but I do not get involved in politics.

    ¶104:

  - ¶105: Did it shape your views? If so how?

    ¶106:

- ¶107: No. My family are moderate and I am moderate.

¶108:

  o ¶109: Have these views changed?

    - ¶110: No.

  ¶111:

- ¶112: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your school?

  ¶113:

  o ¶114: If so, how? Why?

    ¶115:

      - ¶116: No.

    ¶117:

- ¶118: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your college or university?

  o ¶119: No.

    ¶120:

- ¶121: Are you consciously aware of anti-Americanism in the Arab media?

  o ¶122: Yes.

  ¶123:

- ¶124: If so – which parts of the media?

  o ¶125: TV and internet.

    ¶126:

  o ¶127: What effect or impact does this have on your opinions?

    - ¶128: None. We are moderate and pro-West.

    ¶129:

- ¶130: To what degree if any does American foreign policy in the Middle East have on Arab Sunni anti-Americanism?

  o ¶131: 'Pass' (with a laugh).

¶132:

- ¶133: How do you view American foreign policy?

¶134:

- ¶135: Pass (with a smile).

¶136:

- ¶137: To what degree if any does the presence of American military bases in the Middle East and especially in Saudi Arabia, contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

  - ¶138: Pass.

  ¶139:

- ¶140: To what degree if any does 'Americanisation' (globalisation) and its impact on Arab culture and Islamic life contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

  - ¶141: Pass.

¶142:

- ¶143: To what degree do Middle Eastern Arabs blame America for preexisting problems within the Middle East?

  - ¶144: Is it justified?

  - ¶145: Pass. I see where you are going here.

¶146: **Causes of Contemporary Anti-Americanism**

- ¶147: What do you think are the causes of contemporary anti-Americanism within the Middle East?

  - ¶148: Can you please provide some examples?

    - ¶149: It exists. There different opinions in the Arab World. Some agree some do not. I like America.

  ¶150:

  - ¶151: Is your opinion commonly held?

    - ¶152: Pass.

  ¶153:

¶154: **Sayings or Common Phrases**

- ¶155: What Arab phrases or sayings about the West or America are most memorable to you, or come quickly to your mind?

    o ¶156: "Americans have knowledge, technology and lifestyle".

¶157:

    o ¶158: Are these common?

        • ¶159: No. But I like it.

        ¶160:

¶161: Historical Events

- ¶162: What do you consider to be the most important historical events in relation to the West's historical relationship with Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

¶163:

    o ¶164: Can you explain why?

        • ¶165: Many Arabs are still talking about history as if it was yesterday. I do not live in the past but in the present.

        ¶166:

- ¶167: How important or relevant do you think historical events such as the Crusades are to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o ¶168: Pass.

¶169:

    o ¶170: How important is it to you?

¶171:

        • ¶172: I live in the present.

        ¶173:

- ¶174: What historical events can you recall or are important to you in relation to Western interventionism in the Middle East?

    o ¶175: Pass.

¶176:

- ¶177: How important do you think the colonial period is to Arab Sunni Muslims?

- ¶178: How important is it to you?

  - ¶179: Pass.

¶180:

- ¶181: Do you think that these events are relevant to modern Arab life?

  - ¶182: I try not to think about them.

¶183: **Islam*ism***

- ¶184: What do you understand by the word Islam*ism*?

  - ¶185: I don't know about these things.

¶186:

- ¶187: When did you first become aware of Islam*ism* or Islam*ist* ideologues?

  - ¶188: If so, which ideologues?

    - ¶189: Pass.

  ¶190:

  - ¶191: How did their message affect you or others that you know?

    - ¶192: Pass.

¶193: **Palestine & Israel**

- ¶194: How important is the Palestinian issue to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - ¶195: Pass

  - ¶196: If this is important, explain why?

¶197:

  - ¶198: Is this issue reducing in importance in Arab minds in any way?

    - ¶199: Pass.

¶200:

- ¶201: How important is the Palestinian issue to you?

  - ¶202: Pass.

    ¶203:

- o ¶204: Is this issue reducing in importance in your mind?

    - • ¶205: Pass.

        ¶206:

- • ¶207: How do you feel about the 1948, 1967, 1973 wars?

    - o ¶208: We call the 1967 war Al-Karameh.

¶209:

- • ¶210: Do you view Israel as an illegal occupier of Palestine and Palestinian territory?

    - o ¶211: Pass.

        ¶212:

- • ¶213: Do most Arab Sunni Muslims accept the existence of the State of Israel?

    - o ¶214: Do you?

        - • ¶215: Pass.

        ¶216:

- • ¶217: How do you view the Israeli occupation of Lebanon which lasted 18 years (1982-2000)?

    - o ¶218: Pass.

- • ¶219: Do you view the State of Israel as legitimate?

    - o ¶220: Pass.

¶221:

- • ¶222: Do you view Israel as a terrorist state?

    - o ¶223: No answer

¶224:

- • ¶225: To what extent is anti-Americanism caused by US support for the State of Israel or linked to the US/ Israeli alliance?

    - o ¶226: No answer

¶227:

o   ¶228: How do you feel about American support for Israel?

¶229:

- ¶230: No reply.

¶231:

- ¶232: To what extent is America's support for Israeli used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o   ¶233: No answer

¶234:

- ¶235: Does the US support for Israel undermine its purported independence in negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?

    o   ¶236: No answer

¶237:

- ¶238: Do many Arab Sunni Muslims conflate Judaism with Israelis or Zionism?

    o   ¶239: No answer

¶240:

- ¶241: Do you consider Hamas (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah*) to be a terrorist organisation? If so why? If not, why not?

    o   ¶242: No answer

¶243:

- ¶244: Do you consider the military wing of Hamas (*Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades*) to be a terrorist organisation?

    o   ¶245: No answer

¶246:

o   ¶247: Were the Intifadas against Israel justified?

¶248:

- ¶249: No answer

¶250:

- ¶251: Do you consider Hezbollah to be a terrorist organisation?

¶252:

  - ¶253: If so, why?

    - ¶254: No answer

  ¶255:

- ¶256: Do you consider Hezbollah's attacks on Israel to be terrorist? If so why?

¶257:

  - ¶258: No reply.

  ¶259:

- ¶260: Were the deaths of 7 x family members of a Palestinian family (Ghaliya family) on Gaza beach in 2006 caused by an Israeli artillery barrage, an act of terrorism?

  - ¶261: No answer

¶262:

- ¶263: In the 2014 Gaza conflict, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) state that 1,462 x Palestinian civilians were killed by Israeli Defence Force (IDF) aerial bombing, tank and artillery fire and that 5 x Israeli civilians were killed by Hamas rockets.

¶264:

  - ¶265: What is your view on the proportionality of this?

    - ¶266: No answer

¶267:

  - ¶268: In what way does this influence your opinion of America and its support for Israel?

    - ¶269: No answer

¶270:

  - ¶271: In what way does this impact on Arab minds in relation to America's support for Israel?

- ¶272: No answer

¶273:

o ¶274: Does it contribute to anti-Americanism?

- ¶275: No answer

¶276:

o ¶277: Do you have any other related views?

- ¶278: No answer

¶279:

- ¶280: Do you believe that America considers 'Israeli blood' to be more valuable than Arab 'Palestinian blood'?

o ¶281: No answer

¶282:

¶283: US Led Invasion of Iraq

- ¶284: Is the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq still a 'burning issue' to Arab Sunni Muslims?

o ¶285: I will talk about Iraq. It is still very sensitive because it is very near to us in time and space.

¶286:

o ¶287: How do you feel about it?

¶288:

- ¶289: No answer

¶290:

- **¶291: Iraqi loss of life due to the war**

¶292:

o ¶293: John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health calculated that 655,000 Iraqis died as a consequence of the 2003 Iraq War (reported in *The Lancet* medical journal).

¶294:

- ¶295: The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that 151,000 violent deaths in Iraq occurred from March 2003 to June 2006.

¶296:

- ¶297: Classified Pentagon files released by WikiLeaks recorded in excess of 66,000 civilians killed in the Iraq War between 2004 and 2009.

    ¶298:

- ¶299: How do you feel about these statistics?

    - ¶300: Iraq was a very strong Arab country under Saddam Hussein and Saddam Hussein was strong. If he had bought weapons from Russia and not America and Britain, he would still be here today. If Russia had been his ally, they would never have turned against him and never have invaded him. But America turned against him and invaded him with Britain's help. That is the lesson for the Arabs. Did Russia go against Al-Assad when the whole world stood against him? No. They stood by him at the UN and blocked the America and the West. When he was losing the war against the jihādists the Russians sent their Army and Air Force and helped them win the war. But what did the Americans do when their long term Arab ally Mubārak, needed their help? They turned against him. Do you remember, Clinton said "the people have spoken" or something like that? No. The lesson for the Arabs is that the Americans and the West just want our money but will not stand by us but the Russians will. Putin is Russia and Russia is Putin. I like American lifestyle and what it has to offer. I like so many things about it but they are not a reliable ally. I am not saying any more about this.

¶301:

- ¶302: Is the loss of Iraqi life still a 'burning issue'?

¶303:

    - ¶304: I have said too much.

    ¶305:

    - ¶306: With you?

    ¶307:

        - ¶308: No answer

    ¶309:

- o ¶310: With other Arabs?

¶311:

- • ¶312: No answer

¶313:

- • ¶314: How important to modern Arab Sunni Muslims are the documented American atrocities and human rights violations at *Abu Ghraib* detention facility, the assaults on *Fallujah* (Apr & Nov 2004), the use of extraordinary rendition, or the existence of Guantanamo Bay detention facility?

    - o ¶315: No answer

¶316:

- • ¶317: To what extent do you think the US led invasion of Iraq contributed to:

    - o ¶318: A growth in anti-Americanism?

        - • ¶319: No answer

        ¶320:

    - o ¶321: The formation of *Daesh* or ISIS?

        - • ¶322: No answer

¶323:

        - • ¶324: Who do you think created Daesh?

¶325:

            - • ¶326: I am not answering that.

¶327:

    - o ¶328: Destabilisation of the region -

        ¶329: Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Influence of Iran or Turkey or others?

        - • ¶330: No answer

    - o ¶331: Increased Islam*ist* extremism?

        - • ¶332: No answer

¶333:

- ¶334: What do you believe are the consequences of the invasion?

    - o   ¶335: No answer

¶336:

- ¶337: What do you think about the US led invasion of Iraq?

    - o   ¶338: No answer

¶339:

- ¶340: What do you think was the primary reason for the invasion?

¶341:

    - o   ¶342: No answer

¶343:

    - o   ¶344: What is the common reason given for the invasion in the 'Arab street'?

        - •   ¶345: No answer

¶346:

    - o   ¶347: What is the common reason given by Islam*ists*?

        - •   ¶348: No answer

¶349: **Daesh / ISIS / Jihād / Syria**

¶350:

- ¶351: Islam*ists* derive their Islam*ic* theological credibility by claiming to be waging *jihād* and living according to the Hadith and Sunnah, similar to the earlier caliphates. To what extent is this correct?

¶352:

    - o   ¶353: I am not talking about them.

¶354:

¶355:

- ¶356: What do you understand as the meaning of *jihād*?

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- o ¶357: No answer

¶358:

¶359:

- ¶360: What do you understand as the meaning of the terms *Takfir* and *Kafir* or unbeliever?

  - o ¶361: No answer

  ¶362:

- ¶363: Islam*ist* extremism can be said to grow in the 'fertile ground of ignorance'. Is this correct?

  - o ¶364: No answer

  ¶365:

  - o ¶366: Can you please provide examples?

    - ¶367: No reply.

¶368:

- ¶369: It is said by some Arab Sunni Muslims that "*Daesh* are extreme and do terrible things but they 'fight' the Syrian regime with commitment and the other opposition groups do not".

  - o ¶370: To what extent is this correct, if at all?

  ¶371:

    - ¶372: You do not expect me to answer that in the Middle East!

  ¶373:

- ¶374: Was the burning alive of Muath Al-Kasasbeh a terrorist act or an act of *jihād*?

  - o ¶375: Or that question.

  ¶376:

- ¶377: What do you think of ISIS attacks on Shia *masjids* (mosques) and the Shia community?

  - o ¶378: Or that.

¶379:

- ¶380: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be fair and reasonable?

    o ¶381: Or that.

¶382:

- ¶383: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be terrorist?

    o ¶384: Syria is a damaged country. It is destroyed. Billions will be needed to rebuild it. There are many cities there with no buildings, no electricity and no water. It is destroyed.

¶385: **'Arab Spring' (*Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī*)**

- ¶386: What have been the consequences of the *Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī* - 'Arab Spring' for Middle Eastern Arabs?

    o ¶387: No I am not touching this 'hot stone'.

¶388:

- ¶389: What was the impact of the 'Arab Spring' on the current situation in the Muslim world and its relationship with the outside world?

¶390:

    o ¶391: Or that.

¶392:

- ¶393: Do you like or use the term 'Arab Spring'?

    o ¶394: No reply.

¶395:

- ¶396: Do you view the 'Arab Spring' positively or negatively?

    o ¶397: No answer

¶398:

- ¶399: Do you consider the death of Mohamed Bouazizi to have been worth it?

    o ¶400: No answer

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¶401: **Muslim Brotherhood**

- ¶402: The Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) are viewed as an extremist organisation in some countries but not in others and is banned in some countries but not in others; do you believe that it is extremist?

  o ¶403: No, no no! I cannot talk about that in the Arab World.

¶404:

  o ¶405: Do you believe that it should be banned?

¶406:

  - ¶407: No answer

  ¶408:

  o ¶409: What do you think of their recent experience in Egypt?

    - ¶410: No answer.

  ¶411:

  o ¶412: Are the teachings of Sayyid Qutb relevant to modern Arabs?

    - ¶413: No answer.

  ¶414:

- ¶415: It is said that political Islamists such as the Muslim Brotherhood only gain popularity because they replace the social and other services that should be delivered by many Arab governments.

¶416:

  o ¶417: Is this correct?

    - ¶418: No answer

  ¶419:

  o ¶420: Does this contribute to anti-Americanism?

¶421:

    - ¶422: No answer.

      ¶423:

- o ¶424: Does this contribute to extremism?

¶425:

- ¶426: No answer.

¶427:

- ¶428: Is the Muslim Brotherhood anti-Western?

  - ¶429: No answer.

¶430: **Islam**

- ¶431: Do you think that Islam is a religion of peace?

- ¶432: If so why? If not why not?

¶433:

- o ¶434: Yes I believe it is. But when people from outside put their hands into Islam it goes the wrong way.

¶435:

- ¶436: What do you think that some and possibly many Westerners conflate Islam with Islamist terrorism?

  - o ¶437: No answer

    ¶438:

- ¶439: Why are 'radical Muslims' seen as representative of Islam in the West?

  - o ¶440: No answer

¶441:

- ¶442: Sunni Islam has no globally accepted central religious leader or doctrinal centre such as the Grand *Ayatollah* in Shia Islam or the Pope or Vatican for Roman Catholics;

¶443:

- o ¶444: Does this contribute to a situation where Islam*ist* extremists can interpret Quranic texts in an extremist manner?

¶445:

- ¶446: No answer

¶447:

- ¶448: What do you view as the solution to this challenge?

    ¶449:

    - ¶450: I like it here (UAE). Everything works and it is Arab but also Western. This could be a solution – moderation and no extremists.

    ¶451:

- ¶452: Is Sharia compatible with democracy?

    - ¶453: Yes, look at Tunisia. That is an Arab democracy or type of authoritarian democracy.

    ¶454:

- ¶455: Is Islam or Sharia threatened by Western scientific humanism or the secular 'Enlightenment'?

    - ¶456: No.

¶457:

¶458: Possible Solutions

- ¶459: What do you think the West or America can do to reduce the levels of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    - ¶460: America can open up its doors to Arabs and the Arab world. They can give us visas to go there to see it and to work there. That would help.

    ¶461:

¶462: Improvements in the Image of Arab Muslim World
¶463:
- ¶464: What do you think can be done to improve the image of the Arab / Muslim world in the rest of the world?
    - ¶465: Embrace the West and do not fear it. Educate our people better and give them jobs. Give them a chance.
    ¶466:
¶467: Any Other Matters
¶468:
- ¶469: Is there any other matter related to the research question (directly or indirectly) which you would like to mention?
    - ¶470: Yes, copy the US Embassy in Amman. They have one man, an American who can speak a little Arabic. So many Jordanians are talking

¶1:
¶2:

¶3: Primary Research
¶4: Semi-Structured Interviews
¶5: (Highlighted with Line Numbers)

¶6: Participant Number: 09

¶7: **Interview Date**: 24 March 2018

¶8: **Duration**: 2 hours 49 minutes

¶9: **All participant replies are in green**

¶10: **RESEARCH QUESTION**

¶11: An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim males to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era.

¶12: **KEY WORDS**
¶13:
¶14: Anti-Americanism, Middle Eastern, Arab Sunni Muslim, Males, Islamist extremism and contemporary era.
¶15:
¶16: QUESTIONS

¶17: **Introduction – Early Years and America**

- ¶18: Can you please tell me a little about yourself and your formative years?

  - ¶19: I was born in the north of Egypt. Both my parents are alive and I belong to a small family of two brothers and one sister. I am a graduate of

Islamic Studies and foreign languages from Al-Azar Islamic University in Cairo.

¶20:

- ¶21: When did you first become aware of America?

  - o   ¶22: First – television, second – newspaper and third school.

¶23:

  - o   ¶24: Was it in a positive or negative context?

    - •   ¶25: It was negative. When the First Gulf War started, I was nine years old.

¶26:

  - o   ¶27: Can you please elaborate?

¶28:

    - •   ¶29: It was in the Arab news media every day.

      ¶30:

- ¶31: Have you visited America?

  - o   ¶32: No.

¶33:

  - o   ¶34: In what capacity – work, student, tourist or other?

¶35:

    - •   ¶36: N/A.

      ¶37:

  - o   ¶38: For how long did you stay?

    - •   ¶39: N/A.

      ¶40:

  - o   ¶41: Were your impressions positive or negative?

    - •   ¶42: N/A.

      ¶43:

- o ¶44: Have your opinions been altered in any way by your visit(s)?

    - ¶45: N/A.

    ¶46:

- ¶47: Do you or would you:

    - o ¶48: **Purchase** American products?

        - ¶49: Yes.

        ¶50:

    - o ¶51: **Wear** American brands, such as Nike, Calvin Klein, Polo Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, Levi Strauss, Gap, or American Eagle?

        - ¶52: Yes. I wear them for what they are – clothes. I do not and will never wear a baseball cap.

    ¶53:

    - o ¶54: **Dress** in a contemporary US style such as baseball cap, jeans, 'T' shirt, trainers?

        - ¶55: As I said, yes; but I do not call it 'US style', it is just modern, casual and global.

    ¶56:

    - o ¶57: **Eat** American fast food such as McDonald's, KFC, Subway, Dunkin' Donuts or Pizza Hut?

        - ¶58: Yes because it is affordable.

        ¶59:

    - o ¶60: **Drink** American soft drinks such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi or Dr Pepper?

        - ¶61: Yes. I do not drink Dr Pepper.

        ¶62:

    - o ¶63: **Watch** American made Hollywood movies?

        - ¶64: If so which?

- ¶65: Yes, some. I watch comedy like Night at the Museum, Rush Hour or Spider Man. I do not watch American war movies where the Americans always win and are the heroes.

- ¶66: **Watch** US news channels such as CNN, Fox or NBC, on any media platform?

  - ¶67: I do not watch Fox, NBC but I will watch CNN and ABC.

    ¶68:

- ¶69: **Listen** to American music such as Pop, Rock, Rap, Heavy Metal, R&B, or Jazz, on any music platform?

  - ¶70: If so which?

  - ¶71: Yes. It is youth culture.

  ¶72:

- **¶73: Drive** an American car such as GMC, Ford, Chrysler or Cadillac?

  - ¶74: Yes – I drive a Jeep.

    ¶75:

- **¶76: Possess** an Apple iPhone, iPad, MacBook, iMac or use Microsoft?

  - ¶77: If so, which?

    - ¶78: Yes. I have Apple iPad and use Microsoft.

¶79: **Family Relatives & Friends**

- ¶80: How is the West and America generally regarded by you, your family, relatives, and friends?

  - ¶81: Yes. Often.

¶82:

  - ¶83: Has this changed in any way recently?

    - ¶84: No.

      ¶85:

- ¶86: How often is America, its foreign policy, or actions in the Middle East a topic of conversation for you, your family or friends?

¶87:

- ¶88: Often, sometimes, never?

  - ¶89: Often, especially about political issues, like Trump and his Arab Muslim ban and Al-Quds.

¶90: Anti-Americanism

- ¶91: When did you first become aware of anti-Americanism?

  - ¶92: It was Arab media at home.

¶93:

  - ¶94: Within a Middle Eastern context?

¶95:

  - ¶96: Yes, on television at home.

¶97:

  - ¶98: How did it manifest itself?

    ¶99:

    - ¶100: As talk shows and interviews.

    ¶101:

  - ¶102: Media, social commentators, politicians, religious leaders, organisations, friends, relatives, family or other?

    ¶103:

    - ¶104: Yes - all of these.

    ¶105:

  - ¶106: Did it affect you in any way? If so how?

    ¶107:

    - ¶108: Yes.

    ¶109:

  - ¶110: Did it shape your views? If so how?

    ¶111:

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- ¶112: Yes. It is how we learn about the West.

¶113:

- o ¶114: Have these views changed?

  - ¶115: No.

  ¶116:

- ¶117: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your school?

  ¶118:

  - o ¶119: If so, how? Why?

    ¶120:

    - ¶121: Yes, definitely. This was from the students and teachers.

    ¶122:

- ¶123: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your college or university?

  - o ¶124: Yes.

    ¶125:

- ¶126: Are you consciously aware of anti-Americanism in the Arab media?

  - o ¶127: Yes. There used to be a lot on television but after what they call the Arab Spring, it has reduced. Arab governments do not want any more protests of any kind.

  ¶128:

- ¶129: If so – which parts of the media?

  - o ¶130: It was on television a lot but now it is internet. Most of these sites are blocked but people use VPNs which is why they have now been made illegal in Arab countries. Then people used Skype but this also now been blocked in many Arab countries.

    ¶131:

  - o ¶132: What effect or impact does this have on your opinions?

    - ¶133: The blocking has no impact. I still believe what I believe.

¶134:

- ¶135: To what degree if any does American foreign policy in the Middle East have on Arab Sunni anti-Americanism?

  - ¶136: They keep interfering in the Middle East and trying to achieve their national goals.

¶137:

  - ¶138: How do you view American foreign policy?

¶139:

    - ¶140: They don't care about the Arab World. They take what they want.

¶141:

- ¶142: To what degree if any does the presence of American military bases in the Middle East and especially in Saudi Arabia, contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

  - ¶143: This has a big impact. After the 1970s or after the 1973 War it started to change. When American military bases came to our land we were not happy.

¶144:

- ¶145: To what degree if any does 'Americanisation' (globalisation) and its impact on Arab culture and Islamic life contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

  - ¶146: Again, after the 1973 War, there was growing American presence and influence in the Arab Middle East. It had an impact on cultural, style of dress, eating, movies, women and political freedom. So yes it does. The Arabs should preserve our culture. We should not become 'copy Americans'. I think that the Gulf Arabs will lose their culture. It is happening now. Some wear baseball caps and they lead an American lifestyle. They are semi-Western. I think that within ten years their traditional dress will have gone, for men and women. It will be their Khanjars and Asr, no longer needed, except for weddings. Look at Saudi; they are going through such rapid cultural change and Westernisation. There will soon be cinemas, women driving and so many other things.

  - ¶147: But I think there may be a problem between the Crown prince and the Salafists and Wahhabis. They hold the reins of power in Saudi. The Saud

family rule but the Salafists and Wahhabis control the religion or faith of the people.

¶148:

- ¶149: To what degree do Middle Eastern Arabs blame America for preexisting problems within the Middle East?

  o ¶150: Not really.

¶151: Causes of Contemporary Anti-Americanism

- ¶152: What do you think are the causes of contemporary anti-Americanism within the Middle East?

  o ¶153: Can you please provide some examples?

    - ¶154: American foreign policy and nothing else. We have no issue with the American people. They are people like us.

  ¶155:

  o ¶156: Is your opinion commonly held?

    - ¶157: Yes; it is very common. But we are silenced.

  ¶158:

¶159: Sayings or Common Phrases

- ¶160: What Arab phrases or sayings about the West or America are most memorable to you, or come quickly to your mind?

  o ¶161: Some Arabs say, "America is the Great Devil of the World". Others say, "America is a *Kazab kabīr* – a great liar".

  ¶162:

  o ¶163: Are these common?

    - ¶164: With some people in the Arab world.

  ¶165:

¶166: Historical Events

- ¶167: What do you consider to be the most important historical events in relation to the West's historical relationship with Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

¶168:

- ¶169: Can you explain why?

    - ¶170: To Arabs, history is our memory of the past. It must not be wiped or cleaned away, like cleaning a school chalk board. So for Arabs, history is important. So we remember when the West first came to our lands during the Crusades and we remember all the way from then to the US invasion of Iraq up to the Arab Muslim ban to America. We cannot forget because the West will not let us forget.

    ¶171:

- ¶172: How important or relevant do you think historical events such as the Crusades are to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    - ¶173: As I said, it is important.

¶174:

- ¶175: How important is it to you?

¶176:

    - ¶177: For me, it is very important.

    ¶178:

- ¶179: What historical events can you recall or are important to you in relation to Western interventionism in the Middle East?

    - ¶180: From the Crusades through the Gold Age of Islam and the Arabs to the invasion of Iraq to this week. It does not stop.

¶181:

- ¶182: How important do you think the colonial period is to Arab Sunni Muslims?

    - ¶183: How important is it to you?

        - ¶184: Yes. They are important. We must not forget the European occupation of our lands. It is especially important in North Africa.

    ¶185:

    - ¶186: Do you think that these events are relevant to modern Arab life?

        - ¶187: Relevant? Yes. It is our past, present and future.

¶188: **Islam*ism***

- ¶189: What do you understand by the word Islam*ism*?

    - o ¶190: Islamism is related to changing the people's way of living towards Islam. This means living as we should and following a straight path. To do this it must change the political system of Arab countries towards an Islamic path. Some say it is making politics Islamic or making Islam political but it is more complicated than that. But Da'ish are not Islamists, they are extremists and they are not real Muslims.

    ¶191:

- ¶192: When did you first become aware of Islam*ism* or Islam*ist* ideologues?

    - o ¶193: If so, which ideologues?

        - • ¶194: At the Islamic university in Cairo.

    ¶195:

¶196: **Palestine & Israel**

- ¶197: How important is the Palestinian issue to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    - o ¶198: It is the central issue for Arab people, not Arab governments.

    ¶199:

    - o ¶200: If this is important, explain why?

    ¶201:

    - o ¶202: Is this issue reducing in importance in Arab minds in any way?

        - • ¶203: No. People don't shout about it but it is there with the people. The governments want to oppress this feeling because they do not want a problem with America.

    ¶204:

- ¶205: How important is the Palestinian issue to you?

    - o ¶206: It is deep in my heart.

    ¶207:

    - o ¶208: Is this issue reducing in importance in your mind?

- ¶209: No.

  ¶210:

- ¶211: How do you feel about the 1948, 1967, 1973 wars?

  - ¶212: We will never forget. We teach our children. They are so important to us.

¶213:

- ¶214: Do you view Israel as an illegal occupier of Palestine and Palestinian territory?

  - ¶215: Yes, they stole Arab land.

    ¶216:

- ¶217: Do most Arab Sunni Muslims accept the existence of the State of Israel?

  - ¶218: Do you?

    - ¶219: No. Never.

    ¶220:

- ¶221: How do you view the Israeli occupation of Lebanon which lasted 18 years (1982-2000)?

  - ¶222: It was bad.

- ¶223: Do you view the State of Israel as legitimate?

  - ¶224: No. Never.

¶225:

- ¶226: Do you view Israel as a terrorist state?

  - ¶227: Yes.

    ¶228:

- ¶229: To what extent is anti-Americanism caused by US support for the State of Israel or linked to the US/ Israeli alliance?

  - ¶230: Yes. It is completely. The Israelis influence the US Government through the Jewish Lobby. It is a 'political wall' that protects Israel.

¶231:

- ¶232: How do you feel about American support for Israel?

¶233:

- ¶234: They support illegal occupiers.

¶235:

- ¶236: How do you feel about this alliance?

- ¶237: It lacks any morality.

¶238:

- ¶239: To what extent is America's support for Israeli used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - ¶240: Yes. Of course. It is obvious.

¶241:

- ¶242: Does the US support for Israel undermine its purported independence in negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?

  - ¶243: Yes. Of course. Look, as some Arabs say about this: "America is like a fierce wolf; Israel is like a wolf cub and the Palestinians are a little lamb and all three are discussing what to have for lunch. All Arabs know that what the two wolves will have for lunch is lamb. Other Arabs say that "America is the father and Israel is the daughter. How can they negotiate fairly?"

¶244:

- ¶245: Do many Arab Sunni Muslims conflate Judaism with Israelis or Zionism?

  - ¶246: Yes. Many Arabs. They view them as the same.

¶247:

- ¶248: Do you consider Hamas (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah*) to be a terrorist organisation? If so why? If not, why not?

  - ¶249: I can't speak about them.

    ¶250:

- ¶251: Do you consider the military wing of Hamas (*Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades*) to be a terrorist organisation?

- o   ¶252: No. Never.

¶253:

- o   ¶254: Were the Intifadas against Israel justified?

¶255:

- • ¶256: Yes.

¶257:

- o   ¶258: If so, why?

- • ¶259: They were trying to free Arabs from occupation.

¶260:

- • ¶261: Do you consider Hezbollah to be a terrorist organisation?

¶262:

- o   ¶263: If so, why?

- • ¶264: No.

¶265:

- • ¶266: Do you consider Hezbollah's attacks on Israel to be terrorist? If so why?

¶267:

- o   ¶268: No. As I said for Hamas, they were trying to free Arabs from occupation.

¶269:

- • ¶270: Were the deaths of 7 x family members of a Palestinian family (Ghaliya family) on Gaza beach in 2006 caused by an Israeli artillery barrage, an act of terrorism?

- o   ¶271: Yes. Of course.

¶272:

- • ¶273: In the 2014 Gaza conflict, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) state that 1,462 x Palestinian civilians were killed by Israeli Defence Force (IDF) aerial bombing, tank and artillery fire and that 5 x Israeli civilians were killed by Hamas rockets.

¶274:

- o ¶275: What is your view on the proportionality of this?

  - • ¶276: How can it be anywhere in the world? 1,462 measured against 5, how can it be?

¶277:

- o ¶278: In what way does this influence your opinion of America and its support for Israel?

  - • ¶279: Of course. This is a war crime. The whole world knows it.

¶280:

- o ¶281: In what way does this impact on Arab minds in relation to America's support for Israel?

  - • ¶282: A lot. It is obvious.

¶283:

- o ¶284: Does it contribute to anti-Americanism?

  - • ¶285: Of course.

¶286:

- o ¶287: Do you have any other related views?

  - • ¶288: The UN is corrupted. It is owned by America and the big powers. How the US uses its veto is immoral. We all know it. We all see it. Our hearts are crying.

¶289:

- ¶290: Do you believe that America considers 'Israeli blood' to be more valuable than Arab 'Palestinian blood'?

  - o ¶291: Yes. They do value Israeli blood more than Arab blood.

¶292:

¶293: US Led Invasion of Iraq

- ¶294: Is the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq still a 'burning issue' to Arab Sunni Muslims?

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- o ¶295: Yes and Iraq is still suffering for this. We will never forget. We teach our children.

¶296:

- **¶297: Iraqi loss of life due to the war**

¶298:

  - o ¶299: John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health calculated that 655,000 Iraqis died as a consequence of the 2003 Iraq War (reported in *The Lancet* medical journal).

    ¶300:

  - o ¶301: The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that 151,000 violent deaths in Iraq occurred from March 2003 to June 2006.

¶302:

  - o ¶303: Classified Pentagon files released by WikiLeaks recorded in excess of 66,000 civilians killed in the Iraq War between 2004 and 2009.

    ¶304:

- ¶305: How do you feel about these statistics?

  - o ¶306: This was a massacre and an occupation of Arab lands. The Arab leaders keep this information from us. Many Arabs do not know these figures.

¶307:

- ¶308: Is the loss of Iraqi life still a 'burning issue'?

¶309:

  - o ¶310: Yes. The US and their Western allies did not think about this properly. It has only made Iran stronger. Iran now owns Iraq. Their Shia militias are now fighting in Syria and Yemen.

    ¶311:

  - o ¶312: With you?

    ¶313:

    - ¶314: Yes. It is a catastrophe, like 1948.

¶315:

- o ¶316: With other Arabs?

¶317:

    - ¶318: Yes. We all do.

¶319:

- ¶320: How important to modern Arab Sunni Muslims are the documented American atrocities and human rights violations at *Abu Ghraib* detention facility, the assaults on *Fallujah* (Apr & Nov 2004), the use of extraordinary rendition, or the existence of Guantanamo Bay detention facility?

    - o ¶321: It is remembered by all Arabs. It is a great humiliation to Arab Muslims to our religion, to our culture and to our manhood. The US war crimes will live on in our minds.

¶322:

- ¶323: To what extent do you think the US led invasion of Iraq contributed to:

    - o ¶324: A growth in anti-Americanism?

        - ¶325: Of course. This is such an important reason for this. We do not forget.

    ¶326:

    - o ¶327: The formation of *Daesh* or ISIS?

        - ¶328: The US and CIA created Da'ish like they created the Al Qaeda fighters in Afghanistan. By this I mean, in Afghanistan they provided weapons, money and training so that they would fight the Russians. They supported Bin Laden. They even make Hollywood films about it. In Iraq, they destroyed the government and all the pillars of our Arab society. They left nothing but destruction, chaos, criminals and into this came Da'ish. They created it by being there. We all know this.

    ¶329:

        - ¶330: Who do you think created Daesh?

    ¶331:

            - ¶332: The US.

¶333:

- o ¶334: Destabilisation of the region -

  ¶335: Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Influence of Iran or Turkey or others?

    - ¶336: Yes. We can all see it.

- o ¶337: Increased Islam*ist* extremism?

    - ¶338: Yes.

  ¶339:

- ¶340: What do you believe are the consequences of the invasion?

  - o ¶341: Iraq has been destroyed; Iraq is owned by Iran; Iraq has been turned into a Shia state; Syria is destroyed; Iranian Shia militias are fighting Sunnis inside Syria, and the US created Da'ish.

¶342:

- ¶343: What do you think about the US led invasion of Iraq?

  - o ¶344: As I just said. But the future change is Iran is growing in power in the region.

¶345:

- ¶346: What do you think was the primary reason for the invasion?

¶347:

  - o ¶348: Oil and stupidity.

¶349:

¶350: Daesh / ISIS / Jihād / Syria

  ¶351:

- ¶352: Islam*ists* derive their Islam*ic* theological credibility by claiming to be waging *jihād* and living according to the Hadith and Sunnah, similar to the earlier caliphates. To what extent is this correct?

¶353:

  - o ¶354: Many Arabs Muslims come for many reasons. There is no one reason. Some are young men who come for adventure, some come for

money, some for *jihād*, some are escaping the law in their country and some for a misunderstanding of religion.

¶355:

- ¶356: What do you understand as the meaning of *jihād*?

  - ¶357: I don't want to talk about this. Different people have different understandings.

¶358:

  - ¶359: In what circumstances may it be waged?

    ¶360:

      - ¶361: No reply.

    ¶362:

- ¶363: What do you understand as the meaning of the terms *Takfir* and *Kafir* or unbeliever?

  - ¶364: This is simple and well known. This means an unbeliever.

¶365:

  - ¶366: How do you feel about this concept in the modern world?

      - ¶367: No comment.

    ¶368:

- ¶369: Islam*ist* extremism can be said to grow in the 'fertile ground of ignorance'. Is this correct?

  - ¶370: Yes, like any form of extremism.

¶371:

  - ¶372: To what extent does this fuel anti-Americanism?

¶373:

      - ¶374: Yes.

    ¶375:

  - ¶376: Can you please provide examples?

- ¶377: No reply.

¶378:

- ¶379: It is said by some Arab Sunni Muslims that "*Daesh* are extreme and do terrible things but they 'fight' the Syrian regime with commitment and the other opposition groups do not".

  - ¶380: To what extent is this correct, if at all?

    ¶381:

      - ¶382: This is a very dangerous question.

    ¶383:

- ¶384: Was the burning alive of Muath Al-Kasasbeh a terrorist act or an act of *jihād*?

  - ¶385: Yes - I believe that it was.

    ¶386:

- ¶387: What do you think of ISIS attacks on Shia *masjids* (mosques) and the Shia community?

  - ¶388: These are wrong. I do not agree with these acts.

¶389:

- ¶390: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be fair and reasonable?

  - ¶391: What they did in Iraq and Syria against Sunnis was not legal. It was wrong and against Arabs. It also causes greater separation between Sunni and Shia.

¶392:

- ¶393: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be terrorist?

  - ¶394: It was unlawful and wrong.

¶395: **'Arab Spring' (*Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī*)**

- ¶396: What have been the consequences of the *Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī* - 'Arab Spring' for Middle Eastern Arabs?

o ¶397: We call what you call the Arab Spring the 'Flowering of Flowers'. But for Arabs it was a failure. Its consequences were worse conditions, much worse than before. Most Arab politicians want to go back to the way it was before where they have the power and control of the people's money. They have done it. Corruption has returned to the controlling elite and as they say in the streets, "The green shoots of democracy lie crushed under police boots". Arab governments and security forces say they are creating stability and fighting terrorism. But we know the truth. They also say in the streets that "Arab governments now have their people by the throat".

o ¶398: In Egypt the military run and own everything and the people are kept poor. They say that "Only in the Arab World do university graduates sell bread in the streets".

¶399:

- ¶400: What was the impact of the 'Arab Spring' on the current situation in the Muslim world and its relationship with the outside world?

¶401:

o ¶402: As I just said. But the outside world does not really care. They just want stability and the jihādist attacks in Europe and America to go away. And Europe also wants the Arab refugees to go away and for that they will accept dictatorship in Turkey, Egypt and Tunisia that pretends to be democracy as long as they maintain stability. The West talks a lot about democracy and democratic values but when it is convenient for them, they just forget about them. It is like a policeman turning his eyes away from a crime being committed. What is this? Either these are universal rights or they are not.

¶403:

- ¶404: Do you like or use the term 'Arab Spring'?

o ¶405: As many Arabs do, we say the 'Flowering of Flowers'.

¶406:

- ¶407: Do you view the 'Arab Spring' positively or negatively?

o ¶408: It was a terrible failure. History will see it as such. It failed us. But our 'Arab Spring' will become your 'European Winter'. There are so many Islam*ists* who have now moved to Europe.

¶409:

- ¶410: Do you consider the death of Mohamed Bouazizi to have been worth it?

    - ¶411: No. The whole thing was a failure.

¶412: **Muslim Brotherhood**

- ¶413: The Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) are viewed as an extremist organisation in some countries but not in others and is banned in some countries but not in others; do you believe that it is extremist?

    - ¶414: They should not ban any political group. Is this democratic to silence voices and free speech?   Also it is too dangerous for us to talk about this group.

¶415:

    - ¶416: Do you believe that it should be banned?

¶417:

        - ¶418: It is free speech.

¶419:

    - ¶420: What do you think of their recent experience in Egypt?

        - ¶421: It was a failure. This cannot be denied by anyone.

¶422:

    - ¶423: Are the teachings of Sayyid Qutb relevant to modern Arabs?

        - ¶424: This is a dangerous question in the Middle East. What I will say is that this is an important question in the Middle East and possibly one of the most important questions for Arab Muslims, which is why it is so dangerous. This question of the place of religion in the state was solved in the West many centuries ago. Should religion control the state or be separate from it? Turkey went through this but now it is going the other way and quickly.

¶425:

- ¶426: It is said that political Islamists such as the Muslim Brotherhood only gain popularity because they replace the social and other services that should be delivered by many Arab governments.

¶427:

o ¶428: Is this correct?

- ¶429: If the country is controlled by a corrupt elite who steal the people's money and do not give the people a chance, and a group come and give bread, money, medical help and education what else can a poor man do? If the elite spends the money on more and more weapons from America. As we say, "Tanks do not feed the people". Did tanks help the Shah of Iran against his people? He was buying tanks from the West against what he thought was an Arab threat but his greatest threat came from his own people. His tanks were no good then!

o ¶430: Does this contribute to anti-Americanism?

¶431:

- ¶432: If you mean, do the people see where their money is being spent and do the people resent it, then – yes!

¶433:

o ¶434: Does this contribute to extremism?

¶435:

- ¶436: Poverty, unemployment, injustice, political oppression, ignorance and lack of hope! This is a dangerous soup! And this is a soup if it keeps cooking will boil over again! It is cooking and the more the squeeze the peoples' throats the more it will start to boil. Oppression is not the answer. It does not bring security.

¶437:

- ¶438: Is the Muslim Brotherhood anti-Western?

- ¶439: No it is not. I need to explain. I cannot say that it is anti-Western but it has Arab and Muslim values which are different from the West, like coffee and tea; they are different. The whole world does not have to be Western. We have a different culture, history and religion. As we say, "To you your way and to me mine".

¶440: **Islam**

- ¶441: Do you think that Islam is a religion of peace?

- ¶442: If so why? If not why not?

¶443:

- o ¶444: Yes.

¶445:

- ¶446: What do you think that some and possibly many Westerners conflate Islam with Islamist terrorism?

  - o ¶447: The Western media misleads their people about us and our religion. Anything which is not Western is seen as less than Western and something to be frightened. Also, it is useful for their politicians to create us as their enemy like Trump's Arab Muslim ban. There are over one billion Muslims in the world and he tries to show us all as violent. More killings take place in America by Americans than by us. They manipulate their people who know nothing about us.

    ¶448:

- ¶449: Why are 'radical Muslims' seen as representative of Islam in the West?

  - o ¶450: As I said, they are creating an external enemy and an internal enemy so that they can control their people. We are used to this in the Middle East. We see it. We know it.

¶451:

- ¶452: Sunni Islam has no globally accepted central religious leader or doctrinal centre such as the Grand *Ayatollah* in Shia Islam or the Pope or Vatican for Roman Catholics;

¶453:

  - o ¶454: Does this contribute to a situation where Islam*ist* extremists can interpret Quranic texts in an extremist manner?

¶455:

    - ¶456: I do not like what you are suggesting here. Are you saying we should have a Pope like the Coptics? This is not Islamic. It is anti-Islamic!

      ¶457:

  - o ¶458: What do you view as the solution to this challenge?

    ¶459:

- **¶460:** Move to the next question.

¶461:

- **¶462:** Is Sharia compatible with democracy?

  o ¶463: Yes it is. Some people would think this question is insulting to real Muslims.

¶464:

- **¶465:** Is Islam or Sharia threatened by Western scientific humanism or the secular 'Enlightenment'?

  o ¶466: No. Never. They will fade away in time and only Sharia will remain.

¶467:

¶468: Possible Solutions

- ¶469: What do you think the West or America can do to reduce the levels of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

  o ¶470: America and the West should stop pretending that Arabs and Muslims are their enemy. They should understand our culture and religion. They should stop telling lies about democracy. Either it is for all or not and if it is for all, stop supporting Arab dictators. They should support real democrats. But first and last they just follow their own interests. They should stop valuing Israeli blood above Palestinian blood and stop being controlled by the Jewish lobby. But none of what I have just said is going to happen. It is the curse of the Arabs.

¶471:

¶472: Improvements in the Image of Arab Muslim World
¶473:

- **¶474:** What do you think can be done to improve the image of the Arab / Muslim world in the rest of the world?

  o ¶475: Live our lives according to Sharia. Let the world see who we really are and remove our dictators. We must get a fair solution to Palestine. If we need Russia to do this then we should use them but we know that nothing is free. We need the Two State Solution not what Israel is doing now. They are taking Palestinian land and putting settlements there. They are following a One State Solution – Israel!

¶476:
¶477: Any Other Matters

¶478:

- ¶479: Is there any other matter related to the research question (directly or indirectly) which you would like to mention?
  - o ¶480: I have said enough. Except, this place is good. If only our country could be like this. Think, over 100 million Egyptians living like this. But they have oil and they are also a different type of tribal state and they have a small number of citizens. But Dubai is a great example to the Arab world. I want to stay here. I think that is all I have to say.

¶1:
¶2:

¶3: Primary Research
¶4: Semi-Structured Interviews
¶5: (Highlighted with Line Numbers)

¶6: Participant Number: 010

¶7: **Interview Date**: 25 March 2018

¶8: **Duration**: 3 hours 04 minutes

¶9: **All participant replies are in green**

¶10: **RESEARCH QUESTION**

¶11: An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim males to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era.

¶12: **KEY WORDS**
¶13:
¶14: Anti-Americanism, Middle Eastern, Arab Sunni Muslim, Males, Islamist extremism and contemporary era.
¶15:
¶16: QUESTIONS

¶17: **Introduction – Early Years and America**

- ¶18: Can you please tell me a little about yourself and your formative years?

- o ¶19: I was born in Beirut Lebanon and grew up there. I went to high school and university in the United States and graduated in architecture. My university was in Huston Texas but I also lived in Atlanta Georgia, so I am an Arab who knows America well.

  ¶20:

- ¶21: When did you first become aware of America?

  - o ¶22: Parents.

  ¶23:

  - o ¶24: Was it in a positive or negative context?

    - ¶25: It was positive.

  ¶26:

  - o ¶27: Can you please elaborate?

  ¶28:

    - ¶29: My high school was in the US.   The quality of life was very high. There is freedom of speech and you can drive anywhere.

  ¶30:

- ¶31: Have you visited America?

  - o ¶32: Yes – Atlanta, Huston, New York, Washington, Nevada and LA etc.

  ¶33:

  - o ¶34: In what capacity – work, student, tourist or other?

  ¶35:

    - ¶36: Tourism, visiting family, friends, school and then university. Later, for business.

  ¶37:

  - o ¶38: For how long did you stay?

    - ¶39: I lived there for years.

  ¶40:

  - o ¶41: Were your impressions positive or negative?

- ¶42: Positive.

¶43:

o ¶44: Have your opinions been altered in any way by your visit(s)?

- ¶45: No.

¶46:

- ¶47: Do you or would you:

o ¶48: **Purchase** American products?

- ¶49: Yes.

¶50:

o ¶51: **Wear** American brands, such as Nike, Calvin Klein, Polo Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, Levi Strauss, Gap, or American Eagle?

- ¶52: Yes, some of these.

¶53:

o ¶54: **Dress** in a contemporary US style such as baseball cap, jeans, 'T' shirt, trainers?

- ¶55: As I like the relaxed US dress style. I do not wear suits.

¶56:

o ¶57: **Eat** American fast food such as McDonald's, KFC, Subway, Dunkin' Donuts or Pizza Hut?

- ¶58: Yes a little but I try not to eat fast food or junk food.

¶59:

o ¶60: **Drink** American soft drinks such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi or Dr Pepper?

- ¶61: Yes. I drink Coca-Cola.

¶62:

o ¶63: **Watch** American made Hollywood movies?

- ¶64: If so which?

- ¶65: Yes, I like movies like The English Patient and Blade Runner.

o ¶66: **Watch** US news channels such as CNN, Fox or NBC, on any media platform?

- ¶67: I watch CNN, BBC and France 24.

  ¶68:

o ¶69: **Listen** to American music such as Pop, Rock, Rap, Heavy Metal, R&B, or Jazz, on any music platform?

- ¶70: If so which?

- ¶71: Yes – pop, rock, R&B and jazz.

¶72:

o **¶73: Drive** an American car such as GMC, Ford, Chrysler or Cadillac?

- ¶74: Yes – I drive a Ford.

  ¶75:

o **¶76: Possess** an Apple iPhone, iPad, MacBook, iMac or use Microsoft?

- ¶77: If so, which?

  - ¶78: Yes. I use Dell and Microsoft.

¶79: **Family Relatives & Friends**

- ¶80: How is the West and America generally regarded by you, your family, relatives, and friends?

  o ¶81: Yes. Often, but it is mixed. ==Trump is regarded negatively.==

¶82:

  o ¶83: Has this changed in any way recently?

  - ¶84: No.

    ¶85:

- ¶86: How often is America, its foreign policy, or actions in the Middle East a topic of conversation for you, your family or friends?

¶87:

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- o ¶88: Often, sometimes, never?

  - • ¶89: Yes – often. In recent times this is about Trump and his decisions to ban some Arabs and of course Al-Quds. Trump is an idiot. He gets his news from Fox.

¶90: Anti-Americanism

- • ¶91: When did you first become aware of anti-Americanism?

  - o ¶92: In America and from Arab media.

  ¶93:

  - o ¶94: Within a Middle Eastern context?

  ¶95:

    - • ¶96: Arab media.

  ¶97:

  - o ¶98: How did it manifest itself?

    ¶99:

    - • ¶100: TV programmes about the Middle East and the US.

    ¶101:

  - o ¶102: Media, social commentators, politicians, religious leaders, organisations, friends, relatives, family or other?

    ¶103:

    - • ¶104: Yes sure.

    ¶105:

  - o ¶106: Did it affect you in any way? If so how?

    ¶107:

    - • ¶108: Yes, a little.

    ¶109:

  - o ¶110: Did it shape your views? If so how?

    ¶111:

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- ¶112: A little.

¶113:

- o ¶114: Have these views changed?

  - ¶115: A little.

¶116:

- ¶117: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your school?

¶118:

- o ¶119: If so, how? Why?

¶120:

  - ¶121: Not at school.

¶122:

- ¶123: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your college or university?

  - o ¶124: Yes, it was present in my American university. It was anti-American about the involvement of the US in Latin America, the Iran Contras, Chile, Colombia, Oliver North and the drug cartels.

  ¶125:

- ¶126: Are you consciously aware of anti-Americanism in the Arab media?

  - o ¶127: Yes.

¶128:

- ¶129: If so – which parts of the media?

  - o ¶130: It is still in some but not as much as before. There is now greater control of the Arab media.

  ¶131:

  - o ¶132: What effect or impact does this have on your opinions?

    - ¶133: No comment.

  ¶134:

- ¶135: To what degree if any does American foreign policy in the Middle East have on Arab Sunni anti-Americanism?

    - ¶136: Of course – lots. During the First Gulf War the US let Saddam Hussein invade. The Iraqi Ambassador in the US warned the US about Kuwait and what would happen. But the US ignored him and did nothing.

¶137:

    - ¶138: How do you view American foreign policy?

¶139:

        - ¶140: The US invasion of Iraq destroyed the Arab Buffer against Iran. It is this invasion that has led to a lot of Middle Eastern anti-Americanism in the Arab World.

        ¶141:

- ¶142: To what degree if any does the presence of American military bases in the Middle East and especially in Saudi Arabia, contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

    - ¶143: To some and not to others.

        ¶144:

- ¶145: To what degree if any does 'Americanisation' (globalisation) and its impact on Arab culture and Islamic life contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

    - ¶146: Sure – fast food like KFC and McDonalds is slowly altering Arab culture. Look at Starbucks. It all has an impact.

¶147:

- ¶148: To what degree do Middle Eastern Arabs blame America for preexisting problems within the Middle East?

    - ¶149: Some do and some do not.

¶150: **Causes of Contemporary Anti-Americanism**

- ¶151: What do you think are the causes of contemporary anti-Americanism within the Middle East?

    - ¶152: Can you please provide some examples?

        - ¶153: For most Arabs, it is the invasion of Iraq and the Palestinian issue and the American support for Israel. Also, the US is not

neutral in the Palestinian issue so they cannot be at the negotiating table.

¶154:

o ¶155: Is your opinion commonly held?

- ¶156: Yes.

¶157:

¶158: Sayings or Common Phrases

- ¶159: What Arab phrases or sayings about the West or America are most memorable to you, or come quickly to your mind?

    o ¶160: Gaddafi once said, "We all talk about the Arab Family but we are a dysfunctional family". Look at the Palestinian issue; could Israel do what it is doing if Arab governments were united?   Look at Iraq and the UAE and how different they are. The Arabs are like the Europeans, they have different cultures and histories.

¶161:

    o ¶162: Are these common?

        - ¶163: No reply.

¶164:

¶165: Historical Events

- ¶166: What do you consider to be the most important historical events in relation to the West's historical relationship with Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

¶167:

    o ¶168: Can you explain why?

        - ¶169: Recently, the invasion of Iraq and the Palestinian problem. But also the whole Trump Presidency and his decisions on Arabs and Al-Quds.

        ¶170:

- ¶171: How important or relevant do you think historical events such as the Crusades are to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o ¶172: To some and not so much to others.

¶173:

- o ¶174: How important is it to you?

¶175:

- • ¶176: No reply.

¶177:

- • ¶178: What historical events can you recall or are important to you in relation to Western interventionism in the Middle East?

  - o ¶179: The 1980s US involvement in Lebanon, 1991 Gulf War, 2003 invasion of Iraq and recently Al-Quds.

¶180:

- • ¶181: How important do you think the colonial period is to Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - o ¶182: How important is it to you?

    - • ¶183: It is to those in the Maghrib.

  ¶184:

  - o ¶185: Do you think that these events are relevant to modern Arab life?

    - • ¶186: To many they are.

¶187: Islam*ism*

- • ¶188: What do you understand by the word Islam*ism*?

  - o ¶189: It can mean many things but at a simple level, it is political Islam.

  ¶190:

- • ¶191: When did you first become aware of Islam*ism* or Islam*ist* ideologues?

  - o ¶192: If so, which ideologues?

    - • ¶193: The media but many of the Gulf Arabs do not seem interested in it. Perhaps because they still have a strong tribal system. It is big in Egypt.

  ¶194:

¶195: Palestine & Israel

- ¶196: How important is the Palestinian issue to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o ¶197: Very.

    ¶198:

    o ¶199: Is this issue reducing in importance in Arab minds in any way?

        • ¶200: No.

¶201:

- ¶202: How important is the Palestinian issue to you?

    o ¶203: No comment.

    ¶204:

    o ¶205: Is this issue reducing in importance in your mind?

        • ¶206: No reply.

        ¶207:

- ¶208: How do you feel about the 1948, 1967, 1973 wars?

    o ¶209: In Lebanon, I remember my father painting the car lights a blue colour with a small slit in it, so that we would not be bombed by the bombers flying over us. Well, that is the reason we were given. But I was quite young then. In the war, in Lebanon, I remember seeing the Syrian and Israeli jet aircraft, you know, the fighters having 'dogfights' over our heads in the ski. Later I went to Homs in Syria and I saw where the Israelis had bombed and destroyed an oil refinery and other targets.

¶210:

- ¶211: Do you view Israel as an illegal occupier of Palestine and Palestinian territory?

    o ¶212: Yes.

    ¶213:

- ¶214: Do most Arab Sunni Muslims accept the existence of the State of Israel?

    o ¶215: Do you?

        • ¶216: No.

¶217:

- ¶218: How do you view the Israeli occupation of Lebanon which lasted 18 years (1982-2000)?

  - o ¶219: It is a double-standard and an unlawful state. Israel also illegally occupied East Jerusalem.

- ¶220: Do you view the State of Israel as legitimate?

  - o ¶221: No. Look, there are 700 million Arabs and only 6 million Israeli Jews. How can it still exist?

¶222:

- ¶223: Do you view Israel as a terrorist state?

  - o ¶224: Many Arabs do.

    ¶225:

- ¶226: To what extent is anti-Americanism caused by US support for the State of Israel or linked to the US/ Israeli alliance?

  - o ¶227: Yes. This is major. As the Arabs say, "Israel is the 51st State of America!"

¶228:

  - o ¶229: How do you feel about American support for Israel?

¶230:

    - ¶231: Israelis are illegal occupiers. As I said, Israel is the 51st State of America!

      ¶232:

  - o ¶233: How do you feel about this alliance?

    - ¶234: Illegal but the 51st State of America!

      ¶235:

- ¶236: To what extent is America's support for Israeli used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - o ¶237: Yes, in a big way.

¶238:

- ¶239: Does the US support for Israel undermine its purported independence in negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?

    o ¶240: Yes. I answered this before. The US cannot have any part in this. It would be like getting Russia to negotiate the issue of who owns the Crimea.

¶241:

- ¶242: Do many Arab Sunni Muslims conflate Judaism with Israelis or Zionism?

    o ¶243: I guess so.

¶244:

- ¶245: Do you consider Hamas (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah*) to be a terrorist organisation? If so why? If not, why not?

    o ¶246: No.

        ¶247:

- ¶248: Do you consider the military wing of Hamas (*Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades*) to be a terrorist organisation?

    o ¶249: That question is like a fishing hook and I am not going to get caught on it!

¶250:

    o ¶251: Were the Intifadas against Israel justified?

¶252:

        - ¶253: No comment.

        ¶254:

    o ¶255: If so, why?

        - ¶256: No reply.

        ¶257:

- ¶258: Do you consider Hezbollah to be a terrorist organisation?

    ¶259:

- o   ¶260: If so, why?

  - • ¶261: Yes I do and I will tell you why. It is Pro-Iran and anti-Arab.

  ¶262:

- • ¶263: Do you consider Hezbollah's attacks on Israel to be terrorist? If so why?

  ¶264:

  - o   ¶265: I will leave that one unanswered.

  ¶266:

- • ¶267: Were the deaths of 7 x family members of a Palestinian family (Ghaliya family) on Gaza beach in 2006 caused by an Israeli artillery barrage, an act of terrorism?

  - o   ¶268: I don't know. What has the UN done about it? Nothing.

  ¶269:

- • ¶270: In the 2014 Gaza conflict, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) state that 1,462 x Palestinian civilians were killed by Israeli Defence Force (IDF) aerial bombing, tank and artillery fire and that 5 x Israeli civilians were killed by Hamas rockets.

  ¶271:

  - o   ¶272: What is your view on the proportionality of this?

    - • ¶273: No. Obviously. But what has the UN done about it. Nothing again.

  ¶274:

  - o   ¶275: In what way does this influence your opinion of America and its support for Israel?

    - • ¶276: Yes, of course.

    ¶277:

  - o   ¶278: In what way does this impact on Arab minds in relation to America's support for Israel?

    - • ¶279: It does. A lot.

    ¶280:

- o ¶281: Does it contribute to anti-Americanism?

  - ¶282: Yes. As far as the US is concerned, if Israel is OK then it is OK!

¶283:

- o ¶284: Do you have any other related views?

  - ¶285: Pass.

  ¶286:

- ¶287: Do you believe that America considers 'Israeli blood' to be more valuable than Arab 'Palestinian blood'?

  - o ¶288: I guess.

¶289:

¶290: US Led Invasion of Iraq

- ¶291: Is the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq still a 'burning issue' to Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - o ¶292: Yes.

¶293:

- **¶294: Iraqi loss of life due to the war**

¶295:

- o ¶296: John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health calculated that 655,000 Iraqis died as a consequence of the 2003 Iraq War (reported in *The Lancet* medical journal).

  ¶297:

- o ¶298: The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that 151,000 violent deaths in Iraq occurred from March 2003 to June 2006.

¶299:

- o ¶300: Classified Pentagon files released by WikiLeaks recorded in excess of 66,000 civilians killed in the Iraq War between 2004 and 2009.

  ¶301:

- ¶302: How do you feel about these statistics?

- o   ¶303: This information is not available to me and most Arabs. Where did you get it? Is it correct? That many? These sites are blocked. In 9/11 the Americans lost about 3,600, is that about right? How does compare to 655 thousand Arabs lives lost; that is not proportionate or fair. How can it be?

¶304:

- ¶305: Is the loss of Iraqi life still a 'burning issue'?

¶306:

- o   ¶307: Yes.

  ¶308:

- o   ¶309: With you?

  ¶310:

    - ¶311: Yes, it is now.

  ¶312:

- o   ¶313: With other Arabs?

¶314:

    - ¶315: Yes but most do not know the real figures.

¶316:

- ¶317: How important to modern Arab Sunni Muslims are the documented American atrocities and human rights violations at *Abu Ghraib* detention facility, the assaults on *Fallujah* (Apr & Nov 2004), the use of extraordinary rendition, or the existence of Guantanamo Bay detention facility?

  - o   ¶318: This is sensitive. Next question.

¶319:

- ¶320: To what extent do you think the US led invasion of Iraq contributed to:

  - o   ¶321: A growth in anti-Americanism?

    - ¶322: Yes.

    ¶323:

  - o   ¶324: The formation of *Daesh* or ISIS?

- ¶325: Many Arabs say it was the US.

¶326:

- ¶327: Who do you think created Daesh?

¶328:

- ¶329: Next question.

¶330:

  o ¶331: Destabilisation of the region -

  ¶332: Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Influence of Iran or Turkey or others?

    - ¶333: Yes.

  o ¶334: Increased Islam*ist* extremism?

    - ¶335: Yes.

  ¶336:

- ¶337: What do you believe are the consequences of the invasion?

  o ¶338: A complete mess. Next question.

¶339:

- ¶340: What do you think about the US led invasion of Iraq?

  o ¶341: A complete mess.

¶342:

- ¶343: What do you think was the primary reason for the invasion?

¶344:

  o ¶345: Because they could.

¶346:

¶347: Daesh / ISIS / Jihād / Syria

¶348:

- ¶349: Islam*ists* derive their Islam*ic* theological credibility by claiming to be waging *jihād* and living according to the Hadith and Sunnah, similar to the earlier caliphates. To what extent is this correct?

  ¶350:

  - o ¶351: I guess.   But it is also lack of education and a type of mentality like the shooters in the US.

  ¶352:

- ¶353: What do you understand as the meaning of *jihād*?

  - o ¶354: No reply.

  ¶355:

  - o ¶356: In what circumstances may it be waged?

    ¶357:

    - • ¶358: No reply.

    ¶359:

- ¶360: What do you understand as the meaning of the terms *Takfir* and *Kafir* or unbeliever?

  - o ¶361: No reply.

  ¶362:

  - o ¶363: How do you feel about this concept in the modern world?

    - • ¶364: No comment.

    ¶365:

- ¶366: Islam*ist* extremism can be said to grow in the 'fertile ground of ignorance'. Is this correct?

  - o ¶367: Yes.

  ¶368:

  - o ¶369: To what extent does this fuel anti-Americanism?

  ¶370:

    - • ¶371: Yes. It is the result of what I call 'rigid thought'.

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¶372:

- o ¶373: Can you please provide examples?

  - ¶374: Islamist extremism.

¶375:

- ¶376: It is said by some Arab Sunni Muslims that "*Daesh* are extreme and do terrible things but they 'fight' the Syrian regime with commitment and the other opposition groups do not".

  - o ¶377: To what extent is this correct, if at all?

  ¶378:

    - ¶379: That is difficult question, especially in the Middle East.

  ¶380:

- ¶381: Was the burning alive of Muath Al-Kasasbeh a terrorist act or an act of *jihād*?

  - o ¶382: Yes.

  ¶383:

- ¶384: What do you think of ISIS attacks on Shia *masjids* (mosques) and the Shia community?

  - o ¶385: Terrible.

¶386:

- ¶387: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be fair and reasonable?

  - o ¶388: Fair does not apply to this but it is not reasonable.

¶389:

- ¶390: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be terrorist?

  - o ¶391: Probably.

¶392: **'Arab Spring' (*Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī*)**

- ¶393: What have been the consequences of the *Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī* - 'Arab Spring' for Middle Eastern Arabs?

  - ¶394: It has been a mess.

¶395:

- ¶396: What was the impact of the 'Arab Spring' on the current situation in the Muslim world and its relationship with the outside world?

¶397:

  - ¶398: Difficult to say.

¶399:

- ¶400: Do you like or use the term 'Arab Spring'?

  - ¶401: I do not use it.

¶402:

- ¶403: Do you view the 'Arab Spring' positively or negatively?

  - ¶404: It failed.

¶405:

- ¶406: Do you consider the death of Mohamed Bouazizi to have been worth it?

  - ¶407: I don't know.

¶408: **Muslim Brotherhood**

- ¶409: The Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) are viewed as an extremist organisation in some countries but not in others and is banned in some countries but not in others; do you believe that it is extremist?

  - ¶410: The Muslim Brotherhood are still there.

¶411:

  - ¶412: Do you believe that it should be banned?

¶413:

    - ¶414: I don't know.

¶415:

- o ¶416: What do you think of their recent experience in Egypt?

    - ¶417: Dangerous.

  ¶418:

- o ¶419: Are the teachings of Sayyid Qutb relevant to modern Arabs?

    - ¶420: No.

  ¶421:

- ¶422: It is said that political Islamists such as the Muslim Brotherhood only gain popularity because they replace the social and other services that should be delivered by many Arab governments.

  ¶423:

  - o ¶424: Is this correct?

      - ¶425: Possibly. But nothing is free. As we say, "With food comes ideas".

  - o ¶426: Does this contribute to anti-Americanism?

  ¶427:

      - ¶428: Probably.

        ¶429:

  - o ¶430: Does this contribute to extremism?

  ¶431:

      - ¶432: Probably.

  ¶433:

- ¶434: Is the Muslim Brotherhood anti-Western?

    - ¶435: Probably.

¶436: **Islam**

- ¶437: Do you think that Islam is a religion of peace?

- ¶438: If so why? If not why not?

  ¶439:

- o ¶440: Yes.

¶441:

- ¶442: What do you think that some and possibly many Westerners conflate Islam with Islamist terrorism?

    - o ¶443: The images of Arabs used by media in the West. It is all of that.

        ¶444:

- ¶445: Why are 'radical Muslims' seen as representative of Islam in the West?

    - o ¶446: Images again. The silent majority of Muslims remain silent. They just get on with their lives, like everyone else.

¶447:

- ¶448: Sunni Islam has no globally accepted central religious leader or doctrinal centre such as the Grand *Ayatollah* in Shia Islam or the Pope or Vatican for Roman Catholics;

¶449:

    - o ¶450: Does this contribute to a situation where Islam*ist* extremists can interpret Quranic texts in an extremist manner?

¶451:

        - ¶452: Perhaps.

        ¶453:

    - o ¶454: What do you view as the solution to this challenge?

        ¶455:

        - ¶456: I don't.

        ¶457:

- ¶458: Is Sharia compatible with democracy?

    - o ¶459: I don't know. Do you?

¶460:

- ¶461: Is Islam or Sharia threatened by Western scientific humanism or the secular 'Enlightenment'?

o   ¶462: I don't know. Do you?

¶463:

¶464: Possible Solutions

- ¶465: What do you think the West or America can do to reduce the levels of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o   ¶466: Spend more money helping Arabs and not starting wars. This applies especially to America. The European Union does not go around starting wars in Arab countries. Help Arabs by not selling weapons to Arab dictators and allowing the Arab elite to steal the people's money. Ensure that the money given to Arab countries actually goes to the people. Build schools, hospitals and not army camps. Say what you mean and mean what you say. Do not preach democracy and then support dictators because it suits you.

¶467:

¶468: Improvements in the Image of Arab Muslim World
¶469:

- ¶470: What do you think can be done to improve the image of the Arab / Muslim world in the rest of the world?

    o   ¶471: Moderate imams must be more outspoken and speak out. They can influence so many people on television and in the masjids. Arab leaders must speak out and not hide behind religion. Also, Arabs need to separate religion and the state. Until we do this, we cannot move forward because the religious extremists and the ultraorthodox have a stranglehold on governments and the people. Look at Iran before 1979, or Saudi in the 1960s, or Egypt in the 1950s or even Turkey in the 1970s; they were all moderate and slowly Westernising. Look at them now. They have all moved in the wrong direction and reversed women's rights and liberation. The great surprise to the Arab world is that Saudi seems to be altering its position and MBS seems to be moving it in the correct direction, if he is allowed to complete his vision. Erdogan has moved Turkey away from its secular past to an Islamist future. Iran is stuck in the past and we are not sure about Egypt.

¶472:

¶473: Any Other Matters
¶474:

- ¶475: Is there any other matter related to the research question (directly or indirectly) which you would like to mention?

- ¶476: Gradual Westernisation of the Arab World is good. It increases moderate beliefs and thoughts. It decreases extremist beliefs and marginalises the extremists. Most young Arabs want what the West has to offer.

¶1:

¶2: Primary Research
¶3: Semi-Structured Interviews
¶4: (Highlighted with Line Numbers)

¶5: Participant Number: 11

(Originally Interview 12, but the Syrian interviewee terminated the interview)

¶6: **Interview Date**: 27 March 2018

¶7: **Duration**: 2 hrs 12 minutes

¶8: **All participant replies are in green**

¶9: **RESEARCH QUESTION**

¶10: An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim males to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era.

¶11: **KEY WORDS**
¶12:
¶13: Anti-Americanism, Middle Eastern, Arab Sunni Muslim, Males, Islamist extremism and contemporary era.
¶14:
¶15: QUESTIONS

¶16: **Introduction – Early Years and America**

- ¶17: Can you please tell me a little about yourself and your formative years?

  - ¶18: Egypt is my homeland. I was born and grew up in Cairo. I went to school there and university. I graduated from Al-Azar Islamic University. I have two parents and I am one of four children.

¶19:

- ¶20: When did you first become aware of America?

    o ¶21: TV.

¶22:

    o ¶23: Was it in a positive or negative context?

        - ¶24: Quite positive.

¶25:

    o ¶26: Can you please elaborate?

¶27:

        - ¶28: No reply.

    ¶29:

- ¶30: Have you visited America?

    o ¶31: No. Never.

¶32:

    o ¶33: In what capacity – work, student, tourist or other?

¶34:

        - ¶35: N/A

    ¶36:

    o ¶37: For how long did you stay?

        - ¶38: N/A.

    ¶39:

    o ¶40: Were your impressions positive or negative?

        - ¶41: N/A.

    ¶42:

    o ¶43: Have your opinions been altered in any way by your visit(s)?

        - ¶44: N/A.

¶45:

- ¶46: Do you or would you:

  - ¶47: **Purchase** American products?

    - ¶48: Yes.

  ¶49:

  - ¶50: **Wear** American brands, such as Nike, Calvin Klein, Polo Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, Levi Strauss, Gap, or American Eagle?

    - ¶51: Yes. We say, I wear them for what they are – clothes.

¶52:

  - ¶53: **Dress** in a contemporary US style such as baseball cap, jeans, 'T' shirt, trainers?

    - ¶54: Yes, it is not American style but just modern and global.

¶55:

  - ¶56: **Eat** American fast food such as McDonald's, KFC, Subway, Dunkin' Donuts or Pizza Hut?

    - ¶57: Yes. I eat them for what they are – food. Not because they are American.

  ¶58:

  - ¶59: **Drink** American soft drinks such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi or Dr Pepper?

    - ¶60: Yes. I drink Coca-Cola and Pepsi but not Dr Pepper. I heard about it but have never seen it.

  ¶61:

  - ¶62: **Watch** American made Hollywood movies?

    - ¶63: If so which?

      - ¶64: Yes.

  - ¶65: **Watch** US news channels such as CNN, Fox or NBC, on any media platform?

- - ¶66: Not really. I mostly watch Arabic news but even then it is misinformation. All news stations have their own agenda. So it is a choice between being not informed or misinformed, so I never believe what any of them say. Somewhere, deep inside the story is the truth and sometimes there is no truth. Just lies!

    ¶67:

- o ¶68: **Listen** to American music such as Pop, Rock, Rap, Heavy Metal, R&B, or Jazz, on any music platform?

    - • ¶69: If so which?

    - • ¶70: A little, in the shopping malls but not at home.

  ¶71:

- o **¶72: Drive** an American car such as GMC, Ford, Chrysler or Cadillac?

    - • ¶73: Yes – I drive a Ford.

      ¶74:

- o **¶75: Possess** an Apple iPhone, iPad, MacBook, iMac or use Microsoft?

    - • ¶76: If so, which?

        - • ¶77: Yes. Everyone has some of these.

¶78: **Family Relatives & Friends**

- • ¶79: How is the West and America generally regarded by you, your family, relatives, and friends?

    - o ¶80: That is complicated. You know, in the Arab world we have a saying, "If you say it, you own it". This means that even if you are only repeating what someone else has said, it is as if you had said it and you are responsible for those words. This is the way it is in Arab countries. 'If you say it, you own it'. So the answer to your question is, it is complicated. Some are for and some are against.

  ¶81:

    - o ¶82: Has this changed in any way recently?

        - • ¶83: No.

            ¶84:

- ¶85: How often is America, its foreign policy, or actions in the Middle East a topic of conversation for you, your family or friends?

  ¶86:

  - ¶87: Often, sometimes, never?

    - ¶88: Yes of course. Often.

¶89: **Anti-Americanism**

- ¶90: When did you first become aware of anti-Americanism?

  - ¶91: I was a teenager.

  ¶92:

  - ¶93: Within a Middle Eastern context?

  ¶94:

    - ¶95: Yes.

  ¶96:

  - ¶97: How did it manifest itself?

    ¶98:

    - ¶99: Palestine and Israel.

    ¶100:

  - ¶101: Media, social commentators, politicians, religious leaders, organisations, friends, relatives, family or other?

    ¶102:

    - ¶103: All of these.

      ¶104:

  - ¶105: Did it affect you in any way? If so how?

    ¶106:

    - ¶107: Probably. In many ways it is a big contradiction. Our governments are allies of America and the people are against what American does to Arabs in the Middle East.

¶108:

  o ¶109: Did it shape your views? If so how?

  ¶110:

      • ¶111: No reply.

  ¶112:

- ¶113: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your school?

¶114:

  o ¶115: If so, how? Why?

  ¶116:

      • ¶117: I cannot remember it being in my younger school.

  ¶118:

- ¶119: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your college or university?

  o ¶120: Yes. Definitely. Al Azar Islamic University had many students and teachers who were politically aware of what American was doing.

  ¶121:

- ¶122: Are you consciously aware of anti-Americanism in the Arab media?

  o ¶123: Sure. But it is not like before. As we Arabs say, "The leaders have the people by the throat". So now it is more controlled and under their control.

¶124:

- ¶125: If so – which parts of the media?

  o ¶126: It was in many places like television, newspapers and internet. Now you need to know where to go to get it or have a VPN. Even the VPNs are tracked. They know when you access it, when you leave it and they probably follow you inside it. You see, in Arab countries the telecoms companies are state owned and are a way of tracking the people.

  ¶127:

- ¶128: To what degree if any does American foreign policy in the Middle East have on Arab Sunni anti-Americanism?

- ¶129: Sure. It must do.

¶130:

- ¶131: How do you view American foreign policy?

¶132:

- ¶133: If you say it, you own it!

¶134:

- ¶135: To what degree if any does the presence of American military bases in the Middle East and especially in Saudi Arabia, contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

  - ¶136: For some people this is a big issue. In Egypt some groups make a big thing of this, especially with the poor and uneducated and we have 100 million people. The Salafists talk about this a lot. In Saudia it is also a big thing for some.

  ¶137:

- ¶138: To what degree if any does 'Americanisation' (globalisation) and its impact on Arab culture and Islamic life contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

  - ¶139: This is a big problem. You see, it not only destroys Arab culture but takes people away from our religion. We all start to look like Westerners and think like Westerners and then our culture and religion will slowly change into something different. This is a big problem for Islam. This debate is also going on in Turkey. They are moving away from Western secularism towards a more Islamic way. Saudi also has this debate at present. This is also being discussed quietly in other Arab countries.

  ¶140:

- ¶141: To what degree do Middle Eastern Arabs blame America for preexisting problems within the Middle East?

  - ¶142: Some do. But also your question seems to say that our problems are not the fault of the West. Who invaded us for hundreds of years but the West? Also, it is America that is supporting the Arab dictators that are keeping their own people poor and oppressed.

  - ¶143: Our governments in the past allowed anti-American ideas to grow because it took our eyes away from what they were doing. Now they do not want any trouble.

¶144: Causes of Contemporary Anti-Americanism

- ¶145: What do you think are the causes of contemporary anti-Americanism within the Middle East?

    - ○ ¶146: Can you please provide some examples?

        - ¶147: We all know this. It is the Palestinians, US support for Israel, the invasion of Iraq and the Trump ban on Arab Muslims and Al-Quds.

    ¶148:

    - ○ ¶149: Is your opinion commonly held?

        - ¶150: Yes it is. Everywhere you look.

¶151: Sayings or Common Phrases

- ¶152: What Arab phrases or sayings about the West or America are most memorable to you, or come quickly to your mind?

- ¶153: Some say, "Still waters are deep waters" like you never know what America is really doing; others say "America is the only game in town" meaning the only world superpower and others say, "Americans are mad dogs and cannot be trusted". It depends what view you take. There are many sayings and many views.

    ¶154:

    - ○ ¶155: Are these common?

        - ¶156: Yes

¶157: Historical Events

- ¶158: What do you consider to be the most important historical events in relation to the West's historical relationship with Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

    - ○ ¶159: This is very important to Arabs. History tells us our past so that we can understand our present and guide our future. You see - past, present and future. It is all connected. We say it is like a river flowing from the past into our present. Others say that historical events are like, "Bright stars shining on a dark night", showing us the way in the darkness. You understand? We cannot ignore it.

    ¶160:

- ¶161: Can you explain why?

¶162:

  - ¶163: It is more important in the Middle East than in most of the West. If we had peace and prosperity then maybe we could put less importance on it. But we cannot.

    ¶164:

- ¶165: How important or relevant do you think historical events such as the Crusades are to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - ¶166: As I said, we do not forget. We hold these events in our hearts.

¶167:

  - ¶168: How important is it to you?

¶169:

  - ¶170: History is important.

¶171:

- ¶172: What historical events can you recall or are important to you in relation to Western interventionism in the Middle East?

  - ¶173: There are too many to mention. But we all know them from the Crusades to Trump's Arab Muslim ban.

¶174:

- ¶175: How important do you think the colonial period is to Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - ¶176: How important is it to you?

    - ¶177: To some. To those in some countries with a history of colonialism. This is history again.

  - ¶178: Do you think that these events are relevant to modern Arab life?

    - ¶179: You cannot cut the past from the present.

¶180: **Islam*ism***

- ¶181: What do you understand by the word Islam*ism*?

- o ¶182: This is trying to bring Islam into all aspects of life, including political. It is not bad as a concept or idea.

¶183:

- ¶184: When did you first become aware of Islam*ism* or Islam*ist* ideologues?

  - o ¶185: If so, which ideologues?

    - ¶186: If you say it, you own it!

¶187: **Palestine & Israel**

- ¶188: How important is the Palestinian issue to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - o ¶189: Yes, it is very important.

  - o ¶190: Is this issue reducing in importance in Arab minds in any way?

    - ¶191: No.

¶192:

- ¶193: How important is the Palestinian issue to you?

  - o ¶194: Very important.

  - o ¶195: Is this issue reducing in importance in your mind?

    - ¶196: No.

- ¶197: How do you feel about the 1948, 1967, 1973 wars?

  - o ¶198: The first two were terrible for us. 1973 is different. We had won that war and then were cheated. They cheated us by tricking us to stop and talk peace. We should have captured Al-Quds and then talked peace.

¶199:

- ¶200: Do you view Israel as an illegal occupier of Palestine and Palestinian territory?

  - o ¶201: Yes, yes yes!

- ¶202: Do most Arab Sunni Muslims accept the existence of the State of Israel?

  - o ¶203: No. Never!

  - o ¶204: Do you?

- ¶205: No. Never!

¶206:

- ¶207: How do you view the Israeli occupation of Lebanon which lasted 18 years (1982-2000)?

  - ¶208: They illegally occupied Arab land. What did the world do? Nothing!

- ¶209: Do you view the State of Israel as legitimate?

  - ¶210: No. Never.

- ¶211: Do you view Israel as a terrorist state?

  - ¶212: Yes.

- ¶213: To what extent is anti-Americanism caused by US support for the State of Israel or linked to the US/ Israeli alliance?

  - ¶214: 90%

  - ¶215: How do you feel about American support for Israel?

    - ¶216: The world superpower supporting a terrorist state.

¶217:

  - ¶218: How do you feel about this alliance?

    - ¶219: As I said.

¶220:

- ¶221: To what extent is America's support for Israeli used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - ¶222: Of course. 90%.

¶223:

- ¶224: Does the US support for Israel undermine its purported independence in negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?

  - ¶225: Yes. We all know it. We Arabs say, "America and Israel are like two wolves negotiating with a Palestinian lamb what they will have for lunch. Everyone knows it will be the lamb!" You see, the lamb is Palestine.

¶226:

- ¶227: Do many Arab Sunni Muslims conflate Judaism with Israelis or Zionism?

  - o ¶228: Some do.

  ¶229:

- ¶230: Do you consider Hamas (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah*) to be a terrorist organisation? If so why? If not, why not?

  - o ¶231: That is a very dangerous question. I will say that nearly all Arabs do not think so because Hamas protects Arabs.

    ¶232:

- ¶233: Do you consider the military wing of Hamas (*Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades*) to be a terrorist organisation?

  - o ¶234: Same answer.

  - o ¶235: Were the Intifadas against Israel justified?

    - • ¶236: Sure. It must be.

  ¶237:

    ¶238:

- ¶239: Do you consider Hezbollah to be a terrorist organisation?

  - o ¶240: That is a complicated and dangerous question for Arabs in the Middle East to answer.

  ¶241:

- ¶242: Do you consider Hezbollah's attacks on Israel to be terrorist? If so why?

  - o ¶243: I will not say what I think but most Arabs see these as just retaliations for Israeli attacks.

  ¶244:

- ¶245: Were the deaths of 7 x family members of a Palestinian family (Ghaliya family) on Gaza beach in 2006 caused by an Israeli artillery barrage, an act of terrorism?

  - o ¶246: Most Arabs think so. Don't you?

  ¶247:

- ¶248: In the 2014 Gaza conflict, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) state that 1,462 x Palestinian civilians were killed by Israeli Defence Force (IDF) aerial bombing, tank and artillery fire and that 5 x Israeli civilians were killed by Hamas rockets.

¶249:

- ¶250: What is your view on the proportionality of this?

    - ¶251: This was a clear war crime. What other army in the world does this and gets away with it? Which? And the West does nothing. You see the UN does not work. We Arabs say that, "The UN is a puppet and the US is the puppet master". Is this not true?

¶252:

- ¶253: In what way does this influence your opinion of America and its support for Israel?

    - ¶254: America does not care about us.

¶255:

- ¶256: In what way does this impact on Arab minds in relation to America's support for Israel?

    - ¶257: We know that they will never support the real wishes of the Arab people. They may support Arab dictators for their own interests but never the people.

¶258:

- ¶259: Does it contribute to anti-Americanism?

    - ¶260: Of course.

¶261:

- ¶262: Do you believe that America considers 'Israeli blood' to be more valuable than Arab 'Palestinian blood'?

    - ¶263: I think that the Americans consider Israeli blood to be more valuable to the US than Palestinian blood.

¶264:

¶265: US Led Invasion of Iraq

- ¶266: Is the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq still a 'burning issue' to Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - o ¶267: It is still in our hearts. It is not in the media but we hold it in our hearts.

    ¶268:

- **¶269: Iraqi loss of life due to the war**

  ¶270:

  - o ¶271: John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health calculated that 655,000 Iraqis died as a consequence of the 2003 Iraq War (reported in *The Lancet* medical journal).

    ¶272:

  - o ¶273: The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that 151,000 violent deaths in Iraq occurred from March 2003 to June 2006.

  ¶274:

  - o ¶275: Classified Pentagon files released by WikiLeaks recorded in excess of 66,000 civilians killed in the Iraq War between 2004 and 2009.

    ¶276:

- ¶277: How do you feel about these statistics?

  - o ¶278: Very upset. We did not know this. We thought that it was high but not this high. This is terrible; a catastrophe. You see, our governments do not want US to talk about it and do not want us to protest about it. They are frightened. Yes, frightened of their own people. But a frightened tiger is dangerous.

  ¶279:

- ¶280: Is the loss of Iraqi life still a 'burning issue'?

  ¶281:

- ¶282: How important to modern Arab Sunni Muslims are the documented American atrocities and human rights violations at *Abu Ghraib* detention facility, the assaults on *Fallujah* (Apr & Nov 2004), the use of extraordinary rendition, or the existence of Guantanamo Bay detention facility?

  ¶283:

- ¶284: These are more events that the truth is kept away from us by our governments. They do not want problems.

¶285:

- ¶286: To what extent do you think the US led invasion of Iraq contributed to:

  - ¶287: A growth in anti-Americanism?

    - ¶288: This is very clear. It did and it does. This is probably one of the greatest reasons.

  - ¶289: The formation of *Daesh* or ISIS?

    - ¶290: Yes, again, because of the invasion we got Da'ish.

¶291:

    - ¶292: Who do you think created Daesh?

¶293:

      - ¶294: The US did it but probably did not plan it.

¶295:

  - ¶296: Destabilisation of the region -

    ¶297: Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Influence of Iran or Turkey or others?

  - ¶298: Yes, on the streets or the Arab Street as you call it, people call this the "US Agenda" or the "US/Israeli Agenda".

¶299:

  - ¶300: Increased Islam*ist* extremism?

¶301:

    - ¶302: Yes.

    ¶303:

- ¶304: What do you believe are the consequences of the invasion?

  - ¶305: It was a catastrophe.

¶306:

- ¶307: What do you think about the US led invasion of Iraq?

    - o ¶308: As I said.

  ¶309:

- ¶310: What do you think was the primary reason for the invasion?

    - o ¶311: Oil and to break the strong Arab states. But they broke the 'Shield' against Iran.

  ¶312:

¶313: Daesh / ISIS / Jihād / Syria

¶314:

- ¶315: Islam*ists* derive their Islam*ic* theological credibility by claiming to be waging *jihād* and living according to the Hadith and Sunnah, similar to the earlier caliphates. To what extent is this correct?

    - o ¶316: They do.

  ¶317:

- ¶318: What do you understand as the meaning of *jihād*?

    - o ¶319: It is in the Qur'an. It is all clear there.

  ¶320:

    - o ¶321: In what circumstances may it be waged?

  ¶322:

        - ¶323: As I said.

      ¶324:

- ¶325: What do you understand as the meaning of the terms *Takfir* and *Kafir* or unbeliever?

    - o ¶326: This is well known, an unbeliever.

  ¶327:

    - o ¶328: How do you feel about this concept in the modern world?

  ¶329:

- ¶330: No reply.

    ¶331:

- ¶332: Islam*ist* extremism can be said to grow in the 'fertile ground of ignorance'. Is this correct?

    o   ¶333: Sure.

¶334:

    o   ¶335: To what extent does this fuel anti-Americanism?

¶336:

        - ¶337: Sure.

    ¶338:

- ¶339: It is said by some Arab Sunni Muslims that "*Daesh* are extreme and do terrible things but they 'fight' the Syrian regime with commitment and the other opposition groups do not".

    o   ¶340: To what extent is this correct, if at all?

        - ¶341: I am not answering that question. If you say it you own it!

    ¶342:

- ¶343: Was the burning alive of Muath Al-Kasasbeh a terrorist act or an act of *jihād*?

    o   ¶344: Many think so.

- ¶345: What do you think of ISIS attacks on Shia *masjids* (mosques) and the Shia community?

    o   ¶346: This is wrong.

¶347:

- ¶348: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be fair and reasonable?

    o   ¶349: No.

¶350:

- ¶351: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be terrorist?

    o   ¶352: I don't know. That is a difficult title.

¶353: **'Arab Spring' (*Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī*)**

- ¶354: What have been the consequences of the *Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī* - 'Arab Spring' for Middle Eastern Arabs?

    o   ¶355: Less freedom of speech! More fear!

¶356:

- ¶357: What was the impact of the 'Arab Spring' on the current situation in the Muslim world and its relationship with the outside world?

    o   ¶358: Iraq is destroyed, Syria destroyed, Libya destroyed and Egypt is in a mess. Tunisia is going backwards.

¶359:

- ¶360: Do you like or use the term 'Arab Spring'?

    o   ¶361: I don't use it because it was not.

¶362:

- ¶363: Do you view the 'Arab Spring' positively or negatively?

¶364:

    o   ¶365: It was a disaster for us. Power won.

        ¶366:

- ¶367: Do you consider the death of Mohamed Bouazizi to have been worth it?

    o   ¶368: I don't know.

¶369: **Muslim Brotherhood**

- ¶370: The Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) are viewed as an extremist organisation in some countries but not in others and is banned in some countries but not in others; do you believe that it is extremist?

    o   ¶371: No!

¶372:

- o ¶373: Do you believe that it should be banned?

¶374:

  - ¶375: No! Never.

¶376:

- o ¶377: What do you think of their recent experience in Egypt?

  - ¶378: They were not permitted to achieve their goals. They were taken over by the military. They tried hard but they were not allowed to finish. It was a conspiracy to bring them down. You are not from Egypt. You do not understand. The ministries before were all military run. When Morsi took over they did not implement his instructions. They did not refuse but they just did not implement his instructions. They wanted to suffocate him with inactivity. The West does not see it and does not want to see it.

    ¶379:

- o ¶380: Are the teachings of Sayyid Qutb relevant to modern Arabs?

  - ¶381: He is not well understood. He was tortured in prison. People want to distort his message for political ends.

    ¶382:

- ¶383: It is said that political Islamists such as the Muslim Brotherhood only gain popularity because they replace the social and other services that should be delivered by many Arab governments.

¶384:

- o ¶385: Is this correct?

  - ¶386: Many Arab governments are failing their people. The brothers help. What is wrong with that? They do what the corrupt dictators will not do.

- o ¶387: Does this contribute to anti-Americanism?

  - ¶388: No! American conduct in the Arab world does!

¶389:

- o ¶390: Does this contribute to extremism?

- ¶391: No! Corrupt governments in the Arab world who keep their people poor does this. They do it on purpose. It is the Arab way. In Egypt, in the coffee shops, we tell a story of a man who brought a bag full of live rats onto a train. Every 5 minutes he would shake the bag very strongly. After about half an hour of doing this every five minutes, other people asked him why he was doing this. He replied, if I allow them to be quiet, they will eat the bag, attack me and eat me! So this is how Arab dictators rule. They keep us poor, fighting each other and fighting for life, so that we do not attack them. The American War on Terror gave every dictator across the world an excuse to call any opposition terrorists!

¶392:

- ¶393: Is the Muslim Brotherhood anti-Western?

  - ¶394: It not about being anti-Western. It is about 'separate development'. To me my ways and to them theirs. You know this. What you need to remember is that the Muslim Brotherhood help the people when no one else does. If you give a hungry man bread, you have his loyalty. When they join the brotherhood it is for life. There are sayings in the brotherhood – "Brothers forever", "Once in, never out" or "Until death". This loyalty is given freely. As we say, "Arab dictators don't want loyalty they want the obedience of a slave". This is the secret to Arab rule; keep the people poor, divided and fighting.

¶395: **Islam**

- ¶396: Do you think that Islam is a religion of peace?

  - ¶397: Yes. Of course!

  ¶398:

- ¶399: If so why? If not why not?

¶400:

- ¶401: What do you think that some and possibly many Westerners conflate Islam with Islamist terrorism?

  - ¶402: They hate us and want to see us as the enemy.

  ¶403:

- ¶404: Why are 'radical Muslims' seen as representative of Islam in the West?

- o ¶405: They hate Muslims.

- ¶406: Sunni Islam has no globally accepted central religious leader or doctrinal centre such as the Grand *Ayatollah* in Shia Islam or the Pope or Vatican for Roman Catholics;

¶407:

- o ¶408: Does this contribute to a situation where Islam*ist* extremists can interpret Quranic texts in an extremist manner?

  - ¶409: No.

¶410:

¶411:

- o ¶412: What do you view as the solution to this challenge?

  - ¶413: Follow Islam. Let it determine how you live your life, not dictators, America or the West.

¶414:

- ¶415: Is Sharia compatible with democracy?

  - o ¶416: Your question is Western and Christian. It is the wrong question and an example of wrong thinking! The question you should ask is – is democracy compatible with Sharia? The answer is no! Sharia is compatible with life. Islamic life! Democracy is a Western political system. We do not want democracy. We want Sharia. The people are like sheep and need a shepherd. They think they want American fast food, music, clothes and movies. They think they want shopping malls, credit cards and debt, so much debt. They think that this is democracy and freedom. No! This is Western slavery and the death of the soul. It is democratic slavery that is not compatible with Allah's law. It never will be. But I think America and the West understands this and is trying to kill our culture and religion for power, control, money and Israel.

¶417:

- ¶418: Is Islam or Sharia threatened by Western scientific humanism or the secular 'Enlightenment'?

- o ¶419: Again – wrong thinking! No. You must know Surat Al-Kāfirūn "To them their ways and to me mine". You see, it is like oil and water; they do not mix. They will never mix. A compromise is not possible.

¶420:

¶421: Possible Solutions

- ¶422: What do you think the West or America can do to reduce the levels of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - o ¶423: Leave the Arab Middle East, stop supporting the Israelis and allow an independent body to arrange peace in Palestine, but not the UN; try the European Union. Leave the Middle East and let us be. "To them their ways and to me mine".

¶424: Improvements in the Image of Arab Muslim World
¶425:
- ¶426: What do you think can be done to improve the image of the Arab / Muslim world in the rest of the world?
  - o ¶427: Remove our dictators who serve only the West and themselves; follow Islam and live our lives according to Islamic principles. "To them their ways and to me mine".

¶428: Any Other Matters
¶429:
- ¶430: Is there any other matter related to the research question (directly or indirectly) which you would like to mention?
  - o ¶431: Yes. Some of your questions are against Islam. I know that you are Muslim and believe that you mean well and I only talked to you because my friend recommended you and he trusts you; but if you take what I have said and misuse it against Islam or 'us', there will be what you Westerners call severe consequences. As-salāmu ʿAlaykum.

  ¶432:
- ¶433: NB - Participant shakes hand with an exceptionally strong handshake, stares into the researcher's eyes and holds the stare for a 'worryingly' long time before departing.

¶1:

<h1 style="text-align:center">¶2: Primary Research</h1>
<h2 style="text-align:center">¶3: Semi-Structured Interviews</h2>
<h3 style="text-align:center">¶4: (Highlighted with Line Numbers)</h3>

¶5: Participant Number: 12 (Originally interview 13)

¶6: **Interview Date**: 27 March 2018

¶7: **Duration**: 2 hrs 15 minutes

¶8: **All participant replies are in green**

¶9: **RESEARCH QUESTION**

¶10: An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim males to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era.

¶11: **KEY WORDS**
¶12:
¶13: Anti-Americanism, Middle Eastern, Arab Sunni Muslim, Males, Islamist extremism and contemporary era.
¶14:
¶15: QUESTIONS

¶16: **Introduction – Early Years and America**

- ¶17: Can you please tell me a little about yourself and your formative years?

  - ¶18: I was born in Basyoun in Egypt. It is in the Gharbia region. Do you know Mohamed Salah the Egyptian footballer who plays for Liverpool Football Club in England? He is from the same place. So, I grew up in Basyoun and went to school there. It is a nice place but poor. I studied hard and went to university in Cairo at Al Azar Islamic University. I think all the world has heard of it. It is like Oxford University in England. I belonged to a normal family in that area. We were five children.

    ¶19:

- ¶20: When did you first become aware of America?

  - ¶21: TV and movies.

¶22:

- ¶23: Was it in a positive or negative context?

  - ¶24: It was mixed.

¶25:

- ¶26: Can you please elaborate?

¶27:

  - ¶28: There was much criticism of their interference in Arab lands and yet many films showing a positive lifestyle in America.

  ¶29:

- ¶30: Have you visited America?

  - ¶31: No.

¶32:

- ¶33: In what capacity – work, student, tourist or other?

¶34:

  - ¶35: N/A

  ¶36:

- ¶37: For how long did you stay?

  - ¶38: N/A.

  ¶39:

- ¶40: Were your impressions positive or negative?

  - ¶41: N/A.

  ¶42:

- ¶43: Have your opinions been altered in any way by your visit(s)?

  - ¶44: N/A.

  ¶45:

- ¶46: Do you or would you:

- ¶47: **Purchase** American products?

  - ¶48: Yes.

¶49:

- ¶50: **Wear** American brands, such as Nike, Calvin Klein, Polo Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, Levi Strauss, Gap, or American Eagle?

  - ¶51: Yes.

¶52:

- ¶53: **Dress** in a contemporary US style such as baseball cap, jeans, 'T' shirt, trainers?

  - ¶54: Yes, but not a baseball cap. I am not a 'fake American'.

¶55:

- ¶56: **Eat** American fast food such as McDonald's, KFC, Subway, Dunkin' Donuts or Pizza Hut?

  - ¶57: Yes.

¶58:

- ¶59: **Drink** American soft drinks such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi or Dr Pepper?

  - ¶60: Yes. I drink Coca-Cola.

¶61:

- ¶62: **Watch** American made Hollywood movies?

  - ¶63: If so which?

    - ¶64: Yes.

- ¶65: **Watch** US news channels such as CNN, Fox or NBC, on any media platform?

  - ¶66: Sometimes. But not Fox.

    ¶67:

- ¶68: **Listen** to American music such as Pop, Rock, Rap, Heavy Metal, R&B, or Jazz, on any music platform?

  - ¶69: If so which?

- ¶70: Not at home but the shopping malls have it.

¶71:

- ¶72: **Drive** an American car such as GMC, Ford, Chrysler or Cadillac?

  - ¶73: Yes.

    ¶74:

- ¶75: **Possess** an Apple iPhone, iPad, MacBook, iMac or use Microsoft?

  - ¶76: If so, which?

    - ¶77: Yes.

¶78: Family Relatives & Friends

- ¶79: How is the West and America generally regarded by you, your family, relatives, and friends?

  - ¶80: I have to say that it is not positive. I think that it is important to say that the West is thought of differently than America. But America is definitely negative. This has been made much worse by the Trump Arab Muslim ban to the US and the Al-Quds decision. Yes, it is negative.

¶81:

- ¶82: Has this changed in any way recently?

  - ¶83: No.

    ¶84:

- ¶85: How often is America, its foreign policy, or actions in the Middle East a topic of conversation for you, your family or friends?

¶86:

- ¶87: Often, sometimes, never?

  - ¶88: Very often – every day.

¶89: Anti-Americanism

- ¶90: When did you first become aware of anti-Americanism?

  - ¶91: I heard about it at school. I heard teacher talking and older students.

¶92:

851

- o ¶93: Within a Middle Eastern context?

¶94:

  - ¶95: At school.

¶96:

- o ¶97: How did it manifest itself?

  ¶98:

  - ¶99: It was about our brothers in Palestine and the actions of Israel and the support of Israel by the US.

  ¶100:

- o ¶101: Media, social commentators, politicians, religious leaders, organisations, friends, relatives, family or other?

    ¶102:

  - ¶103: Sure. It was all over the media, politics towns, villages, everywhere.

    ¶104:

- o ¶105: Did it affect you in any way? If so how?

  ¶106:

  - ¶107: Yes. We learned the truth about what the US did to Arab Muslims.

  ¶108:

- o ¶109: Did it shape your views? If so how?

  ¶110:

  - ¶111: Yes.

  ¶112:

- ¶113: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your school?

  ¶114:

- o ¶115: If so, how? Why?

  ¶116:

- ¶117: Yes.

¶118:

- ¶119: Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your college or university?

  - ¶120: Yes. Al Azar is an Islamic University and so it is natural for Muslim and Arab issues to be discussed. Many students would discuss this with teachers and ask what America was doing in Arab lands. They told us the truth our governments did not want us to hear.

    ¶121:

- ¶122: Are you consciously aware of anti-Americanism in the Arab media?

  - ¶123: Yes. But it has changed. Before, there would be people shouting now people just talk and discuss. But also, there is much less of it due to state control. It is the way it is. Now they whisper. As we Arabs say, "If men cannot talk, they will whisper". Of course, if they are allowed to talk, you know what they are saying, but if they whisper, you do not unless there are informers. The Arab world is cursed with state informers.

¶124:

- ¶125: If so – which parts of the media?

  - ¶126: It was all over the media but now some is on TV but most is on the web, if you can find it. But everything is watched by State Security so most people are too frightened to look at these sites. You know, 'the greatest control of the people is the people'. Create a system where the people think that they are being watched all the time and they will control themselves. Then spread the rumour that there are thousands of paid informers for state security and you start to mistrust everyone except your own family. When a neighbour gets a new television you ask where did he get the money from to pay for it? Is he a state informer? So what I am saying is that there is much less said openly than before but that does not mean that it does not exist. That is how it is now in Egypt or most of Egypt.

    ¶127:

- ¶128: To what degree if any does American foreign policy in the Middle East have on Arab Sunni anti-Americanism?

- ¶129: A lot.

¶130:

- ¶131: How do you view American foreign policy?

¶132:

- ¶133: It interferes too much in Arab lands. It wants to make us all American second class citizens. It wants us to change our culture, religion and forget our history but still not be equal to them or Israelis.

¶134:

- ¶135: To what degree if any does the presence of American military bases in the Middle East and especially in Saudi Arabia, contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

  - ¶136: I hear this talked about. But not as much now. To some Arabs, like the Salafists or jihādists or political extremists, it is a big thing but to most of us, we know they exist and we try to get on with our lives. Also, after the world financial crisis we have less money and there are not as many jobs, so we think that this is more important.

  ¶137:

- ¶138: To what degree if any does 'Americanisation' (globalisation) and its impact on Arab culture and Islamic life contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?

  - ¶139: We all see it. It brings much good and choice to our underdeveloped Arab countries but it also destroys our culture. You know, there is an unspoken struggle going on in many Arab hearts between 'the beards and non-beards' and the 'jalabiyyah and Western dress'. For many Arabs it is not a problem. But for others it causes pain to see our culture being diluted. It is like a red drink that is having water constantly added to it. Soon it is pink and later it is clear like water for it has eventually become water. One replaces the other. This is what many Arabs worry about and others don't.

  ¶140:

¶141:

- ¶142: To what degree do Middle Eastern Arabs blame America for preexisting problems within the Middle East?

o ¶143: We used to do this and our governments encouraged us to do this so that we did not blame them for corruption, stealing our people's money and not making anything better. But since 2011 this has almost stopped. We Arabs now say that since 2011 "the people's eyes have been opened and our mouths shut". This means that we now see but cannot speak. Our governments do not want it.

¶144: Causes of Contemporary Anti-Americanism

- ¶145: What do you think are the causes of contemporary anti-Americanism within the Middle East?

    o ¶146: Can you please provide some examples?

        - ¶147: The suffering of our Palestinian brothers, American support for Israel, the US invasion of Iraq, the Arab Muslim ban to the US, Al-Quds and the US making all Muslims the enemy. But they mean us, the Arabs, not the Indonesians.

    ¶148:

    o ¶149: Is your opinion commonly held?

        - ¶150: Sure. Ask anyone in the Arab World.

¶151: Sayings or Common Phrases

- ¶152: What Arab phrases or sayings about the West or America are most memorable to you, or come quickly to your mind?

    o ¶153: "If America sows bombs, it cannot reap flowers", "America talks about Arab democracy but supports Arab dictators", "What America says today, it changes tomorrow", "America was Iraq's friend and ally and then invaded it", "America's dream is our nightmare", "They bring us fast food that turns into fast death" and "As Arabs, we must follow our heart, not America". There are so many of these.

    o ¶154: There is also a story told by Arabs like a tale with a meaning. It is about the US invasion of Iraq and later destruction of so many Arab countries. There was once a lion and he could see three oxen. He knew that he could not attack all of them at the same time because they would surround him and kill him with their large horns. So he decided to divide them and set them against each other. He noticed that one of the oxen was white and he whispered to the other two that the white one was plotting against them and that the white oxen had asked him to attack the

other two oxen. The lion also stressed that the white oxen was different and could not be trusted but that he would kill him for them to show them that he was their friend. They agreed. The lion attacked and killed the white oxen and took him away to eat him. Later he came back and whispered to one of the other two oxen that the other one had asked him to kill him, so he convinced him that he must do the same and he did. Finally, he attacked the last oxen who as he died said, "I have been eaten when the white oxen was eaten". You see, he could finally see too late that the lion had cheated them all. The lion in this story is America and the oxen are Arab states.

¶155:

- ¶156: Are these common?

   - ¶157: Yes.

¶158: **Historical Events**

- ¶159: What do you consider to be the most important historical events in relation to the West's historical relationship with Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

   - ¶160: History is important to us. It is part of us, in our hearts and it is who we are. The past is part of our present and it follows us around like a ghost or a shadow. We cannot be cut off from it. We may not want it our parents told us that "History is like our shadow. It is always there".

¶161:

- ¶162: Can you explain why?

¶163:

   - ¶164: I explained.

      ¶165:

- ¶166: How important or relevant do you think historical events such as the Crusades are to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

   - ¶167: It is like a black shadow. It is always there and with us.

¶168:

- ¶169: How important is it to you?

¶170:

- **¶171:** Very.

¶172:

- **¶173:** What historical events can you recall or are important to you in relation to Western interventionism in the Middle East?

  - o **¶174:** I remember it all. I carry it with me like a shadow. Ask me any dates, from the Crusades to now.

¶175:

- **¶176:** How important do you think the colonial period is to Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - o **¶177:** How important is it to you?

    - **¶178:** Yes. It is our history.

  - o **¶179:** Do you think that these events are relevant to modern Arab life?

    - **¶180:** Yes.

¶181: Islam*ism*

- **¶182:** What do you understand by the word Islam*ism*?

  - o **¶183:** This means that all life is Islam. Life is Islam. Our day revolves around the five Islamic salat, not the other way. I mean that we do not fit Islam into our busy lives. We fit our busy lives into Islam. Otherwise we are lost.

¶184:

- **¶185:** When did you first become aware of Islam*ism* or Islam*ist* ideologues?

  - o **¶186:** If so, which ideologues?

    - **¶187:** Many educated people in Egypt and the Arab world know these like Sayyid Qutb and others. People at Al-Azar talked about him and others.

¶188: Palestine & Israel

- **¶189:** How important is the Palestinian issue to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - o **¶190:** It is very very important.

  - o **¶191:** Is this issue reducing in importance in Arab minds in any way?

    - **¶192:** Never.

¶193:

- ¶194: How important is the Palestinian issue to you?

    o ¶195: Very very important.

    o ¶196: Is this issue reducing in importance in your mind?

        - ¶197: No. Never.

- ¶198: How do you feel about the 1948, 1967, 1973 wars?

    o ¶199: We should look at these events as stones that form a pathway over time. The stones are not very important but the direction is what is important. Did the blacks in South Africa give up because their leaders were put in prison and called terrorists? Did they give up when the police and army slaughtered the demonstrators? No. They bled so that others later may be free. Mandela was freed from prison and no longer called a terrorist and became president of his country. No. These are just stones forming a long path.

¶200:

- ¶201: Do you view Israel as an illegal occupier of Palestine and Palestinian territory?

    o ¶202: Yes and most Arabs do. They do not shout about it but they do. "As you cannot force a woman to love you, America cannot force Arabs to love Israel". There; that is another saying we have about America and Israel.

    o ¶203:

- ¶204: Do most Arab Sunni Muslims accept the existence of the State of Israel?

    o ¶205: No.

    o ¶206: Do you?

        - ¶207: No.

    ¶208:

- ¶209: How do you view the Israeli occupation of Lebanon which lasted 18 years (1982-2000)?

    o ¶210: They invaded Arab land – again. But this is yet another stone in this path.

- ¶211: Do you view the State of Israel as legitimate?

    o ¶212: No. They are the West's lost empire in the east.

- ¶213: Do you view Israel as a terrorist state?

    o ¶214: Yes.

- ¶215: To what extent is anti-Americanism caused by US support for the State of Israel or linked to the US/ Israeli alliance?

    o ¶216: Yes. It is. We all see it. By how much? 95%

    o ¶217: How do you feel about American support for Israel?

        - ¶218: It is immoral.

¶219:

    o ¶220: How do you feel about this alliance?

        - ¶221: It is immoral.

    ¶222:

- ¶223: To what extent is America's support for Israeli used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab Sunni Muslims?

    o ¶224: Very often. Why wouldn't they.

¶225:

- ¶226: Does the US support for Israel undermine its purported independence in negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?

    o ¶227: Yes.

¶228:

- ¶229: Do many Arab Sunni Muslims conflate Judaism with Israelis or Zionism?

    o ¶230: Yes, I think the older people see them as all the same but not the younger educated Arabs.

¶231:

- ¶232: Do you consider Hamas (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah*) to be a terrorist organisation? If so why? If not, why not?

- o   ¶233: No. Why would I?

  ¶234:

- ¶235: Do you consider the military wing of Hamas (*Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades*) to be a terrorist organisation?

  - o   ¶236: No. Again, why would I?

  - o   ¶237: Were the Intifadas against Israel justified?

    - ¶238: Yes, 100%.

  ¶239:

- ¶240: Do you consider Hezbollah to be a terrorist organisation?

  - o   ¶241: No.

¶242:

- ¶243: Do you consider Hezbollah's attacks on Israel to be terrorist? If so why?

  - o   ¶244: No. Why would I?

¶245:

- ¶246: Were the deaths of 7 x family members of a Palestinian family (Ghaliya family) on Gaza beach in 2006 caused by an Israeli artillery barrage, an act of terrorism?

  - o   ¶247: Yes.

¶248:

- ¶249: In the 2014 Gaza conflict, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) state that 1,462 x Palestinian civilians were killed by Israeli Defence Force (IDF) aerial bombing, tank and artillery fire and that 5 x Israeli civilians were killed by Hamas rockets.

¶250:

  - o   ¶251: What is your view on the proportionality of this?

    - ¶252: This is criminal. All such aggression by Israel is terrorist. These were terrorist attacks by Israeli terrorists.

¶253:

- o ¶254: In what way does this influence your opinion of America and its support for Israel?

    - • ¶255: America has lost any morality in the Middle East. It is all about power and strength.

  ¶256:

- o ¶257: In what way does this impact on Arab minds in relation to America's support for Israel?

    - • ¶258: We hate them.

  ¶259:

- o ¶260: Does it contribute to anti-Americanism?

    - • ¶261: What you call anti-Americanism, we call Arab patriotism and Islamic brotherhood. You take something positive and you turn it into a negative.

  ¶262:

- • ¶263: Do you believe that America considers 'Israeli blood' to be more valuable than Arab 'Palestinian blood'?

    - o ¶264: Yes. We all see it.

  ¶265:

¶266: US Led Invasion of Iraq

- • ¶267: Is the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq still a 'burning issue' to Arab Sunni Muslims?

    - o ¶268: Now you are tearing at a deep wound. We all lived during this and we will never forget it or let or children forget it.

      ¶269:

- • **¶270: Iraqi loss of life due to the war**

  ¶271:

    - o ¶272: John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health calculated that 655,000 Iraqis died as a consequence of the 2003 Iraq War (reported in *The Lancet* medical journal).

      ¶273:

- o ¶274: The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that 151,000 violent deaths in Iraq occurred from March 2003 to June 2006.

¶275:

- o ¶276: Classified Pentagon files released by WikiLeaks recorded in excess of 66,000 civilians killed in the Iraq War between 2004 and 2009.

¶277:

- ¶278: How do you feel about these statistics?

  - o ¶279: Very angry. The Americans talk about the holocaust, well this was our modern holocaust. But the world is blind and does not want to see it. They do nothing to America.

¶280:

- ¶281: Is the loss of Iraqi life still a 'burning issue'?

  - o ¶282: Yes. We will never forget it.

¶283:

- ¶284: How important to modern Arab Sunni Muslims are the documented American atrocities and human rights violations at *Abu Ghraib* detention facility, the assaults on *Fallujah* (Apr & Nov 2004), the use of extraordinary rendition, or the existence of Guantanamo Bay detention facility?

¶285:

  - o ¶286: They acted like beasts. We will not forget or forgive what they did.

¶287:

- ¶288: To what extent do you think the US led invasion of Iraq contributed to:

  - o ¶289: A growth in anti-Americanism?

    - ¶290: Yes. It did. They invaded our homeland and destroyed it. What did they expect? Did they think we would love them for it?

    ¶291:

  - o ¶292: The formation of *Daesh* or ISIS?

    - ¶293: Yes, they created the many fighters and groups that opposed their illegal invasion and one of these became Da'ish.

¶294:

- ¶295: Who do you think created Daesh?

¶296:

    - ¶297: I have just explained.

¶298:

  o ¶299: Destabilisation of the region -

    ¶300: Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Influence of Iran or Turkey or others?

  o ¶301: Yes. This invasion weakened the Sunni Arab world and allowed Iran to gather the riches of Iraq.

    ¶302:

  o ¶303: Increased Islam*ist* extremism?

¶304:

    - ¶305: Well, it increased opposition to America. What do you mean by Islamist extremism?

    ¶306:

- ¶307: What do you believe are the consequences of the invasion?

  o ¶308: It destroyed one of our strongest Arab countries and made Iran stronger.

¶309:

- ¶310: What do you think about the US led invasion of Iraq?

  o ¶311: It was illegal, it was criminal, it was a war crime, it destroyed our 'brother Iraq'.

¶312:

- ¶313: What do you think was the primary reason for the invasion?

  o ¶314: They did it because they could. They had invaded Afghanistan and were looking for another country to invade. On the Arab Street as you call it, many say they had an 'agenda', a list of Arab state to invade. On Arab

television they showed General Clark the US general who said he saw a list of Arab countries that Bush wanted to invade.

¶315:

¶316: Daesh / ISIS / Jihād / Syria

¶317:

- ¶318: Islam*ists* derive their Islam*ic* theological credibility by claiming to be waging *jihād* and living according to the Hadith and Sunnah, similar to the earlier caliphates. To what extent is this correct?

  o ¶319: Each man must read the Holy Qur'an and interpret it as he can. Some people the West call terrorists are not terrorists and some are. Others that the West does not call terrorists, like the Israelis, are terrorists. So this is not as simple as it seems.

¶320:

- ¶321: What do you understand as the meaning of *jihād*?

  o ¶322: As I said, each man must read the Holy Qur'an and interpret it as he can.

¶323:

  o ¶324: In what circumstances may it be waged?

¶325:

    - ¶326: I am not talking about this here.

  ¶327:

- ¶328: What do you understand as the meaning of the terms *Takfir* and *Kafir* or unbeliever?

  o ¶329: A Kafir is an Islamic unbeliever, but it is also any unbeliever.

¶330:

  o ¶331: How do you feel about this concept in the modern world?

¶332:

    - ¶333: I am not talking about this here.

  ¶334:

- ¶335: Islam*ist* extremism can be said to grow in the 'fertile ground of ignorance'. Is this correct?

    - o ¶336: Why are you using the extremism with Islam or Islamism? Is Israel not extreme? Is the US invasion of Iraq not extreme?

¶337:

    - o ¶338: To what extent does this fuel anti-Americanism?

¶339:

        - ¶340: Yes, US and Israeli extreme action cause legitimate resistance.

        ¶341:

- ¶342: It is said by some Arab Sunni Muslims that "*Daesh* are extreme and do terrible things but they 'fight' the Syrian regime with commitment and the other opposition groups do not".

    - o ¶343: To what extent is this correct, if at all?

        - ¶344: Well the whole world could see how much territory they captured and how quickly. It took many countries fighting them from all sides to push them back. Most of their fighters died in battle or jihād.

        ¶345:

- ¶346: Was the burning alive of Muath Al-Kasasbeh a terrorist act or an act of *jihād*?

    - o ¶347: Some say that this never happened, like the US landing on the moon. They say it was faked by the CIA.

- ¶348: What do you think of ISIS attacks on Shia *masjids* (mosques) and the Shia community?

    - o ¶349: This is difficult to understand. Muslims should never kill Muslims. Maybe it is being done by others.

¶350:

- ¶351: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be fair and reasonable?

- o ¶352: When they bravely fought Israel they were heroes to all Arabs. Now in Syria and before in Iraq, killing Sunnis, it is a terrible thing. They are being used. We do not know the truth.

  ¶353:

- ¶354: Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be terrorist?

  - o ¶355: I cannot answer that.

¶356: **'Arab Spring' (*Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī*)**

- ¶357: What have been the consequences of the *Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī* - 'Arab Spring' for Middle Eastern Arabs?

  - o ¶358: Israel is more secure. Arab dictators are more secure but worried and the people are less free. We see more, understand more but say less. As we Arabs say, 'they have us by the throat'. There is another saying. It is so sad for us.

  ¶359:

- ¶360: What was the impact of the 'Arab Spring' on the current situation in the Muslim world and its relationship with the outside world?

  - o ¶361: So many bad events like Egypt, Syria, Libya and the Arab World is not as free.

  ¶362:

- ¶363: Do you like or use the term 'Arab Spring'?

  - o ¶364: This is Western.

  ¶365:

- ¶366: Do you view the 'Arab Spring' positively or negatively?

  ¶367:

  - o ¶368: The people are less free.

    ¶369:

- ¶370: Do you consider the death of Mohamed Bouazizi to have been worth it?

- o ¶371: Worth what? He did what he did for his own reasons. It was not Islamic. It is not permitted in Islam.

¶372: **Muslim Brotherhood**

- ¶373: The Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) are viewed as an extremist organisation in some countries but not in others and is banned in some countries but not in others; do you believe that it is extremist?

    - o ¶374: No.

¶375:

    - o ¶376: Do you believe that it should be banned?

¶377:

        - ¶378: No.

¶379:

    - o ¶380: What do you think of their recent experience in Egypt?

        - ¶381: They had a long path to walk but they were kicked off it by the military supported by America and Israel.

        ¶382:

    - o ¶383: Are the teachings of Sayyid Qutb relevant to modern Arabs?

        - ¶384: This is dangerous to me. I will not talk about that here.

            ¶385:

- ¶386: It is said that political Islamists such as the Muslim Brotherhood only gain popularity because they replace the social and other services that should be delivered by many Arab governments.

    ¶387:

    - o ¶388: Is this correct?

        - ¶389: Yes.

    - o ¶390: Does this contribute to anti-Americanism?

        - ¶391: No. America causes anti-Americanism!

¶392:

- o ¶393: Does this contribute to extremism?

  - ¶394: Extremism causes resistance or counter-extremism. "You cannot punch a man in the face and complain when he hits you back". There is another saying we have.

¶395:

- ¶396: Is the Muslim Brotherhood anti-Western?

  - o ¶397: It is not anti-Western. It is against the bad things that the West does to Arabs. It is pro-Islam. Your question is poorly worded.

¶398: **Islam**

- ¶399: Do you think that Islam is a religion of peace?

  - o ¶400: Yes. It is an insulting question for one Muslim to ask another!

    ¶401:

- ¶402: If so why? If not why not?

  ¶403:

- ¶404: What do you think that some and possibly many Westerners conflate Islam with Islamist terrorism?

  - o ¶405: They are influenced by the Zionist lobby in Wall Street, Hollywood and in all the 'corridors of power' as Abdul Bari Atwan calls them. Arab states should have been supported by the Russians not America. They would not have brought us freedom or democracy but neither has America but they would not have destroyed our culture or tried to replace it with theirs. They do not care about our culture or our religion just our money and the Arab World. It is the Russians we should be joined to.

    ¶406:

- ¶407: Why are 'radical Muslims' seen as representative of Islam in the West?

  - o ¶408: Ask the West.

- ¶409: Sunni Islam has no globally accepted central religious leader or doctrinal centre such as the Grand *Ayatollah* in Shia Islam or the Pope or Vatican for Roman Catholics;

  ¶410:

- ¶411: Does this contribute to a situation where Islam*ist* extremists can interpret Quranic texts in an extremist manner?

  - ¶412: No. Why do you talk about Popes and Islam? This is not compatible. Not the same. It is like apples and oranges.

¶413:

- ¶414: What do you view as the solution to this challenge?

  - ¶415: We should live our lives according to Islam, protect our culture and make Russia our ally. The West should go.

  ¶416:

- ¶417: Is Sharia compatible with democracy?

  - ¶418: This is a strange question for one Muslim to ask another Muslim. Democracy is Western. It has nothing to do with Islam.

¶419:

- ¶420: Is Islam or Sharia threatened by Western scientific humanism or the secular 'Enlightenment'?

  - ¶421: No.

¶422:

¶423: Possible Solutions

- ¶424: What do you think the West or America can do to reduce the levels of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

  - ¶425: America and the West should leave us alone to our religion, our culture and way of life. If they are not going to help then get out and stay out. The Americans should own up to the world that they support Israel because it is the 'last Crusader state' in Arab lands and stop telling lies about a 'Two State Solution'. The West and I do not mean America, needs to better understand Islam. America will never understand us because the Zionists will not permit it.

¶426: **Improvements in the Image of Arab Muslim World**
¶427:

- ¶428: What do you think can be done to improve the image of the Arab / Muslim world in the rest of the world?

o   ¶429: Arabs should stop pretending to be Westerners. The West only betrays the Arabs. We need to make alliances with Russia and maybe China but they only seem to be interested in commerce. Most of all, we need Islam to be the core of our lives, like the sun, and all other things in life should revolve around it.

¶430:

¶431: **Any Other Matters**

¶432:

- ¶433: Is there any other matter related to the research question (directly or indirectly) which you would like to mention?

Appendix 17

Initial Themes

Name
ANTI-AMERICANISM AND ISLAMIST EXTREMISM IN CONTEMPORARY MIDDLE EASTERN ARAB SUNNI MUSLIM MEN
INITIAL CODING (N=13)
PARTICIPANT 1 (6 THEMES)
ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICAN CULTURE
ATTITUDE OF OTHERS
It was positive in general from the TV
My school and teachers appeared neutral
HIGH CONSUMPTION OF AMERICAN PRODUCTS
All of the above! It's the global world we live in.
do not wear a baseball cap
I tend to switch around a lot to get different perspectives on the same story.
No but I do not have a problem with them
No. I don't but I don't object

Name
Sure. I have seen all of these at one time
Yes, but we are trying to reduce or avoid these for health reasons
Yes, I am happy to do so but not 'formal US style suits'
Yes, I buy American brands
Yes, I have no problem with buying American products. I buy them happily and often
Yes, of course
Yes. Sure.
POSITIVE ATTITUDE OF SELF
'Things work there'.
Actually it enhanced my view of how positive the US is – its diversity, and complexity
I viewed the US as developed, modern and with a great lifestyle.
It is well managed and developed.
My impressions were mixed, mostly positive but some negative
The US kids seemed to have so much.
They have good airports and good infrastructure.
They seemed to have a higher quality of life.
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND AMERICANISATION AND ARAB SUNNI ANTI-AMERICANISM
"Religious extremism is like a fire, if you start it, you cannot control it"
I hope that it does impact on Islam to get the Arab World out of our

Name
dilemma!
I think that America used religion like a fire, but it is so dangerous, like in Afghanistan and Syria
It has a huge amount. You see during the Cold War with the Soviets, the US supported Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan against the USSR. We all know this.
one that changed a whole generation's view of America, the invasion of Iraq in 2003 !!!!!
The real question for Arab Muslims and other Muslims is does religion rule our lives or does it fit into our life~ This is our problem – not the West's. We cannot blame the West for that question.
This is a fire which was lit by the US and left to burn after they abandoned Afghanistan after the Cold War. It then spread elsewhere like a virus.
Western civilisation did not make the leap until this issue was resolved – the Enlightenment. They did it, we have to do it and we have not done it yet. Some are still living their lives as it was at the time of the Prophet.
CHANGE FROM LIBERTARIAN TO IMPERIALIST TREATMENT OF MIDDLE EAST
a spike
Bell Curve
CIA coup to overthrow a Middle Eastern democratically elected Prime Minister.
I think that post World War II it changed slightly from inward to outward looking with aggressive interventions

Name
it shocked many in the Middle East
Perhaps even earlier, probably in the 1920s ~ 1930s the US changed in its approach to other countries in the Middle East
The Founding Fathers would not have approved.
The libertarian vision of the Founding Fathers seems to have been abandoned and even reversed
The US has moved away from their liberal origins. It is no longer liberal in its external relations and this includes the Middle East.
we had never thought of America in an imperialist light before that
HISTORY AND COLONIALISM
But it is also, I think, distracting. It gives a backward push and is draining our resources
It is definitely important in North African Arab countries.
Yes of course. They are a legacy but they are also distracting
INVASION OF IRAQ
the main causes, these are the Palestinian issue and the illegal invasion of Iraq.
JIHAD FUELING ANTI-AMERICANISM
Much!
Yes, Syria and Iraq.
PALESTINIAN-ISRAEL ISSUE
Also, the MB (Muslim Brotherhood) use the Palestinians as a tool for their own reasons to give them legitimacy.
AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL

Name
A lot. Of course a lot. Why wouldn't they~
I don't want to say.
Israel is not Middle Eastern or Arab they are Western and democratic. Their Prime Minister wears suits, was educated in the US and speaks with an American accent. He and his people are not Middle Eastern.
It is a reality.
It is a reality. Israel could not survive without them. "America and Israel are joined at the hip". Have you heard this saying~
It is not good because it is in our lifetime. We can see it with our own eyes. It is not an account from history which may or may not be real or true.
Palestine and the illegal invasion of Iraq in 2003
They are an indication of how Arab civilisation has deteriorated. The result of Ottoman and Western domination.
They are the West's foothold in the Arab Middle East.
This is supported by the US and there is never any just criticism of Israel by the US.
Yes. A lot. "America and Israel are like two wolves negotiating with a Palestinian lamb what they will have for lunch. You know the lamb will get eaten!"
Yes. This is clear for all to see.
DIGNITY ISSUE
It is a dignity issue
It is the injustice of it - the Israeli overreaction and it is also the

Name
'dignity of the Arabs' which is being insulted.
We say that "Israel is like a wart on my hand; I see it but do not accept its right to be there".
HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE
Palestine and the illegal invasion of Iraq in 2003
Palestine, 1967, 1973, recent Israeli shelling of Palestinians
They are an indication of how Arab civilisation has deteriorated. The result of Ottoman and Western domination.
Unfortunately – a lot!
IMPORTANCE FOR SELF
It continues to be as important and relevant as ever. There is nothing more important to us.
It is very important to me and Arab Muslims.
It is very, very important to us Arabs. They are our brothers in Islam and Arab brothers. Do not underestimate the importance of Palestine to the Arabs.
No. Never, and Arabs in general do not.
Some of the Islamists say that "Israel is the Last Crusader State". Other extremist say that Israel is the 'Tenth Crusade'. I do not agree with the extremists but I do see what they mean.
They are an exported people to a foreign land!
they have no passports in their own land. If I had no passport I would be angry
IMPORTANCE FOR SUNI MUSLIMS AND ARABS
"Palestine is like a thorn sticking in Arab dignity, always there,

Name
and always painful".
at school during history lessons, like most children. This was when the Palestinian question was taught.
But some Arabs do deny its very existence.
It continues to be as important and relevant as ever. There is nothing more important to us.
It is very important to me and Arab Muslims.
It is very, very important to us Arabs. They are our brothers in Islam and Arab brothers. Do not underestimate the importance of Palestine to the Arabs.
No. Never, and Arabs in general do not.
the main causes, these are the Palestinian issue and the illegal invasion of Iraq.
Yes, definitely. It tends to focus on~ Palestine
Yes. Ask any Arab. They will tell you that it is the Palestinian issue and the invasion of Iraq.
Yes. It was mostly the Palestinian cause because of the obvious injustice. But also because Israel was supported by the West, initially by the UK and then the US.
ISRAEL INJUSTICE AND ILLEGALITY
Also, we say that when Israel attacks innocent Palestinians - "What is wrong is wrong".
I am not sure. It would be too easy to say yes. But I want to base my decision on facts. I do not know. Maybe it was an accident or a mix-up. I don't think we will ever know because the Israelis keep their errors as secret, as they can.

Name
It is not just. Surely that is clear for all to see.
It is the clear lack of balance, fairness and proportionality by Israel that is the problem. This is supported by the US and there is never any just criticism of Israel by the US.
It is the injustice of it - the Israeli overreaction and it is also the 'dignity of the Arabs' which is being insulted.
This is because injustice shines clear for all to see. You do not need to have been to university to know this. All Arabs know this.
Yes!
Yes! Not just me but the Arab World.
'MIGHT IS RIGHT'
might is right
The lesson is - the weak tribes or clans lose
NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF PALESTINE BY ARABS
Arabs say quietly to each other that "The Palestinians are like the poor man at a party" and they are so toxic about it
We also say that "They are like a member of a family who was the only one who did not get anything from a will"; they attack other members of the family.
the main causes, these are the Palestinian issue and the illegal invasion of Iraq.
SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
I would estimate 70~80%.
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE

Name
Yes.
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
ARE HAMAS AND HEZBOLLAH TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS
No difference. They are both the same, two hands of the same body – left hand and right hand. What is the difference~
No. I explained before.
Not before – no. Not when they gave Israel a beating in Lebanon and forced them to leave. But recently since Syria and Iraq – yes, I do. Their militias have done terrible things against Sunnis in Iraq and Syria
Not really. We say, "If someone kicks your door in, you must defend your home". What are you going to do~ You must fight. Some do fight but very few.
Yes, of course. What else are the Arabs going to do~ The West does not help us, so we must do what we can.
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE US IRAQ WAR FOR ISLAMIST EXTREMISM AND ANTI-AMERICANISM
Greatly! It remains the second greatly issue. Palestine remains the first.
It is like a thorn sticking into us. It does not go away. But also the US keeps twisting this Shoka or thorn with its support to Israel, or banning Arab Muslims from America.
It was illegal and it has caused so many problems for Arabs across the whole region.
Most Arabs say "Iraq was all about oil". But I think it was a combination of opportunity, unfinished business and oil.

Name
Opportunity because the invasion of Afghanistan was over so quickly and unfinished business because the 'son' (G W Bush) wanted to finish it.
Oil
Some Arabs call it "The American Crusade". Others say it was the Western ~ American 'Crusade' and oil.
The ideology existed before but was fed by the Iraq war and national interest.
Very angry! This is an example of the brutal US system. It is unjustified. Many say, "In the Arab World, the weak have no rights". Might is right.
Very negative. These were great insults at many levels – culturally, religiously, our dignity, our unity and so on.
Widespread instability in the Middle East. There has also been an increase in extremism and Islamism.
Yes of course. Iraq was a strong Arab country. It was a block to Iran and created balance in the Middle East. The destruction of Iraq created instability in the whole region.
Yes, of course. The invasion was illegal and it destroyed the government and infrastructure of Iraq. It created chaos and a power vacuum but more importantly it created a common enemy for Iraqis and Arabs. The extremists like ISIS exploited this.
Yes. This is obvious.
UNWILLINGNESS TO TALK ABOUT JIHAD
I will not say any more about this.
Jihād. They see it one way, moderate Muslims see it another way.

Name
No. It was a deception! But I will not say any more about this.
Yes. I will not say any more.
POSITIVE VIEW OF ARAB SPRING
POSITIVE PERSONAL VIEW
Many Arabs say, "We needed the medicine but it was the wrong medicine!"
Yes – I like it. But many don't
Yes. I am not going to say any more on this.
Yes. The Arab Spring changed my views. It caused me to read much. I have been reading internet sites, blogs, watching documentaries and reading
VIEWS OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
MANIPULATION OF THE PRESS
"The Western media is a 'Trumpet'; but who is blowing the trumpet~"
For example, Al Jazeera is the 'trumpet' for Qatar and Turkey, Al Arabia and MBC Saudi are the 'trumpet' for Saudia Arabia, Sky News Arabia is the 'trumpet' for the UAE, ON TV is the 'trumpet' for Egypt and so on and on. You understand this very well.
PERSONAL VIEWS ON ANTI-AMERICANISM
(Did not answer but smiled)
It did not shape my views
Not really
Yes. The Arab Spring changed my views. It caused me to read much. I have been reading internet sites, blogs, watching

Name
documentaries and reading
PARTICIPANT 2 (6 THEMES)
ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICAN CULTURE
HIGH CONSUMPTION OF AMERICAN PRODUCTS
'MANY ARABS DO IT'
Of course. Many Arabs call them "The only game in town" (quoting President Bill Clinton).
Yes. I think everyone does in the Middle East. But they are mostly made in China.
Yes. Sure, this is normal. Most Arabs do this.
PERSONAL VIEW ALWAYS WITH QUALIFICATION
Yes, but I do not interpret it as 'US style' as you put it but I dress in a casual and modern way NOT because it is American. I do not want to look American or an Arab dressed as an American.
Yes. It's the 'Only game in town'. I like romantic, historical, police and law movies. But I do not watch US war movies or fighting films where the Americans are always the heroes and other cultures are the bed guys. You know what I mean. There is normally
Yes. Sure, it is just food. Also, it is made locally. So, all of the above!
SINGULAR EXCEPTION IS BUYING AMERICAN CAR
No!~~I will never do. Why would I support the oppressors of the Palestinians~

Name
PERSONAL VIEWS
It was negative due the US support for the Zionist Entity (Israel). Also, there was the manipulation of the Arabs by the America and suppression of Palestine by Israel supported by America.
It was negative.
No. Not at all. It is still negative
Yes. As a young person I viewed the US as an ideal society a model society in the world but later I found out that it was not a paradise or model. For those inside America, perhaps it was but for Arabs – no!
Yes. Sure. We were more aware and more informed at that age. It was more acute.
SOCIAL VIEWS
Yes. Sure. We were more aware and more informed at that age. It was more acute.
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICAN BIAS AGAINST ARABS
ATTRIBUTION TO WESTERN MEDIA OF CONFLATION OF ISLAM WITH ISLAMIST TERRORISM
Also, the radical Muslims want to be shown on TV to their supporters
Because media do not show educated, cultured Muslims on Western TV.
If something bad happens, by the West or not to Muslims, in our media coverage; we do not refer to him by religion but nationality.~~But in the West they refer to Islam. This creates

Name
conflation as you call it!
It is also lack of understanding of Arabs and Islam.
many Israelis conflate Islam with extremism – so does Trump!
There is also lack of study of Middle East and Arabs – not Western advisors sat in air-conditioned offices talking about the Middle East and the Arabs, advising decision makers on wrong advice!
This is because of media coverage in the West.
BIAS, INJUSTICE, MANIPULATION
Now we have two causes – Palestine and the illegal invasion of Iraq.
Palestine. Normally it was Palestine – the injustice and oppression. Then the illegal invasion of Iraq.
The US does not stand up for Arab rights. Quite the opposite.
The US is seen as a country that has bias against Arabs.
The US manipulated and continues to manipulate Arabs.
There is strong US bias against Arabs. Arab rights are not respected; they are not the same as Israeli rights.
This is a big issue! Why~ "Because as some say, "You have brought the enemy to our land!" Do we the Arabs have military bases in America~
Today's Arabs are eyewitnesses to the illegal US invasion of Iraq. They can also see what is happening in Israel and Palestine. It is not history, it is now. We have seen it with our own eyes!

Name
Trump caused a huge rage and hatred because of the decision to appoint Al-Quds (Jerusalem) as the capital of Israel. As we say, "They will reap what they sow!"
We say often "Palestine is the great injustice to Arabs" or that "Palestine is the 'First Cause' in Arab lives".
SUPPORT FOR STRATEGIC ENEMY OF ARABS
Also, the US supports our strategic enemy – the Zionist Entity (Israel).
The US supports our strategic enemy - Israel.
Their support for Israel may weaken in the long term.
Yes of course. In the West this may seem a reasonable question to ask but to Arabs, it is a ridiculous question. Sorry, I am not getting at you but the US apply a double standard. How can they be independent
Yes, of course. (2)
Yes, of course. Killing civilians is a terrorist act. The West says it is a terrorist act if Da'ish kill civilians, then why is it not if the Israelis do~
AMERICAN INTERFERENCE WITH ARABS AND COLLUSION WITH ISRAEL
A great degree! You know, if they just stopped interfering in the Arab World and exerted some control over Israel, it might be different. But they don't. Many Arabs say that "Americas are the new Roman Empire; they do what they want".
More than 90%.
stirring some Arab countries against other Arab countries to divide

Name
the Arabs, selling weapons to both sides, selling weapons to Saddam Hussein to block Iran, supporting him in the Iraq – v – Iran war, then later invading Iraq. Is that enough~
HISTORY OF ARAB RELATIONSHIP WITH WEST IS IMPORTANT
COLONIALISM
It is still negative. It is still used against the British and French, especially when they try to intervene in the Arab World.
Yes. They form part of our history. In the West, history is old; it is dead and from the past. In the Middle East, history is now, today and unbroken. It is important to us what the West did to us in the Crusades or during empire or more recently. Your his
CRUSADES
Crusades
These are battles in a long war. The Crusaders stayed 300 years. This is a long war.
This is very important.
ISRAEL-US RELATIONSHIP
1973 war and the US support for Israel. The US saved Israel.
This is the logic of the jungle. When the Serbs did this to Muslims in the Balkans they were taken to the European Court or Human Rights. Why not Israel~ This is because of the US support of Israel. It is immoral and a double standard!
IRAQ INVASION
Huge! I said before. It is our Arab dignity, being oppressed, insulted and humiliated. If you want to humiliate an Arab Muslim, take off his clothes and humiliate him and this is what they did.

Name
Those photographs will never leave us. That is what America do
REASONS FOR INVASION OF IRAQ
People say Iraq's oil and Iraq had a strong army with modern weapons and formed a threat to Israel. Some Arabs say, "They invaded for oil and Israel".
RESULTS OF THE WAR
I agree! George W Bush said that he was bringing democracy. All he brought was~ starvation, diseases, poverty, death and destruction! That is what the US brought! You know that Iraq was the centre of our ancient civilisation what you in the West call the '
Yes, of course. The Arab World – yes. The Arabian Gulf countries are especially nervous and feel threatened. Look at Saudi, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria, Iraq – Lebanon. Sunni led power is blocked by Iran. Shia power is growing. It is the new power battle, Shia I
SENTIMENTS FOR THE IRAQ WAR
GRIEF
(No reply but upset)
(No reply but upset) (2)
(No reply but upset) (3)
HATRED OF AMERICA
Very important. It brings more hatred of America.
REMEMBERANCE
The Iraq invasion is over but we will never forget.

887

Name
Yes, of course! I mentioned this earlier.
the illegal invasion of Iraq,
US SUPPORT FOR, CREATION OF EXTREME ISLAMIST FIGHTERS
In the Arab street they say the US.
One created the conditions for the other like an open wound to disease. The Americans created the open wound and the disease of Da'ish came into it.
They know that the US invaded Iraq and like in Afghanistan where the US supported extreme Islamist fighters like Bin laden and others, they created the situation for Da'ish to come.
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
A lot!
Palestine, Iraq and Syria
PALESTINIAN-ISRAEL ISSUE
HIGH IMPORTANCE FOR SELF AND ARABS
It is our number one 'living' issue.
No
No (getting a little upset)
No and it will not for the Arabs.
Not for here. Not for your study and not when you are writing it down.
This is big. It is strategic for us, Israel and the West.

Name
Very important. They insult our brothers.
ISRAEL ILLEGAL, TERRORIST STATE
A lot.
Greatly. More hatred to US. I will not say anymore on this.
No. Never! That is a ridiculous question.
No. Street Arabs say, "Israel is Al-Kayan Al-Sahyuni" (the Zionist Entity). It occupies Palestine which is Arab land. The average people will never accept this. But not the leaders when they are in power because they play power games. When Arab leaders lea
Yes! It is an illegal occupier of Arab land.
Yes! Of course it is. It commits state crimes against innocent Palestinians; it bombs women and children. What do you call it~
Yes - Palestine – Past – Present and Future
Yes (2)
Yes, of course.
THROUGH TEACHERS
Yes. It was with the teachers but they then had an influence and impact on the students and pupils. It was normally centred around the actions of the US in the Middle East.
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
Extremists use Islam – it is not real Islam
Muslims in the world are 1.6 Billion. Only a small number are violent.
Yes (8)

Name
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
CRITICISM TOWARDS ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
A lot, probably more than 80%. We are already brought up as haters of the US. These groups nourish and manipulate it. Every family in the Arab World bring up their family as haters of Israel and America and for good reason. Look at Iraq. Look at Palestine.
A sin. A terrible sin against Islam
CRITICISM OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD
Never! Not even relevant for his own time
No! The Muslim Brotherhood leadership have citizenship in the US and UK. Citizenship! The Brotherhood people are living in comfort with children in US and UK.
Verbally when addressing their own supporters but they have contacts with US – to get into power in Egypt
Very bad. They failed the people
Yes (5)
Yes (6)
Yes (7)
Extremists use Islam – it is not real Islam
INAPPROPRIATENESS OF 'UNBELIEVER' VIEWPOINT
It is not appropriate to modern life.
we should not kill someone for this
It is against Islam. They interpret Islam as they want – their own version to serve their own political agenda.

Name
No!
Political
HAMAS AND HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST
If Palestinians were living in peace and Israel did not steal their land, allowed returns and Al-Quds (Jerusalem) to be capital and if Palestinians and Hezbollah attacked then – then yes. But now no!
In the West it may be negative. But to the Arabs, this is something to be proud of.
No.
No. How can it be~ It is resistance.
No. Of course not. They are a resistance organisation. Were the ANC terrorists~ Sure to the apartheid government they were but to the world~
No. Why should I~ I need to highlight one thing. We Arabs say, "Does Hamas plan attacks against Sweden, Argentina or Japan~ No, only against Israel". The Charlie Hebdo attack. Many Arabs said~ this is what they deserve now, they did against us terrible things.
Yes, of course they were. It was resistance.
RELUCTANCE TO TALK ABOUT ISLAMISM
No answer (but a concerned look). Look, I cannot talk about this. It is too dangerous to talk about this.
Not here
NEGATIVE PERSONAL VIEW OF ARAB SPRING
'ARAB SPRING' A WESTERN TERM

Name
This is a Western term
This is a Western term.
His death was for nothing! Some say if he knew what would be the result of his death, he would not do it.
Negative
Negative. Declining economy, more terror attacks, more terror group and more Salafists.
REDUCTION OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN MIDDLE EAST ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
AMERICAN NON-INTERFERENCE
A just and fair solution to Palestine. Stop immediately the support for Israel.
if they just stopped interfering in the Arab World and exerted some control over Israel, it might be different.
Stop interfering in Arab affairs
BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ARABS
A greater understanding of the Arabs, Arab culture and our religion by the US and West.
COLLABORATION WITH ARABS
More collaboration between the West ~ US and Arab world.
DECLINE OF AMERICA AS SUPERPOWER DUE TO WAGING WARS
America as a superpower is weakening. It is spending its wealth on wars.
SOLUTION TO PALESTINE

Name
A just and fair solution to Palestine. Stop immediately the support for Israel.

PARTICIPANT 3 (8 THEMES)

ARAB GOVERNMENTS INCREASED CONTROL AFTER ARAB SPRING

ARAB SPRING CHANGED FOCUS FROM EXTERNAL ISSUES (PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE, AL-QUDS) TO INTERNAL ISSUES (SYRIA, IRAQ, EGYPT...)

Before the Arab Spring, Arabs were mostly interested in the Palestinian issue, Israel and Al-Quds (Jerusalem). This applied to nearly all Arabs. But after the Arab Spring it is internal issues which are in Arab minds, like Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, Saud

GOVERNMENTS HEIGHTENED CONTROL OF ARAB MEDIA ANTI-AMERICANISM

Also, our Arab media after the Arab Spring became more controlled and the state controlled media want to cut off anti-Western and anti-American views in case it created more jihādists and more instability. Stability is now much more important for Arab stat

The old regimes of the Arab Middle East became scared. They tightened control. But remember that instability was not caused by the Arab Spring, it was caused by Political Islamists.

IRAQ AND PALESTINE PUT IN HEART, MIND OCCUPIED WITH JOBS, MONEY, SECURITY, STABILITY

Before the Arab Spring and after 2003, this was in mind every day. But after the Arab Spring, Iraq and Palestine had to be put in our hearts. Our minds every day are occupied with thinking about jobs, money eating and our own security.

Name
but is mixed. It is carried deep in our hearts but now we have other troubles to think about.
But when something happens and the West or America does something against the Arabs, these move from our hearts to our minds.
Yes. In my heart.
Yes. In their hearts.

ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICAN CULTURE

MIXED IMPRESSIONS BY SELF AND FRIENDS, FAMILY

As I said, it was mixed.
It was mixed.
Mixed.
No. (2)

SOME CONSUMPTION OF AMERICAN PRODUCTS

EXCEPTION AT BUYING AMERICAN CAR

No!~~I will never do. Why would I support the oppressors of the Palestinians~
Some, like most people.

Like most people from all over the world I buy and use some American products but that does not mean I support America, I just buy what I like.
No but that is not because they are from the US.
No.
Some, like jeans and T shirts.

Name
Yes.
Yes. (2)
Yes. (3)
Yes. (4)
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
America is aggressive and does not care about world opinion. They own the UN or can ignore them. As people say, "They do what they want".
AMERICAN INTERVENTIONISM
America's intervention in the Arab World is the problem. For example, Trump's decision to make Al-Quds (Jerusalem) the political centre and main city of Israel. No one forced him to do this. He an American decided to do this.
AMERICAN KEEPS POOR ARABS POOR BY SUPPORTING AUTOCRATIC ARAB LEADERS
Also, people will not say to you but America's support for autocratic leaders in the Arab world that keep the poor Arabs poor. You know that there are over one hundred million Egyptians and most of them are poor and kept poor. Did you know that Cairo has d
I don't want to say any more about this. (Note~ participant – slightly distressed).
Yes.
Now it is Trump, the Muslim ban to America, Trump's Islamophobia, Trump's decision to move the US embassy to Al-

Name
Quds and the Palestinian issue, America's support for Israel, the American invasion of Iraq.
SUNNI ARABS
A lot.
AMERICANISATION
A lot. (2)
AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
America supports Israeli terrorist war crimes.
Every day.
LOW ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAEL STATE
BUT ISRAEL NOT TERRORIST
No. It is important to make a distinction between Jewish, Zionism and terrorists.
ISRAEL PERFORMED ACT OF TERRORISM
Yes. All know it.
No. Never!
THE OLD WILL NEVER ACCEPT, THE YOUNG SEE ISRAEL ARABS HAVE WHAT THEY DON'T
This is difficult. It is not as simple as some people think. The old people, like my parents, do not accept Israel and will never accept it. But many of the young see that in Israel Arabs have rights, education and democracy and that is more than most Arab
Yes.

Name
Most.
PALESTINIAN-ISRAEL ISSUE
HIGH IMPORTANCE FOR SELF AND ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
Extremely important.
It is very important.
No
Not at all.
This was not fair, not just and not lawful.
Yes
HATRED FOR AMERICAN ATROCITIES
This was very bad. It is even worse because it was done by the West and America to Arabs and Muslims. It created deep hatred that will not go quickly.
Yes
HISTORY OF ARAB RELATIONSHIP WITH WEST IS IMPORTANT
BUT COLONIAL PERIOD OF MIXED IMPORTANCE
Mixed. In North Africa, the French involvement is more important, for the Egyptians it is the British and so on. Here (UAE) it does not seem important because they were never a colony.
CRUSADES
It is important.
They are important, especially if it is the West interfering in the

Name
Middle East.
From Crusades up to Trump.
RELEVANT TO MODERN LIFE
Yes.
TRUMP'S AL-QUDS DECISION
As I said, recently, Trump's decision over Al-Quds (Jerusalem).
IRAQ INVASION
A lot.
IRAQ WAR
REASONS FOR AMERICA'S INVASION OF IRAQ
Death, destruction and long term hatred.
It was terrible.
Unchecked US power and ambition, Israel and stealing our oil.
WAR CRIMES AND HUMANITARIAN CRIMES AGAINST IRAQ
These are war crimes and anti-humanitarian.
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
Yes it does.
IMPROVING THE IMAGE OF THE ARAB MUSLIM WORLD
FREEDOM OF SPEECH
Our leaders need to adopt Western values like freedom of speech.
INVEST IN EDUCATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Name
They need to invest in education and spend on infrastructure and bring about social justice.
SOCIAL JUSTICE
They need to invest in education and spend on infrastructure and bring about social justice.
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
CAVEAT
SHARED BLAME OF US AND SAUDI ARABIA IN FUNDING AFGHAN FIGHTERS AND ARAB ISLAMIST FIGHTERS
Also, America and the West like to forget history, even recent history, if you can call recent happenings history. It was the Americans who paid for and equipped the Afghan fighters to fight the Soviets. When the Islamist fundamentalists came along, they f
Also, the Arab world is not innocent in this. Saudi Arabia also funded the Afghan and Arab Islamist fighters. They also funded the spread of Salafism and Wahhabism not just in Saudi but across the world. Just make any Google search today about the Holy Qur'an.
There are so many Muslims in the world and only a very small number of violent Muslims.
UNEASY TALKING ABOUT SUNNI ISLAM SITUATION
SUNNI ISLAM HAS NO CENTRAL LEADER, HOLY TEXTS MAY BE INTERPRETED BY ISLAMIST EXTREMISTS
I am not talking about this. I have probably said too much already.

Name
No reply.
No reply. (2)
No reply. (Participant looking uneasy)
Yes.
ISLAMISM AND ISLAMIC EXTREMISM
ARAB SPRING CAUSED BY POLITICAL ISLAMISM, BROUGHT REGIONAL INSTABILITY
BROUGHT REGIONAL INSTABILITY, BUT CAUSED BY POLITICAL ISLAMISM
Also, our Arab media after the Arab Spring became more controlled and the state controlled media want to cut off anti-Western and anti-American views in case it created more jihādists and more instability. Stability is now much more important for Arab stat
Regional instability in the Arab Middle East.
The old regimes of the Arab Middle East became scared. They tightened control. But remember that instability was not caused by the Arab Spring, it was caused by Political Islamists.
CRITICISM OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD
It is anti-anything that opposes it.
It was terrible. They told lies and did not do what they said they would do. They were a complete failure.
No
They plot and take from the people. They make promises that they

Name
never keep. Some are OK and some are extremists.
Yes
Yes (2)
Yes (3)
CRITICISMS OF ISLAMISM, EXTREMISM
It is against Islam. They interpret Islam as they want – their own version to serve their own political agenda.
The old regimes of the Arab Middle East became scared. They tightened control. But remember that instability was not caused by the Arab Spring, it was caused by Political Islamists.
Yes it was wrong.
Yes, like all kinds of extremism, not just Islamist.
DAESH OR ISIS AN AMERICAN PROXY
Da'ish is a US proxy.
The Americans.
The US.
HAMAS AND HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST
CRITICISM OF HEZBOLLAH
It is wrong.
No
No
No (2)
No (3)
No. But, before 2006 it was fighting Israel's illegal occupation in

Name
the West Bank. After that it changed.
We are proud of them.
Yes
MULTIPLE REASONS DRAW SOME ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS TO DAESH OR ISIS
There are many reasons for many different people. Because the young men who join them come from all over the world. There are political, religious and social reasons. Politically, most Arabs are not free in the Western sense so some wanted to travel to fig
POLITICAL ISLAMISTS PROVIDE SOCIAL AND OTHER SERVICES THAT ARAB GOVERNMENTS DON'T
Probably.
REASONS FOR THE CONFLATION OF ISLAM WITH EXTREMISM
LACK OF EDUCATION
This is a lack of education in the West and America especially about Islam. They just do not know. All that they know is from poor images in Hollywood movies. We have become the bad men or evil monster in those stories told to children to keep them out of
WESTERN MEDIA
JEWS, JEWISH MONEY CONTROLS HOLLYWOOD WITH POOR DEPICTIONS OF ARABS
Also, and you will not like this for your study but it is Jewish money and the Jewish control of Hollywood that makes us look bad. They show positive images of Jewish or Western people and negative images of Arab Muslim

Name
men. So these are the reasons that t
The Western and American media do not like having nice Muslims on their TV because it does not make good TV ratings. They like a good argument between the good, fair, Western, Christian and the evil radical Muslim who is shouting 'death to the kafir'. That
The Western media like showing radical Muslims on TV and radical Muslims like being on TV, it is a type of cooperation.
This is a lack of education in the West and America especially about Islam. They just do not know. All that they know is from poor images in Hollywood movies. We have become the bad men or evil monster in those stories told to children to keep them out of
RELUCTANCE TO TALK ABOUT EFFECT OF ISLAMISM ON SELF AND OTHERS
I am not going to talk about that.
REDUCTION OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN MIDDLE EAST ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
One last thing. Israel is allowed to divide and conquer the Arabs. This is as much the fault of the Arabs. We need to unite, not countries but opinions and policies.
TWO-STATE SOLUTION WITH EUROPE AS MODERATOR
A two state solution but not with America moderating. I want the European Union to moderate. America needs to change so that it is fair and seen to be fair to the Arabs. Look at the writings of the Arab writer Mohamed Hassanin Haikal and you will see.

Name
VIEWS OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
DECREASED ANTI-AMERICANISM IN ARAB MEDIA POST-ARAB SPRING
Before – yes, but after the Arab Spring that has changed. Now Arab leaders want a strong relationship with Trump and they have stopped open criticism of America on state channels. If media is state owned then it has been stopped.
Before the Arab Spring – there was a lot in the Arab media. But now, much of that has gone. There still is some subtle criticism.
PERSONAL VIEWS SHAPED BY ANTI-AMERICANISM
No.
Yes.
Yes. (2)
PRESENCE OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN EDUCATION
SCHOOL
It was usually about the Palestinian problem.
Yes.
UNIVERSITY
The whole Palestinian issue.
Yes. (2)
PARTICIPANT 4 (7 THEMES)
ADDITIONAL PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS
PEOPLE ARE TIRED OF GOVERNMENTS
We are tired of America, Israel and our own governments.

Name
PEOPLE ARE TIRED OF WAR AND VIOLENCE
Many Arabs are tired of the war and destruction in Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen, the refugees flowing into other Arab countries and they do not want any of that where they live. So it has made them tired. We are tired of violence. Not like before. This is a c
the people are tired of war, fighting and all of that.
PEOPLE WANT FOR A DECENT LIFE
We just want a decent life for our families.
THERE ARE MULTIPLE VIEWPOINTS
MANY INTERPRETATIONS OF ISLAM
And all along Muslims who do not agree with each other accuse others of being kafir.
It depends on which Islam you are speaking about. Is it Shi'a, Sunni or Salafism and Wahhabism or jihādism.
Yes, of course and they do.
NO SINGLE ARAB MIND
As I said before, there is no single Arab Mind.
But as I said before, there is no single Arab mind.
There is no single Arab 'Mind' and there is no single 'Muslim Mind'.
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROLS ARAB MEDIA ANTI-AMERICANISM ABOUT PALESTINE ISSUE, EGYPT
But some Arab governments get worried about it. In Egypt some journalists get arrested if they speak about Egypt's cooperation with Israel.

Name

CRUEL ARAB GOVERNMENTS MAY PROTECT FROM EVEN CRUELER OUTSIDERS

But as I said before, it is not simple or easy. Some street Arabs say that "Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi were like cruel step fathers who beat their step children but they protected them from an even worse person outside the family". You can say the

You know one of my professors at university said that "The Arabs are not taught to live together but are forced to do so". He is correct. What he meant by this is that the Sunni, Shi'a, different ethnic groups, different tribes and so on all need to be sup

OVERTHROWING THE GOVERNMENT (LESSON FROM ARAB SPRING)

BUT ARABS SHOULD OVERTHROW AUTOCRATIC ARAB STATES WHO KILL THEIR PEOPLE

The only exception is where autocratic Arab states start killing their own people and calling them traitors.

RISK TO OVERTHROW GOVERNMENT 'TOO HIGH'

The main consequence of the Arab Spring to Arabs is to teach them that the risks of overthrowing the government by a popular uprising are too high.

Yes, especially about Iraq and Palestine. Well before it was a lot but now it is much less because of government control. You know what I am saying

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

AGGRESIVE 'DO WHAT I WANT' AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

A lot. Of course it does. Everyone knows this. The invasion of Iraq,

Name
Palestine, Making Al Quds the capital city and supporting the Jewish lobby in the US. All of this.
Aggressive and does not care about world opinion. They own the UN or can ignore them and they do what they want.
AMERICA BLAMED FOR MIDDLE EAST PROBLEMS
BUT ARAB GOVERNMENTS DIFFERENT FROM PEOPLE, DO NOT CRITICISE THEIR BUSINESS PARTNER
before, the Arab governments let some criticism exist in the Arab press to take the people's eyes off what they were doing with our money or our freedom. They controlled the media. They still do.
But there is a difference between the people's thoughts and minds and the message from their leaders and governments. Their leaders do business with America and so they do not criticise it. Only Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi did and they were removed
Most blame America. But this is not a false dream or mirage. America did this by its actions. Not us.
RELUCTANCE TO TALK ABOUT AMERICAN MILITARY BASES IN MIDDLE EAST
I am not going to talk about that. As we Arabs say, "If you say it you own it". Do you understand~
ARAB GOVERNMENTS DO NOTHING TO AMELIORATE
Again, there is an Arab government view and the Arab Street view. As they say in the street, "Arab governments are like a blind man on a black night, seeing nothing and saying

Name
nothing".
Negative. As people say, "America has destroyed the Arab World". (2)
UNRELIABILITY OF AMERICA AS ALLY
"He who is covered by America is stripped naked because America is not a reliable ally"
Yes (2)
Yes. Common on the Arab Street.
AMERICANISATION DESTROYS CULTURES
A lot. Americanisation is slowly destroying distinctive global cultures. It makes our young people more vulnerable to influence by America.
IRAQ WAR
A lot. Sure.
AMERICAN WAR CRIMES
ARAB GOVERNMENTS OBFUSCATE BECAUSE THEY DO BUSINESS WITH AMERICA
But again, most Arabs do not know the full story.
Most people do not know this and our governments do want us to know. Do you know why~ They want to do weapons deals and other business with America and this gets in the way. They do not want the people to know.
So they did not want the people to know the truth and they did not want any trouble from the people. So, the police collected all the newspapers in the hotel and left with them

Name
to burn them.
That is because the Egyptian government was so close to the American government and they got hundreds of millions of US dollars every year from America. Also our government did not make any protest to the US government. They also allowed the US to use the
NOT KNOWN BY MANY
But you know; only a small percentage of university graduates in certain subjects in the Middle East will have access to this information.
RELATED ATROCITIES-HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE FINDING OUT
But the man on reception had one newspaper hidden away and we all read it and looked at it over and over again, until it fell apart.
I was staying at a hotel when the newspaper came out with those terrible photographs in it of what they did to Arab Muslims. It was terrible. But as we were gathered around in the hotel lounge, the police arrived to collect all the newspapers. The Min (2)
This was terrible. It shocked us. Really!
We never thought that as bad as America was that they could do this
This is terrible - war crimes.
BUT PEOPLE ARE BUSY WITH THEIR LIVES AND JOBS
But we do not talk about it every day. We are too busy with

Name
life.
Many Arabs since the 2008 financial crisis have had other things to worry about like jobs, employment, bank loans and the collapse of the Arab Spring.
EMOTIONS FOR IRAQ WAR
ANGER
I also became angry. Many people became angry. It is like some strange man that you heard about before, came to your house and kicked your door in and then set fire to your house. It was terrible.
GRIEF-SADNESS
Take the Iraq invasion. The day the Americans invaded Iraq, I was at school. It was a very sad day for us all. You cannot believe it. We were all asked to go to the computer room at school by our teachers. We all stood and watched, our teachers and us (2)
HUMILIATION
Yes. This humiliation sits deep within us.
NEGATION OF PERSONAL VIEW OF AMERICA AS AN ADVANCED SOCIETY FOREVER
Not really. As time has passed my views about America have become milder but they will never go away.
Yes. It changed them forever. There was a time when I saw America as an example of an advanced society. People had nice houses, cars, jobs and there people have a chance to live. But after what they did to Iraq, no. I have

Name
never thought about them like that.
INCREASED ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
Yes, of course.
It could not have been worse.
It is still Iraq and the Palestinian issue.
REASONS
ISRAEL'S SECURITY
and for the security of Israel.
Oil and Israel.
The Islamists say it was to destroy "The Axis of Arab power" in the Middle East. By this they mean, destroy Iraq and destroy Syria. And they did. Iraq is in ruins and Syria is in ruins.
OIL
All Arabs know and even the rest of the world knows, it was oil
Oil and Israel.
They came and stole the oil and destroyed Iraq. No one ever believed the reasons that they gave and those reasons turned out to be lies, as we knew.
PURPOSEFUL DESTABILISATION
Yes. Iraq was the strongest Arab country. It blocked Iran and held back the Iranian flood and the Shĭ'a flood. It was the largest Arab buffer zone.
ISLAMIC EXTREMISM

Name
Yes of course. (2)
Yes, I think so.
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
Back in 1973, our president – President Anwar el-Sadat said "I can fight the Israelis but I cannot fight America". What he meant by this was, of course I would attack Israel if I was only fighting them, but I cannot because I would have to fight Israel and
ISRAEL TERRORIST, ILLEGAL STATE
ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS DO NOT ACCEPT EITHER
No. Never. They stole our land and occupied it and then threw our people off their own land. How could any Arab accept this~
ATROCITIES
But also they wanted to destroy the future elections of the Palestinians by sending a message that any opposition would be crushed.
It also became punishment and cheapens the price of our lives to the world.
This was a war crime. All Arabs know this. Even the rest of the world knows that it was unfair and illegal. It was aimed at civilians.
No. Never!
This was an illegal occupation of Arab soil.

Name
Yes. All Arabs do.
Yes. All in the Arab world believe this. Even the UN knows this but they are weak against the American control of the UN. Arabs know this.
Yes. They are a terrorist state because they stole our land, kill and torture innocent Palestinians. They are still stealing our land by using these foreign settlers and the world does nothing. This Zionism and terrorism. The two are no different. But when
It makes Arabs hate America. The Israeli war criminals could not do it without their permission, munitions, funding or help.
Sure. I just said this.
UNDERMINES PALESTINIAN ISSUE
Sure. I said so.
we beat them, destroyed their whole air force, destroyed their tanks and beat them. But our final victory was stolen by America. This was so sad for us because this war was supposed to restore our pride, our dignity and our stolen land. All Arabs know this
We live with this humiliation every day of our lives. It sits deep inside us and we do not forget, nor should we.
Yes of course.
Yes, as I said before.
IMPORTANCE OF PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
HIGH FOR ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
Iraq is lost but this is still a 'game that can be won'; do you

Name
know this football term~
It is highly important at a popular level.
Many say, "Palestine is our living cause"
No
HIGH FOR SELF
No (2)
Very important.
It is still Iraq and the Palestinian issue.
SHAME AND HUMILIATION
It is like a great shame to us that we could not protect these old men, women and children.
We live with this humiliation every day of our lives. It sits deep inside us and we do not forget, nor should we.
TRUMP'S MUSLIM BAN
But now there is also Trump. He has created hatred of Muslims in America. With him producing the Muslim ban and saying bad things about Islam, he is saying it is OK for others to do the same, and they are doing it. Just look on YouTube.
IMPROVING THE IMAGE OF THE ARAB MUSLIM WORLD
FREEDOM, ACCOUNTABILITY, EDUCATION, SOCIAL JUSTICE
Arab leaders need to embrace more Western values like freedom of speech and accountability.
free the press, free the courts and let their people 'breathe the breath of freedom'. and enjoy social justice.

Name
They must spend on the people rather than buying US weapons. Invest in education, health,
INTEGRATION AND MODERNIZATION
Muslims living in the West should not point fingers at the West. They should integrate better.
Wearing Middle Eastern clothing in Europe that was designed for the deserts of the Arabian Gulf make no sense in the 21st Century. In Egypt, most of us in Cairo wear suits.
ISLAMISM AND ISLAMIC EXTREMISM
ARAB SPRING
CAME AT PERFECT TIME BUT FAILED DUE TO JIHADISTS
But the outcome was worse than any of us could have imagined.
It came at the perfect time and was long overdue.
It is fine. What is more important is that it happened at the perfect time and it was long overdue.
The Arab Spring failed in Egypt, Libya, Syria and even Tunisia.
The jihādists ruined it. I think that if there had been no jihādists in Iraq, Libya or Libya it may have worked.
REASONS
DUE TO ELITE FAMILIES
It was really caused by poor governance, and the rule by the elite families, for the elite families. If people had better social conditions and social justice then it may not have

Name
happened. As people say, "If a man has a job, car, apartment, wife, children
DUE TO POOR GOVERNANCE
It was really caused by poor governance, and the rule by the elite families, for the elite families. If people had better social conditions and social justice then it may not have happened. As people say, "If a man has a job, car, apartment, wife, children
DUE TO SOCIAL INJUSTICE
It was really caused by poor governance, and the rule by the elite families, for the elite families. If people had better social conditions and social justice then it may not have happened. As people say, "If a man has a job, car, apartment, wife, children
UNANTICIPATED NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR EGYPT, LIBYA, SYRIA, TYNISIA
But in my country Egypt, you need clearance from the Security Police for everything. No really. They even have State Security inside Egyptian universities.
Chaos. They did not help the nation or the common man. It was a complete failure.
Even in Tunisia, it is going back and the government and as people say, "The government has the people by the throat" in this so-called 'anti-terrorist campaign'.
In Egypt the outcome was really bad.
In Libya, it was a disaster. The country is in ruins.

Name
In Syria, it destroyed a great Arab country and let in the extremists, jihādists, Russians, Iranians, Turkish and Americans. They are all there in our beautiful Syria.
So we stay poor.
So-called 'democracy' brought the Muslim Brotherhood to power. Although, it is better to say that because of their organisation they were able to get to power. The others had no real chance.
Strangely, the consequences have been the very opposite of what was intended.
The state is more concerned with sitting on the people rather than let the economy grow because the elite and the government can get their money from the US.
They also use many informers so you cannot speak freely.
when they ruled Egypt, it was a disaster. They had no strategy to help the nation, just themselves. It probably has some extremists in it.
CRITICISMS OF ISLAMIC EXTREMISM
BETTER IN THE PAST
But we once had a Golden Age of Islamic learning when such ideologies were defeated by logic and debate.
CRITICISM OF DAESH
Also, in Jordan they are very tribal. This is even worse in a tribal society. It offended the whole of Jordan and the Arab world.
CRITICISM OF HAMAS ACTIONS

Name
No. Again for the same reasons. But the use of suicide bombers in Iraq is not Islamic and not acceptable.
CRITICISM OF HEZBOLLAH ACTIONS
but as I said before, it is not simple. If the Syrian government falls, the extremists will take over. So they are supporting the Syrian regime but killing Sunnis. It is not easy
It is wrong
No.
CRITICISM OF ISIS
They are wrong. They sometimes kill Sufis praying in masjids in Egypt. This is terribly wrong.
CRITICISM OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD
BUT SHOULD NOT BE BANNED
No
KGB-LIKE ESPIONAGE TACTICS
Yes and no. It is in a conceptual sense. But they also live in the West and use it to spread their message. They are also happy to have their wives and daughters educated in the West. They do not wear the niqāb and their men do not have beards.
MESSAGE DISTORTED, GOING TOO FAR
In Egypt the outcome was really bad. So-called 'democracy' brought the Muslim Brotherhood to power. Although, it is better to say that because of their organisation they were able to get to power. The others had no real chance

Name
No. He was an Islamic scholar but he went too far in his books 'Milestones' and 'On the Shadows of Islam'.
Their message is a distortion and when they ruled Egypt, it was a disaster. They had no strategy to help the nation, just themselves. It probably has some extremists in it.
IGNORANCE OF EXTREMISTS, BOTH ARAB AND WESTERN
As people say, "Our future lies in education".
There are extremists there and they seem ignorant.
Yes, but this also applies to the West.
NO WAY OUT FOR MEMBERS OF EXTREMIST GROUPS
It is like a vortex in bathwater that draws many small particles into it. The force just pulls them in with different messages, different incentives, different reasons – adventure, money, Islamic passion; many people for many reasons. But when they are ins
PERSPECTIVES OF ISLAMISTS AND EXTREMISTS
in general terms, he who does not follow the Sunnah is a Kafir or an unbeliever. But Al Azar Islamic University in Cairo does not use the term Kafir and they never apply the death penalty for being an unbeliever.
The extremists and jihādists use a very rigid interpretation and meaning. They do this for their own gain.
The Islamists and extremists have their own meaning and interpretation and even they cannot agree with each other.
This goes back to the Salafists and Wahhabis. This is not something that the Arab World wants the West to know about

Name
but it is true. They have their own interpretation. "To them their way, to me, mine".
PROPAGANDA AND KEEPING PUBLIC AWAY FROM KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING
Also, they want to give us ideology but keep us in poverty, poverty of knowledge and understanding. They only want us to think what they think.
REASONS OF CONFLATION OF ISLAM WITH ISLAMIC EXTREMISM
INDIFFERENCE
For others, they just don't care. I see many American and British tourists in Arab countries. They come to the Middle East and Arab countries and bring their Western attitudes. They want to drink alcohol, go to night clubs but know nothing about and want t
LACK OF EDUCATION
Often it a lack of education or lack of knowledge.
WESTERN MEDIA
Also, all they get from Hollywood is awful projections of Arabs as terrorists. So they get confused.
It's mostly Hollywood and Western media.
SHARIA THREATENED
No. It simply is not.
No. Not at all. It is threatened by Islamist extremism and jihādism.

Name

DAESH CREATED BY US

The common view is that the US created it.

The US paved the way, made a pathway and helped to bring it into reality.

HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST

No.

No. Absolutely no. If you come to my house, kick in my front door and occupy it; it is my duty to resist.

No. Absolutely not.

No. Again for the same reasons. But the use of suicide bombers in Iraq is not Islamic and not acceptable.

They must resist. It is their duty as Arab men and we support them.

Yes of course. What else can we do~ We must resist in any way we can. This is also about Arab pride and dignity.

PERSONAL DISTANCE FROM ISLAMISM AND ITS MESSAGE

Not me. I am not with them or their message. They are only for themselves. That is what happened when they took over Egypt. They had a great chance but they did nothing with it.

MIXED VIEWS OF AMERICAN CULTURE

ARABS IN GENERAL

Mixed. Those with higher education can see that the US people and culture are different from the decisions of the US government. They can see the good and the bad. But those with lower education only see negative images like their support for Israel.

Name
Yes. The coming of Trump has increased the negative image of the US in the Arab World. The banning of Muslims from America and the declaration that Al Quds (Jerusalem) is the capital of Israel are two examples. Now their hatred of the Arabs is open for all
HIGH PERSONAL AND FAMILY CONSUMPTION OF AMERICAN PRODUCTS
I buy Tommy Hilfiger, American Eagle because I like them.
I like the Ford.
No
No. I don't like their movies.
Of course especially for the children. .
Sometimes I will watch CNN.
Sometimes, especially with my children. They like it like all kids. Also it is not expensive.
Yes
Yes, I do wear this type of clothes but I would never wear a baseball cap.
Yes, like many people.
SELF
Mixed
Negative. As people say, "America has destroyed the Arab World".
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
TWO-STATE SOLUTION WITH EUROPE, NOT AMERICA, AS MODERATOR

Name

| But we of this new generation need to find a way to deal with them. Maybe a fair settlement of a Two State Solution can be achieved but not if America is the mediator or negotiator. Europe and the European Union could do this. They do not have an interest |

| Try to settle the conflict between Israel and Palestine by bringing about a two state solution. |

| Use - not America but the European Union to moderate. We need a just and lasting settlement. |

| WESTERN SUPPORT OF AUTOCRATIC ARAB REGIMES SHOULD CEASE REGARDLESS OF PAST AGREEMENTS OR FINANCIAL GAIN |

| I am going to take a risk here by saying, the West must not support Arab autocratic regimes just because they have a treaty with them or because they buy US weapons. |

PARTICIPANT 5 (8 THEMES)

ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICAN CULTURE

HIGH CONSUMPTION OF AMERICAN PRODUCTS

| I buy Polo and Gap. They look good and have quality. |

| I dress in a 'modern' style but not what you would call American. |

| I like Subway. |

| No |

| Not at all. They are not healthy. |

| Sometimes CNN. |

Name
Sometimes R&B or jazz. Also, I like the Lebanese interpretation of jazz.
Yes
Yes, all.
Yes. I like movies like Touching My Mind or Inception.
NEGATIVE FAMILY OUTLOOK AFTER SYRIA, IRAQ
No. it is still negative.
Now – negatively. What happened in Syria and Iraq due to the US.
POSITIVE PERSONAL AND FAMILY OUTLOOK
AMERICAN DREAM
Also they talked about social mobility in America what is called the 'American Dream'.
AMERICANISATION BRINGS THE WORLD TO THE ARABS
America is changing Arab culture into a more global culture
FAMILY MEMBER LIVED IN US
It was positive because of what my parents said that my cousin had told them.
my cousin, Abdul Salem. He lived there since 1980. So he has been there a long time.
It was positive.
RESPECT
Also, respect. They said that if you get a US passport you are respected and treated better that if you have a Syrian passport.

Name
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICAN INTERFERENCE WITH ARAB COUNTRIES
DAESH CREATED DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY BY AMERICA
The chaos caused in Iraq by America. Without the invasion there would have been no Daesh.
The US.
Yes – again.
US PAYS ARAB COUNTRIES TO DO WHAT IT WANTS
Yes, "you have to tie the donkey where the owner wants". This means if the US is paying, you have to do what they want. You know what I mean here~ If you are an Arab dictator and the US is paying to keep you in power, you keep your mouth shut and do what t
Yes. This saying is common to many Arabs.
INVASION OF IRAQ
CONSEQUENCES
DESTABILISATION
Yes. (2)
DESTRUCTION OF IRAQ
the destruction of Iraq
DIVISION
The division of the Arabs
STRONGER ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
the increased strength of the Shi'a Crescent and Iran

Name
Yes.
GRIEF-SADNESS FOR LOSS OF IRAQI LIFE
AMERICAN ATROCITIES
It was really bad.
People remember. It is sad for us.
Very sad.
Iraq and Palestine.
REASONS FOR THE INVASION
OIL
Israel and oil.
Israel and theft of oil.
Oil
POWER
Do you know that they executed Saddam Hussein on the first day of Eid Al-Adha~ They handed him to the Shi'a to abuse, insult and hang. We all saw it in the internet.
power
SELF-INTEREST
ALLIANCE WITH ISRAEL
Israel and oil.
Israel and theft of oil.
US self-interest
Yes – very.

Name
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
Of course.
PALESTINIAN-ISRAEL ISSUE
ARAB GOVERNMENTS SILENT
But you will not hear that from Arab governments. But you will from the people if you listen.
Yes. We all know it. It is our open secret.
ARAB GOVERNMENTS SUPPRESS ANY FORM OF PROTEST
But people don't talk about it openly like before. Arab governments want to keep any form of protest suppressed. As they say in the coffee shops, "A man who protests against Israel today may protest against his own government tomorrow!" You understand~
FIGHT NOT PROPORTIONATE
RELATIONSHIP WITH US
COMPOUNDS THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE
ISRAELI TERRORIST ACTS
Yes. (4)
Negative
Of course. They are not independent.
Yes (2)
It is there. I see it. But seeing it is not the same as accepting it.
It is.

Name
Yes
IMPORTANT TO MOST ARABS
It is still important to most Arabs.
No.
IMPORTANT TO SELF
Important.
No. (2)
Iraq and Palestine.
STATE OF ISRAEL ILLEGAL
It is Israel. It is what they do to the Arabs.
It is there so I just accept it.
No, but it is there.
No. (3)
Yes.
PERSONAL INFLUENCES
FROM FRIENDS
I was surprised how strongly they felt.
It was mostly the US support for Israel.
It was really in 2008 from friends.
Sure – those but friends had more influence.
FROM MEDIA
A little.
A little. (2)

Name
Not really.
Sure – those but friends had more influence.
Yes, it is there but less than before.
RESENTMENT FOR AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
It does.
MIDDLE EAST AND ARABS RESENT IT
The 'Arab Street' blames America.
the Middle East and the Arabs resent their policies.
Sure. This is how it works.
HISTORY IMPORTANT IN OWN RIGHT
All of it. History is important. Syria, Iraq and Palestine.
History is important. It tells us our past and why we are the way we are.
It is all history and therefore important.
It is our history and history is important. It is part of us.
Syria, Iraq and Palestine.
This is all history and it is important to us. We must remember it.
Yes
IMPROVING IMAGE OF ARAB MUSLIM WORLD
ARAB SPRING DID NOT BRING UAE LESS FREEDOM
except for here (UAE). This place is different to anywhere else in the Arab world. That is why we come here.

Name
ARABS TO LIVE ISLAM PEACEFULLY
Live Islam in a peaceful way.
ISLAM RELIGION OF PEACE
Islam is a religion of peace.
Yes
ISLAMISM AND ISLAMIC EXTREMISM
CRITICISMS
HEZBOLLAH ACTS AS ANTI-ARAB ANTI-SUNNI MILITIA
HOWEVER HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST
No. (4)
No. (5)
No. (6)
No. (7)
Yes. (3)
It is wrong.
No
There are acting like a militia for Iran against Arabs.
IGNORANCE FEEDS EXTREMISM
Correct.
IMMORALITY OF MUATH AL-KASASBEH MURDER
I don't know anyone who thinks that it was a moral thing to do.
ISIS ATTACKS ON SHIA MOSQUES
This is killing innocent people who are praying. This is terrible.

Name
It is like committing a massacre.
ISLAMISM MISUSES PEACEFUL ISLAM
Islamism is a misuse of Islam.
RELUCTANCE TO TALK ABOUT DAESH AND SYRIAN REGIME AS A SYRIAN
If I say yes to this as a Syrian, it could cause me a problem.
NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF ARAB SPRING
INTERNATIONAL INFLUX OF JIHADISTS
Also, it drew jihādists from across the world. How can it be positive~
LESS FREEDOM IN ARAB COUNTRIES
AS A RESULT OF ARAB SPRING
But the rest; - the leaders have closed in on their people. The leaders never want this to happen again and the West is helping them.
DESTRUCTION OF ARAB COUNTRIES
CREATION OF REFUGEE WAVE
and millions are refugees.
LIBYA
Also, it destroyed Libya.
SYRIA
Also, the country is devastated.
Do you know Dr Mohammed Maaz~ He was a doctor who worked to save the injured in Syria. He was trying to help

Name
people but he was killed in Aleppo in 2016 when the Russians or Syrian Air Force bombed his hospital. He is just one of many thousands.
In Syria, it started because the Al-Assad family believed that they owned the country like a big family company in the West where it is passed from father to son. But the people are not a company and do not want to be owned like in a kingdom. The old were
It started a fire that destroyed the beautiful country of Syria.
The fire it started destroyed so many Arab countries
The result is less freedom in Arab countries
UAE ARE AN EXCEPTION
except for here (UAE). This place is different to anywhere else in the Arab world. That is why we come here.
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ISLAM AND ARABS BY AMERICA-WEST
Understand Islam and the Arabs much better.
PARTICIPANT 6 (7 THEMES)
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL
ARAB RULERS STRONGER, MORE PREPARED AFTER ARAB SPRING
Arab rulers have become more difficult and are stronger.
Now there is no chance of this again.

Name
ARAB SPRING A DISASTER
Disaster!
It was a disaster!
It was a disaster. It is worse now than before.
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AL-QUDS
Al-Quds.
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
AMERICA'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE MIDDLE-EAST
A little.
COMMON US PEOPLE NOT AT FAULT
I like many Arabs separate them. The common US people are unaware of the impact of US foreign policy on other countries.
POSITIVE IMPRESSIONS FROM 10-DAY STAY IN TEXAS
Generally, positive.
'DEMOCRACY BY INVASION'
"The Americans bring democracy by invasion"
"The Americans have 'Democracy' painted on their B52 bombs"
There are so many of these sayings in the Arab world.
HIGH IMPACT ON ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
A lot.
AMERICANS ARE UNWELCOME

Name
We do not want them. They are not welcome.
MILITARY BASES GUARANTEE SAFETY OF REGIMES
In the GCC they are a guarantor for the safety of the regimes.
AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
100%!
AMERICA TURNS A BLIND EYE TO ATROCITIES
the US does nothing
ISRAEL ILLEGAL, NOT ACCEPTED BY ARABS
ARAB SUNNIS WILL 'NEVER' ACCEPT ISRAEL
No. Never.
ISRAEL PERFORMS ATROCITIES HABITUALLY
It is what the Israelis do. It has become a habit for them.
It was just another event in our sad history.
No.
No. Arabs do not accept Israel.
WHICH OPPRESSES PALESTINE
the American support of Israel with their oppression of the Palestinian people
Yes.
Negative
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
IMPORTANT, TRAGIC, BUT COMPLEX ISSUE
BUT COMPLEX

Name
BUT LATER WARS, SEIZURES OF LAND NOT JUSTIFIED
But that does not excuse the 1967 and later seizure of lands.
ISRAELI ARABS ARE MANY AND ENJOY RIGHTS
Look, what you have to remember is that 20% of Israel is Arab and there they have more rights that in most Arab countries.
PALESTINIANS SOLD LAND TO ISRAEL
Also, what the Palestinians don't tell you is that they sold the land to the Israeli Jews. They sold the land. Arabs will try to explain this by saying that these people were cheated by the Jews but they sold their own land.
So it is not as simple as it looks from the outside.
WARS WERE TRAGIC
A tragedy.
Yes, it is still important.
PALESTINIANS CHILDREN OF A LESSER GOD
It has become a fact.
UNDERMINES NEGOTIATIONS
Yes, 100%!
Yes.
ARAB MUSLIM BAN
The Arab Muslim ban from Trump

Name
HISTORICAL RELATIONS WITH THE WEST
COLONIALISM
STILL RELEVANT TODAY
It still is. Especially in North Africa.
'MODERN FRENCH IMPERIALISM'
Look at the French and their military intervention in Chad. This was to protect their interests. They also protect their interests in the uranium stockpiles and the French high speed rail link from Rabat to Tangier in Morocco. This is still modern French
Yes.
HISTORY IS IMPORTANT
Iraq, Syria and Palestine. Sykes-Picot, Balfour, all of this.
Very big.
Very.
We should not forget history.
HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF, WEST STILL STEALS MONEY, OIL
Nothing has changed; they still come to take our money or oil.
IRAQ INVASION
AMERICAN ATROCITIES IMPORTANT FOR ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
Yes – of course. We all saw the photographs of an American woman humiliating Arab men with a dog on a leash very and even having Arab men on a leash, like a dog.

Name
Yes important
you did not mention the use of depleted uranium shells in Iraq and the large number of birth defects resulting from their use.
AMERICA'S INVASION OF IRAQ A 'WAKE-UP CALL' TO THE WORLD
The illegal invasion of Iraq 'woke the world up' to what America really is.
The US lost about three thousand plus and we had 655 thousand die or killed. Is that proportionate~
CONSEQUENCES
ARAB WALL TO IRAN MAY HAVE BEEN A STRATEGIC TARGET
AMERICA, WEST DESTROYED 'ARAB WALL TO IRAN'
The Americans and the West invaded Iraq and destroyed what we call the Arab Wall to Iran. We say, "Iraq was the Arab Wall to Iran".
DESTRUCTION OF IRAQ
The destruction of Iraq
ISRAEL'S SECURITY
a more secure Israel.
STRONGER IRAN
a stronger Iran
REASONS
ISRAEL INTERESTS

Name
influenced by Israel through the lobby in the US.
The most common view is Israel
OIL
"The Americans only came to Iraq to steal our oil"
oil
The most common view is Israel and oil.
theft of oil
US NATIONAL INTEREST
US national interest
Terrible.
The Americans were wrong to invade Iraq
The invasion of Iraq
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
It does.
NEGATIVE VIEW OF AMERICA BY SELF, FRIENDS
FRIENDS AND FAMILY KILLED BY AMERICAN BOMBING
Bombs!
Many of my friends were killed by the Americans. I lost family members too. My uncles were killed fighting the American invasion. They were in the Republican Guard.
Obviously it was negative.
the US bombarded my home with bombs during the war
When the Americans bombed my home.

Name
Killing our people!
Negative. Especially my friends. What the US did in Iraq was terrible.
No.
No. (2)
SMALL ANTI-AMERICAN INFLUENCE OF SELF BY ARAB MEDIA
Before - often. Then it went on the 'back-burner' then Trump did the whole Muslim ban, and then declared Al-Quds to be the main city of Israel and these events have brought it all back. Now it is a hot topic.
Sure it does, but it is 'drip drip'.
TV. Internet too.
Yes. Especially Iraqi media.
What do you think~ Yes, obviously. A lot.
Yes. It is all around you. You need to look.
IMPROVING ARAB MUSLIM IMAGE IN THE WORLD
FOLLOW THE UAE EXAMPLE
The UAE is a good example of a modern Arab country where all can prosper and where there is law. Try to copy the UAE.
The UAE seems to have a practical solution.
We have the Qur'an, hadith and fatwas. Look at the UAE. It works and no extremists.
PROMOTE ARAB TRAVEL TO EUROPE

Name
Yes, give more visas to Arabs to visit Europe.
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
Yes.
ISLAMISM AND ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL FEEDS ARAB SUNNI MUSLIM RECRUITMENT BY ISLAMISTS
Of course.
CRITICISMS
ISLAMISTS ARE REALLY BAD
but the Islamists are really bad.
ISLAMISTS ARE STUCK IN THEIR WAYS
As some of say, they are "Men with long beards and a frozen mindset!"
MOST SUNNIS AGAINST ISIS
Most Sunnis are against it.
POLITICAL ISLAMISM
Maybe in Egypt.
RELIGION AND POLITICS SHOULDN'T MIX
Mixing religion with politics is a problem.
They are a political party.
IRAQ CURBED ISLAMIST EXTREMISM PRE-INVASION
AMERICA'S DESTRUCTION OF IRAQI ARMY AND POLICE OPENED DOOR FOR EXTREMISTS
But after the Americans destroyed the Army and police, they

Name
came in large numbers. The military could have kept them under control if they had been allowed to but they were not.
MAY HAVE BEEN A WESTERN PLOT
But many Arabs say it was a plot from the West and Israel to gather jihādists.
They all fought the Americans.
The US destruction of the Iraqi Army, police and government created the space for freedom fighters to come. They were ex-military who were then joined by the religious extremists and jihādists.
Yes.
SADDAM HUSSEIN AND IRAQ CONTROLLED ISLAMISTS
Saddam Hussein kept them under control. He did not allow them any power or influence. I think he understood how dangerous they could be. As we say, "The Ba'ath party was the belt that held us together and Saddam was the belt buckle".
REFUSED TO SPEAK ABOUT DAESH AND SYRIAN REGIME
I am not going there!
'TERRORISM' OF HEZBOLLAH A MATTER OF PERSPECTIVE
But I would say that in 2006 they were freedom fighters against Israel. The Arab people loved them and respected them. We were proud of them.
But now they have changed and have a new role working for Iran against Sunni Arabs.
INTIFADAS JUSTIFIED

Name
Yes.
We say, "Hezbollah is like a rose, to some it is beautiful and to others its thorns make them bleed". You see, it all depends on your perspective. Didn't Shakespeare say something about a rose~
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICA SHOULD STOP INTERVENING
Stop interventionism in the Arab world.
PARTICIPANT 7 (9 THEMES)
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL IMPLIED
ARABS DO NOT SPEAK OPENLY, HIDE THEIR FEELINGS
WILL ONLY TALK TO FAMILY AND CLOSE FRIENDS
ANTI-AMERICANISM
In the Middle East many Arab people do not talk openly about such things. They only trust their family and maybe a few very close friends.
US INVASION OF IRAQ
This is important to Arabs. But many are now hiding their feelings. They will only tell family and sometimes very close friends.
ARAB SPRING FAILED
It failed.
It failed. (2)
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

Name
US SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
STRONGLY AGAINST ISRAEL
I don't accept it as a country. I would like to see it gone.
No.
Yes.
US SUPPORT UNDERMINES PALESTINE-ISRAEL NEGOTIATIONS
Yes
DECLINED TO TALK ABOUT
AMERICAN ATROCITIES-HUMAN RIGHT VIOLATIONS
I cannot talk about that either.
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, MILITARY BASES
I am not going to speak about that.
I cannot talk about that.
Me personally~ I do not want to answer that question.
Next question.
AMERICA'S INVASION OF IRAQ, IRAQI LOSS OF LIFE
No reply.
HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH
I can't speak about them.
No answer.
No reply.
No reply. (2)

Name
No reply. (3)
HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP OF ARABS WITH WEST
Next question.
Next question. (2)
Next question. (3)
IMPLICATIONS OF ARAB SPRING
I must be quiet!
ISLAMISM
I am not talking about that.
What is the next subject~
ISRAEL AGGRESSIONS
I am not talking about this.
No reply. (4)
IMPROVE ARAB MUSLIM IMAGE TO THE WORLD
COPY UAE EXAMPLE
Sure. Here is a way to do it. The UAE gives Arabs from around the world a way to live. Copy here.
UAE IS AMERICAN-FRIENDLY
I never heard about it in the UAE.
Not in the UAE. Here people at school are not anti-American.
We live in the UAE, we like Western products and lifestyle. It is free.
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE

Name
Yes.
MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD FAILED IN EGYPT
As they say, "It failed; they failed".
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
STOP NEGATIVE PORTRAYAL OF ARABS IN MOVIES
Stop making Hollywood movies that shows Arab Muslims as being bad. It is propaganda.
VIEWS OF AMERICA
POSITIVE VIEW OF AMERICA
I would like to
It was positive.
NEGATIVE VIEWS DO NOT AFFECT HIM
I heard about it but no.
It does not.
No.
NO ANTI-AMERICAN FRIENDS
we do not have any friends who are like this
No.
Yes we are positive.
SOME PEOPLE ARE ANTI-AMERICAN
Some people are like that.
Some people say bad things.
With some people in the Arab world.

Name
PARTICIPANT 8 (6 THEMES)
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICA AN UNRELIABLE ALLY
RUSSIA GOOD, DEPENDABLE ALLY
GOOD ALLY TO SYRIA
Did Russia go against Al-Assad when the whole world stood against him~ No. They stood by him at the UN and blocked the America and the West. When he was losing the war against the jihādists the Russians sent their Army and Air Force and helped them win the
PUTIN A RELIABLE LEADER
Putin is Russia and Russia is Putin.
The lesson for the Arabs is that the Americans and the West just want our money but will not stand by us but the Russians will.
WOULD NEVER HAVE BETRAYED IRAQ
If he had bought weapons from Russia and not America and Britain, he would still be here today. If Russia had been his ally, they would never have turned against him and never have invaded him.
The lesson for the Arabs is that the Americans and the West just want our money but will not stand by us
they are not a reliable ally
TURNED AGAINST EGYPT AND HOSNI MUBARAK
But what did the Americans do when their long term Arab ally

Name
Mubārak, needed their help~ They turned against him. Do you remember, Clinton said "the people have spoken" or something like that~ No.
TURNED AGAINST IRAQ AND SADDAM HUSSEIN
But America turned against him and invaded him with Britain's help. That is the lesson for the Arabs.
WAS STRONG ARAB COUNTRY
Iraq was a very strong Arab country under Saddam Hussein and Saddam Hussein was strong.
HISTORY, PERHAPS
TRIES NOT TO THINK ABOUT CRUSADES
I try not to think about them.
DECLINED EVERYTHING ELSE
'Pass' (with a laugh).
DOESN'T KNOW ABOUT ISLAMISM
I don't know about these things.
I am not saying any more about this.
I am not talking about them.
I have said too much.
No I am not touching this 'hot stone'.
No, no no! I cannot talk about that in the Arab World.
Pass
Pass (with a smile).
Pass.

Name
Pass. I see where you are going here.
UNINTERESTED IN HISTORY, POLITICS
LIVES IN THE PRESENT
I do not live in the past but in the present.
I live in the present.
NO INTEREST IN POLITICS
I am not interested in politics. I just want to live my life.
Look, I know what this is about but I do not get involved in politics.
we avoid politics.
You do not expect me to answer that in the Middle East!
IMPROVE ARAB MUSLIM IMAGE IN THE WORLD
EDUCATION AND JOBS FOR ARABS
Educate our people better and give them jobs. Give them a chance.
RECONCILE WITH THE WEST
Embrace the West and do not fear it.
FOLLOW UAE EXAMPLE
MODERATION
This could be a solution – moderation and no extremists.
UAE HYBRID STATE, COMBINES ARAB AND WEST
I like it here (UAE). Everything works and it is Arab but also Western.
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE

Name
Yes I believe it is.
POSITIVE, MODERATE VIEW OF AMERICA
"Americans have knowledge, technology and lifestyle".
I like America.
I like American lifestyle and what it has to offer. I like so many things about it
My family are moderate and I am moderate.
Positive
To my family it is positive.
We are moderate and pro-West.
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICA SHOULD IMPROVE ITS IMAGE IN ARAB WORLD
COPY THE PRACTICE OF THE US EMBASSY IN AMMAN
Show the Arab world the great things about America but use 'people to people' to do it.
They have one man, an American who can speak a little Arabic. So many Jordanians are talking about him. He shows videos on Facebook but it is not official and boring but it connects to young Arabs. He has done more for America's image that anyone else.
Yes, copy the US Embassy in Amman.
AMERICA SHOULD ISSUE TRAVEL AND WORK VISAS FOR ARABS
America can open up its doors to Arabs and the Arab world. They can give us visas to go there to see it and to work there. That

Name
would help.
AMERICA SHOULD STOP INTERFERING
But when people from outside put their hands into Islam it goes the wrong way.
PARTICIPANT 9 (5 THEMES)
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
EXTERNAL CAUSES
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
American foreign policy and nothing else.
BUT AMERICAN PEOPLE NOT AT FAULT
We have no issue with the American people. They are people like us.
But first and last they just follow their own interests.
INTERFERE IN MIDDLE EAST FOR NATIONAL GOALS
They keep interfering in the Middle East and trying to achieve their national goals.
'THEY DON'T CARE ABOUT ARAB WORLD'
They don't care about the Arab World.
'THEY TAKE WHAT THEY WANT'
They take what they want.
UNHAPPY ABOUT US MILITARY BASES IN MIDDLE EAST
This has a big impact.
When American military bases came to our land we were not happy.

Name
UNITED NATIONS CORRUPT, OWNED BY AMERICA
The UN is corrupted. It is owned by America and the big powers. How the US uses its veto is immoral. We all know it. We all see it. Our hearts are crying.
US CREATED EXTREMIST GROUPS
US CREATED AL QAEDA
like they created the Al Qaeda fighters in Afghanistan. By this I mean, in Afghanistan they provided weapons, money and training so that they would fight the Russians. They supported Bin Laden. They even make Hollywood films about it.
US CREATED DAESH
In Iraq, they destroyed the government and all the pillars of our Arab society. They left nothing but destruction, chaos, criminals and into this came Da'ish. They created it by being there. We all know this.
The US and CIA created Da'ish
WESTERN MEDIA APPREHENSIVE, MISREPRESENTATIVE OF ARABS AND ARAB RELIGION
Anything which is not Western is seen as less than Western and something to be frightened.
The Western media misleads their people about us and our religion.
WESTERN POLITICIANS CONSTRUCT ARABS AS ENEMIES

Name
Also, it is useful for their politicians to create us as their enemy like Trump's Arab Muslim ban. There are over one billion Muslims in the world and he tries to show us all as violent.
There are over one billion Muslims in the world and he tries to show us all as violent. More killings take place in America by Americans than by us.
they are creating an external enemy and an internal enemy so that they can control their people. We are used to this in the Middle East. We see it. We know it.
They manipulate their people who know nothing about us.
Yes; it is very common.
HISTORY
ATROCITIES, HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS REMEMBERED
It is a great humiliation to Arab Muslims to our religion, to our culture and to our manhood.
It is remembered by all Arabs.
The US war crimes will live on in our minds.
COLONIALISM IMPORTANT IN NORTH AFRICA
It is especially important in North Africa.
Yes. They are important. We must not forget the European occupation of our lands.
IMPORTANT, RELEVANT TO SELF, ARABS
For me, it is very important.

Name
From the Crusades through the Gold Age of Islam and the Arabs to the invasion of Iraq to this week. It does not stop.
Relevant~ Yes. It is our past, present and future.
So we remember when the West first came to our lands during the Crusades and we remember all the way from then to the US invasion of Iraq up to the Arab Muslim ban to America.
To Arabs, history is our memory of the past. It must not be wiped or cleaned away, like cleaning a school chalk board. So for Arabs, history is important.
THE WEST DOES NOT LET THEM FORGET
We cannot forget because the West will not let us forget.
'WILL NEVER FORGET' THE WARS
AMERICA'S INVASION OF IRAQ
Of course.
This is such an important reason for this. We do not forget.
We do not forget.
We will never forget.
Yes and Iraq is still suffering for this.
NEXT GENERATION IS TAUGHT ABOUT THEM
We teach our children.
We teach our children. (2)
PALESTINE-ISRAEL WARS

Name
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
IMPORTANT FOR SELF, ARABS
It is deep in my heart.
It is the central issue for Arab people
it is there with the people
They are so important to us.
We will never forget.
US-ISRAEL RELATIONSHIP
ISRAEL THIEVING, ILLEGAL, TERRORIST STATE
No. Never.
No. Never.
Yes, they stole Arab land.
Yes.
Yes. Of course.
It lacks any morality.
JEWISH LOBBY
The Israelis influence the US Government through the Jewish Lobby. It is a 'political wall' that protects Israel.
Of course.
PROMOTES RECRUITMENT OF SUNNIS BY ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
Yes. Of course. It is obvious.
They support illegal occupiers.

Name
UNDERMINES PALESTINE-ISRAEL NEGOTIATIONS
Look, as some Arabs say about this~ "America is like a fierce wolf; Israel is like a wolf cub and the Palestinians are a little lamb and all three are discussing what to have for lunch. All Arabs know that what the two wolves will have for lunch is lamb.
Other Arabs say that "America is the father and Israel is the daughter. How can they negotiate fairly~"
Yes. Of course.
Yes. It is completely.
Yes. They do value Israeli blood more than Arab blood.
INTERNAL CAUSES
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND CORRUPTION
ARAB GOVERNMENTS SUPPRESS INFORMATION, CURB ANTI-AMERICAN PROTESTS (AFTER ARAB SPRING)
ABOUR IRAQ WAR, LOSS OF LIFE, AMERICAN ATROCITIES
The Arab leaders keep this information from us. Many Arabs do not know these figures.
ABOUT PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
not Arab governments
People don't shout about it
The governments want to oppress this feeling because they do not want a problem with America.
Arab governments do not want any more protests of any

Name
kind.
But we are silenced
IN ARAB MEDIA
BLOCKING DOES NOT AFFECT PERSONAL BELIEFS
The blocking has no impact. I still believe what I believe.
It was on television a lot but now it is internet. Most of these sites are blocked but people use VPNs which is why they have now been made illegal in Arab countries. Then people used Skype but this also now been blocked in many Arab countries.
There used to be a lot on television but after what they call the Arab Spring, it has reduced.
ARAB SPRING A FAILURE
CONDITIONS ARE 'MUCH WORSE THAN BEFORE'
ARAB GOVERNMENTS CONTROL PEOPLE, MONEY
Arab governments and security forces say they are creating stability and fighting terrorism. But we know the truth.
as they say in the streets, "The green shoots of democracy lie crushed under police boots"
It is like a policeman turning his eyes away from a crime being committed. What is this~ Either these are universal rights or they are not.

Name
Most Arab politicians want to go back to the way it was before where they have the power and control of the people's money. They have done it.
'TANKS DO NOT FEED THE PEOPLE'
If the elite spends the money on more and more weapons from America. As we say, "Tanks do not feed the people". Did tanks help the Shah of Iran against his people? ~ He was buying tanks from the West against what he thought was an Arab threat.
They also say in the streets that "Arab governments now have their people by the throat".
CORRUPTION RETURNED
"Only in the Arab World do university graduates sell bread in the streets"
Corruption has returned to the controlling elite
If the country is controlled by a corrupt elite who steal the people's money and do not give the people a chance, and a group come and give bread, money, medical help and education what else can a poor man do~
Its consequences were worse conditions, much worse than before.
OUTSIDE WORLD INDIFFERENT
But the outside world does not really care.

Name
It was a terrible failure. History will see it as such. It failed us.
The whole thing was a failure.
We call what you call the Arab Spring the 'Flowering of Flowers'. But for Arabs it was a failure.
CORRUPT ARAB ELITES BUYING WEAPONS FROM AMERICA
If you mean, do the people see where their money is being spent and do the people resent it, then – yes!
Poverty, unemployment, injustice, political oppression, ignorance and lack of hope! This is a dangerous soup! And this is a soup if it keeps cooking will boil over again! It is cooking and the more the squeeze the peoples' throats the more it will start to
WEST WANTS STABILITY, SO IT RECOGNISES ARAB DICTATORSHIPS AS 'DEMOCRACIES'
And Europe also wants the Arab refugees to go away and for that they will accept dictatorship in Turkey, Egypt and Tunisia that pretends to be democracy as long as they maintain stability.
The West talks a lot about democracy and democratic values but when it is convenient for them, they just forget about them.
They just want stability and the jihādist attacks in Europe and America to go away.
EXTREMISM

Name
Yes
SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT-CULTURE
AMERICANISATION IMPACTS ARAB CULTURE
BUT ARABS SHOULD PRESERVE THEIR CULTURE
has Arab and Muslim values which are different from the West
The Arabs should preserve our culture. We should not become 'copy Americans'.
The whole world does not have to be Western. We have a different culture, history and religion. As we say, "To you your way and to me mine".
GULF ARABS WILL LOSE THEIR CULTURE
I think that the Gulf Arabs will lose their culture. It is happening now.
Look at Saudi; they are going through such rapid cultural change and Westernisation. There will soon be cinemas, women driving and so many other things.
It had an impact on cultural, style of dress, eating, movies, women and political freedom. So yes it does.
OTHERS AFFECTED PERSONAL VIEWS
It was in the Arab news media every day.
It was negative. When the First Gulf War started, I was nine years old.
No.
Yes.

Name
Yes. It is how we learn about the West.
IMPROVEMENT OF ARAB MUSLIM IMAGE IN THE WORLD
FAIR, TWO-STATE SOLUTION TO PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
POTENTIALLY WITH RUSSIA'S HELP
If we need Russia to do this then we should use them but we know that nothing is free
We must get a fair solution to Palestine
We need the Two State Solution not what Israel is doing now. They are taking Palestinian land and putting settlements there. They are following a One State Solution – Israel!
FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF UAE
But Dubai is a great example to the Arab world. I want to stay here.
this place is good. If only our country could be like this.
OBSERVE SHARIA
Live our lives according to Sharia
OVERTHROW DICTATORSHIPS
remove our dictators
SHOW REAL FACE
Let the world see who we really are
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
Yes.
ISLAMISM
DIFFERENT FROM EXTREMISM

Name
But Da'ish are not Islamists, they are extremists and they are not real Muslims. (2)
HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH ARE FREEDOM FIGHTERS FOR ARABS
CRITICISMS OF HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH
It was unlawful and wrong.
These are wrong. I do not agree with these acts.
What they did in Iraq and Syria against Sunnis was not legal. It was wrong and against Arabs. It also causes greater separation between Sunni and Shia.
No
No. As I said for Hamas, they were trying to free Arabs from occupation.
No. Never.
They were trying to free Arabs from occupation.
Yes
IS ABOUT LIVING 'IN RIGHT WAY'.'STRAIGHT PATH'
Islamism is related to changing the people's way of living towards Islam. This means living as we should and following a straight path.
'ISLAMIC PATH' REQUIRES POLITICAL SYSTEM CHANGE OF ARAB COUNTRIES
To do this it must change the political system of Arab countries towards an Islamic path.
POLITICAL ISLAMISM
MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SHOULD NOT BE BANNED ON

Name
GROUNDS OF POLITICAL FREE SPEECH
It is free speech.
They should not ban any political group. Is this democratic to silence voices and free speech~
SHOULD RELIGION BE SEPARATE FROM STATE IN ARAB COUNTRIES
This question of the place of religion in the state was solved in the West many centuries ago. Should religion control the state or be separate from it~
'VERY DANGEROUS' TO TALK ABOUT DAESH AND SYRIAN REGIME FIGHT
This is a very dangerous question.
WESTERN SCIENCE, ENLIGHTENMENT WILL FADE, SHARIA WILL REMAIN
They will fade away in time and only Sharia will remain.
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ARAB CULTURE AND RELIGION
They should understand our culture and religion.
AMERICA, WEST SHOULD STOP CONSTRUCTING ARABS AS ENEMY
America and the West should stop pretending that Arabs and Muslims are their enemy
CHANGE NATURE OF RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL
stop being controlled by the Jewish lobby
FAIR TREATMENT OF PALESTINIANS

Name
They should stop valuing Israeli blood above Palestinian blood
HOWEVER THERE IS THE 'CURSE OF THE ARABS'
But none of what I have just said is going to happen. It is the curse of the Arabs.
STOP SUPPORTING ARAB DICTATORSHIPS
They should stop telling lies about democracy. Either it is for all or not and if it is for all, stop supporting Arab dictators. They should support real democrats.
PARTICIPANT 10 (8 THEMES)
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF INFORMATION
EXTENT OF IRAQI LOSS OF LIFE UNKNOWN TO ARABS
DID NOT KNOW, SURPRISED ABOUT, HIGH IRAQI DEATH RATES
Where did you get it~ Is it correct~ That many~
most do not know the real figures
These sites are blocked.
This information is not available to me and most Arabs.
SUPPRESSION OF ANTI-AMERICAN CONTENT
It is still in some but not as much as before. There is now greater control of the Arab media.
ARAB SPRING 'A MESS', FAILED
It failed.
It has been a mess.
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

Name
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
ANTI-AMERICANISM IN AMERICA
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
It was anti-American about the involvement of the US in Latin America, the Iran Contras, Chile, Colombia, Oliver North and the drug cartels.
Yes, it was present in my American university.
Of course – lots. During the First Gulf War the US let Saddam Hussein invade. The Iraqi Ambassador in the US warned the US about Kuwait and what would happen. But the US ignored him and did nothing.
AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
Also, the US is not neutral in the Palestinian issue so they cannot be at the negotiating table.
ISRAEL ILLEGAL, OCCUPYING, TERRORIST STATE
It is a double-standard and an unlawful state. Israel also illegally occupied East Jerusalem.
Many Arabs do.
No
No (2)
PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS FROM LEBANON, SYRIA WARS WITH ISRAEL
In Lebanon, I remember my father painting the car lights a blue colour with a small slit in it, so that we would not be bombed by the bombers flying over us.

Name
In the war, in Lebanon, I remember seeing the Syrian and Israeli jet aircraft, you know, the fighters having 'dogfights' over our heads in the ski.
Later I went to Homs in Syria and I saw where the Israelis had bombed and destroyed an oil refinery and other targets.
UN HAS DONE NOTHING ABOUT PALESTINIAN DEATHS
But what has the UN done about it. Nothing again.
What has the UN done about it~ Nothing.
Yes.
It does. A lot.
MASS PALESTINIAN DEATHS AFFECT PERSONAL OPINION OF AMERICA
Yes, of course.
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
the Palestinian issue
Very.
the American support for Israel
Yes, of course.
Yes. As far as the US is concerned, if Israel is OK then it is OK!
Yes. This is major. As the Arabs say, "Israel is the 51st State of America!"
ARAB MEDIA
A little.

Name
WHICH HAS CHANGED
A little. (2)
Yes, a little.
IRAQ INVASION
A complete mess.
DESTROYED ARAB BUFFER 'WALL TO IRAN'
The US invasion of Iraq destroyed the Arab Buffer against Iran.
For most Arabs, it is the invasion of Iraq
It is this invasion that has led to a lot of Middle Eastern anti-Americanism in the Arab World.
Yes
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
Yes. It is the result of what I call 'rigid thought'.
IMPROVING IMAGE OF ARAB WORLD
ARAB GOVERNMENTS NEED TO UNITE
ACCEPT EACH ARAB COUNTRY'S DIVERSITY
Look at Iraq and the UAE and how different they are. The Arabs are like the Europeans, they have different cultures and histories.
ISRAEL TAKES ADVANTAGE OF 'DYSFUNCTIONAL ARAB FAMILY'
Gaddafi once said, "We all talk about the Arab Family but we are a dysfunctional family". Look at the Palestinian issue;

Name
could Israel do what it is doing if Arab governments were united~
GRADUAL WESTERNISATION A POSITIVE PROSPECT FOR THE ARAB WORLD
Gradual Westernisation of the Arab World is good. It increases moderate beliefs and thoughts. It decreases extremist beliefs and marginalises the extremists. Most young Arabs want what the West has to offer.
MODERATE RELIGIOUS FIGURES SHOULD BE MORE OUTSPOKEN
Moderate imams must be more outspoken and speak out. They can influence so many people on television and in the masjids.
SEPARATE RELIGION AND STATE
Also, Arabs need to separate religion and the state. Until we do this, we cannot move forward because the religious extremists and the ultraorthodox have a stranglehold on governments and the people. Look at Iran before 1979, or Saudi in the 1960s, or Egypt.
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
The silent majority of Muslims remain silent. They just get on with their lives, like everyone else.
Yes.
ISLAMISM AND EXTREMISM
HEZBOLLAH TERRORIST, HAMAS NOT
No
Probably.

Name
Yes I do and I will tell you why. It is Pro-Iran and anti-Arab.
ISLAMISM IS POLITICAL ISLAM
It can mean many things but at a simple level, it is political Islam.
ISLAMIST EXTREMISTS ARE LIKE SHOOTERS IN THE WEST
a type of mentality like the shooters in the US.
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICA SHOULD STOP WAGING WARS ON ARAB COUNTRIES
Spend more money helping Arabs and not starting wars. This applies especially to America.
The European Union does not go around starting wars in Arab countries.
'SAY WHAT YOU MEAN AND MEAN WHAT YOU SAY'
Say what you mean and mean what you say. Do not preach democracy and then support dictators because it suits you.
STOP ENDORSING AND SELLING WEAPONS TO ARAB DICTATORS
Help Arabs by not selling weapons to Arab dictators
WHO STEAL PEOPLE'S MONEY
allowing the Arab elite to steal the people's money
Ensure that the money given to Arab countries actually goes to the people.
VIEWS OF AMERICA
HIGH PERSONAL ESTEEM FOR AMERICA
FREEDOM OF SPEECH, TRANSPORTATION

Name
There is freedom of speech and you can drive anywhere.
It was positive.
LIVED, SCHOOLED IN AMERICA
I am an Arab who knows America well
I lived there for years.
I went to high school and university in the United States and graduated in architecture. My university was in Huston Texas but I also lived in Atlanta Georgia
My high school was in the US.   The quality of life was very high.
Positive.
NEGATIVE REGARD FOR TRUMP BY SELF, FAMILY, FRIENDS
He gets his news from Fox.
In recent times this is about Trump and his decisions to ban some Arabs and of course Al-Quds.
Trump is an idiot.
Trump is regarded negatively
PARTICIPANT 11 (1 THEME)
NERVOUS, DECLINED TO TALK, DEPARTED
ANTI-AMERICANISM
I cannot talk about this.
ARAB SPRING
Did you really want to ask me about the Arab Spring in Syria~ Seriously~

Name
FELT HIS FAMILY IN SYRIA IS ENDANGERED IF HE SPEAKS
Also, I do not want any member of my family to go to an interrogation centre. In Syria, you have to be on one side or another and our side is winning. I do not want to talk any more. I need to go.
FAMILY IN SYRIA, SUPPORT LAWFUL GOVERNMENT
My family and relatives still live in Damascus. They support the lawful government of Syria and their fight against terrorists.
My family is still there but it is getting better now. The terrorists are being beaten.
Syria, in Damascus. I lived there for most of my life with my family
FELT HIS PERSONAL SAFETY IS THREATENED IF HE SPEAKS
You know, that there is no middle ground in Syria. In Damascus you are either with or against the lawful government of Syria. If you are accused of being against the government, you are a terrorist. If I talk for the government, I am in trouble here, if I
I want to read all the questions now.
MILITARY BASES
This is too sensitive.
The risk is too great. I will not talk about Israel, jihādists, Muslim Brotherhood or the Syrian War on Terrorists.
PARTICIPANT 12 (7 THEMES)
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL
ALLIED TO AMERICA, BUT THE PEOPLE ARE AGAINST

Name
AMERICAN ACTIONS IN MIDDLE EAST
In many ways it is a big contradiction. Our governments are allies of America and the people are against what American does to Arabs in the Middle East.
Our governments in the past allowed anti-American ideas to grow because it took our eyes away from what they were doing. Now they do not want any trouble.
These are more events that the truth is kept away from us by our governments. They do not want problems.
ARAB SPRING A DISASTER THAT BROUGHT LESS FREEDOM, FEAR, 'POWER WON'
Iraq is destroyed, Syria destroyed, Libya destroyed and Egypt is in a mess. Tunisia is going backwards.
It was a disaster for us.
Less freedom of speech!
More fear!
Power won.
CONTROL OVER PEOPLE
ARAB GOVERNMENTS AFRAID OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE
But a frightened tiger is dangerous.
You see, our governments do not want US to talk about it and do not want us to protest about it. They are frightened. Yes, frightened of their own people.
As we Arabs say, "The leaders have the people by the throat"
GOVERNMENT TRACKS PEOPLE'S INTERNET USAGE

Name
Even the VPNs are tracked.
They know when you access it, when you leave it and they probably follow you inside it. You see, in Arab countries the telecoms companies are state owned and are a way of tracking the people.
you need to know where to go to get it or have a VPN
KEEP PEOPLE POOR AND FIGHTING EACH OTHER
In Egypt, in the coffee shops, we tell a story of a man who brought a bag full of live rats onto a train. Every 5 minutes he would shake the bag very strongly. After about half an hour of doing this every five minutes, other people asked him why he was doing.
So this is how Arab dictators rule. They keep us poor, fighting each other and fighting for life, so that we do not attack them.
This is the secret to Arab rule; keep the people poor, divided and fighting.
CONTROL OVER THE ARAB MEDIA
it is not like before. As we Arabs say, "The leaders have the people by the throat". So now it is more controlled and under their control.
Many Arab governments are failing their people.
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AL-QUDS
Al-Quds
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Name
'AMERICA DOES NOT CARE ABOUT ARABS', 'HATES US'
America does not care about us.
They hate Muslims.
They hate us and want to see us as the enemy.
We know that they will never support the real wishes of the Arab people.
AMERICA SUPPORTS ARAB DICTATORSHIPS
FOR THEIR OWN INTERESTS, NOT THE PEOPLE'S
They may support Arab dictators for their own interests but never the people.
The American War on Terror gave every dictator across the world an excuse to call any opposition terrorists!
WHICH KEEP PEOPLE POOR, OPPRESSED
Also, it is America that is supporting the Arab dictators that are keeping their own people poor and oppressed.
AMERICA UNPREDICTABLE, UNTRUSTWORTHY
"Still waters are deep waters" like you never know what America is really doing
others say, "Americans are mad dogs and cannot be trusted".
American conduct in the Arab world does!
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AFFECTS ARAB SUNNI ANTI-AMERICANISM
Sure. It must do.
MILITARY BASES BIG ISSUE FOR SOME IN EGYPT, SAUDI

Name
ARABIA
For some people this is a big issue. In Egypt some groups make a big thing of this, especially with the poor and uneducated and we have 100 million people. The Salafists talk about this a lot. In Saudia it is also a big thing for some.
WEST, AMERICA NOT BLAMELESS FOR SITUATION IN MIDDLE EAST
But also your question seems to say that our problems are not the fault of the West. Who invaded us for hundreds of years but the West~
HISTORY
HISTORY IMPORTANT, RELEVANT TO CONTEMPORARY ARABS
History is important.
Others say that historical events are like, "Bright stars shining on a dark night", showing us the way in the darkness.
There are too many to mention. But we all know them from the Crusades to Trump's Arab Muslim ban.
This is very important to Arabs. History tells us our past so that we can understand our present and guide our future. You see - past, present and future. It is all connected.
we do not forget. We hold these events in our hearts
We say it is like a river flowing from the past into our present.
You cannot cut the past from the present.
You understand~ We cannot ignore it.

Name
MORE IMPORTANT IN MIDDLE EAST THAT IN THE WEST
It is more important in the Middle East than in most of the West.
WOULD BE LESS IMPORTANT IF THERE WAS PEACE, PROSPERITY
If we had peace and prosperity then maybe we could put less importance on it. But we cannot.
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
Sure.
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
90%
DESTABILITATION OF REGION IS THE 'US-ISRAELI AGENDA'
Yes, on the streets or the Arab Street as you call it, people call this the "US Agenda" or the "US~Israeli Agenda".
I think that the Americans consider Israeli blood to be more valuable to the US than Palestinian blood.
The world superpower supporting a terrorist state.
UNDERMINES NEGOTIATIONS
Yes. We all know it. We Arabs say, "America and Israel are like two wolves negotiating with a Palestinian lamb what they will have for lunch. Everyone knows it will be the lamb!" You see, the lamb is Palestine.
US support for Israel

Name
USED BY ISLAMISTS TO RECRUIT SUNNIS
Of course. 90%.
What other army in the world does this and gets away with it~ Which~
ISRAEL ILLEGAL, OCCUPYING, TERRORIST
Most Arabs think so. Don't you~
Of course.
They illegally occupied Arab land.
This was a clear war crime.
Yes, yes yes!
Yes.
ISRAEL LEGITIMACY WILL NEVER BE ACCEPTED BY SELF, SUNNIS
No. Never!
No. Never! (2)
No. Never.
VERY IMPRORTANT TO SELF, SUNNI ARAB MUSLIMS
It is the Palestinians
Very important.
Yes, it is very important.
WARS WERE TERRIBLE
CHEATED OUT OF 1973 WAR
1973 is different. We had won that war and then were cheated. They cheated us by tricking us to stop and talk

Name
peace. We should have captured Al-Quds and then talked peace.
The first two were terrible for us.
WORLD DOES NOTHING
And the West does nothing
UN A PUPPET OF AMERICA
We Arabs say that, "The UN is a puppet and the US is the puppet master". Is this not true~
What did the world do~ Nothing!
You see the UN does not work.
'PEOPLE AGAINST AMERICAN ACTIONS IN MIDDLE EAST'
the people are against what American does to Arabs in the Middle East
TRUMP'S MUSLIM BAN
the Trump ban on Arab Muslims
US INVASION OF IRAQ
BROKE IRAQ WALL-'SHIELD' AGAINST IRAN
But they broke the 'Shield' against Iran.
INCREASED EXTREMISM
Yes.
It is still in our hearts. It is not in the media but we hold it in our hearts.
It was a catastrophe.
the invasion of Iraq

Name
This is very clear. It did and it does. This is probably one of the greatest reasons.
to break the strong Arab states.
UNAWARE OF EXTENT OF IRAQI LOSS OF LIFE
A 'TERRIBLE CATASTROPHE'
This is terrible; a catastrophe.
Very upset.
We did not know this. We thought that it was high but not this high.
We all know this.
DECLINES SOME ANSWERS BECAUSE 'IF YOU SAY IT YOU OWN IT'
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
If you say it, you own it!
DAESH AND SYRIA
I am not answering that question. If you say it you own it!
ISLAMIST IDEOLOGIES
If you say it, you own it!
OTHERS' VIEWS OF AMERICA
That is complicated. You know, in the Arab world we have a saying, "If you say it, you own it". This means that even if you are only repeating what someone else has said, it is as if you had said it and you are responsible for those words. This is the way
PERSONAL VIEW OF HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH
I will not say what I think

Name
That is a complicated and dangerous question for Arabs in the Middle East to answer.
That is a very dangerous question.
IMPROVING IMAGE OF ARAB MUSLIM WORLD
LIVE LIFE ACCORDING TO ISLAM
"To them their ways and to me mine".
follow Islam and live our lives according to Islamic principles
Follow Islam. Let it determine how you live your life, not dictators, America or the West.
REMOVE ARAB DICTATORS WHO SERVE THEMSELVES AND AMERICA
Remove our dictators who serve only the West and themselves
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
Yes. Of course!
ISLAMISM AND EXTREMISM
BUT HEZBOLLAH UNFAIR AGAINST SUNNIS IN IRAQ, SYRIA
No.
CORRUPT ARAB GOVERNMENTS CONTRIBUTE TO EXTREMISM
Corrupt governments in the Arab world who keep their people poor does this. They do it on purpose. It is the Arab way.
MOST ARABS THINK HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST
but most Arabs see these as just retaliations for Israeli attacks.
I will say that nearly all Arabs do not think so because Hamas protects Arabs.

Name
Sure. It must be.
PERSONAL EXTREMIST VIEWS
AMERICAN CULTURE IS 'SLAVERY AND THE DEATH OF THE SOUL'
But I think America and the West understands this and is trying to kill our culture and religion for power, control, money and Israel.
is not compatible with Allah's law. It never will be.
It is democratic slavery
They think they want American fast food, music, clothes and movies. They think they want shopping malls, credit cards and debt, so much debt. They think that this is democracy and freedom. No! This is Western slavery and the death of the soul.
AMERICANISATION 'A BIG PROBLEM FOR ISLAM'
DESTROYS ARAB CULTURE
This is a big problem. You see, it not only destroys Arab culture
IS AN ONGOING DEBATE IN ARAB COUNTRIES
This is a big problem for Islam. This debate is also going on in Turkey. They are moving away from Western secularism towards a more Islamic way. Saudi also has this debate at present. This is also being discussed quietly in other Arab countries.
STEERS ARABS AWAY FROM RELIGION
takes people away from our religion

Name
We all start to look like Westerners and think like Westerners and then our culture and religion will slowly change into something different.
COMPROMISE BETWEEN WEST AND ARABS 'NOT POSSIBLE'
A compromise is not possible.
Again – wrong thinking! No. You must know Surat Al-Kāfirūn "To them their ways and to me mine".
You see, it is like oil and water; they do not mix. They will never mix.
RESEARCHER IS THREATENED
'CONSEQUENCES' IF RESEARCH IS USED AGAINST ISLAM OR ARABS
but if you take what I have said and misuse it against Islam or 'us', there will be what you Westerners call consequences.
SOME OF THE QUESTIONS ARE AGAINST ISLAM
I know that you are Muslim and believe that you mean well and I only talked to you because my friend recommended you and he trusts you;
Some of your questions are against Islam.
'THE PEOPLE ARE SHEEP; NEED A SHEPHERD'
The people are like sheep and need a shepherd.
'WE WANT SHARIA, NOT DEMOCRACY'
Your question is Western and Christian. It is the wrong question and an example of wrong thinking! The question you

Name
should ask is – is democracy compatible with Sharia~ The answer is no! Sharia is compatible with life. Islamic life! Democracy is a Western
POSITIVE VIEW OF ISLAMISM
ISLAMISM RELEVANT TO 'ALL ASPECTS OF LIFE, INCLUDING POLITICAL'
This is trying to bring Islam into all aspects of life, including political.
It is not bad as a concept or idea.
MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD 'HELPS PEOPLE WHEN NO ONE ELSE DOES'
FAILED IN EGYPT DUE TO CONSPIRACY AGAINST THEM
They were not permitted to achieve their goals. They were taken over by the military. They tried hard but they were not allowed to finish. It was a conspiracy to bring them down. You are not from Egypt. You do not understand. The ministries before were all
WEST WILLINGLY IGNORES THIS
The West does not see it and does not want to see it.
It not about being anti-Western.
Many Arab governments are failing their people. The brothers help. What is wrong with that~ They do what the corrupt dictators will not do.
No!
No! Never.

Name

'TO ME MY WAYS AND TO THEM THEIRS'

It is about 'separate development'. To me my ways and to them theirs. You know this.

What you need to remember is that the Muslim Brotherhood help the people when no one else does. If you give a hungry man bread, you have his loyalty. When they join the brotherhood it is for life. There are sayings in the brotherhood – "Brothers forever",

REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM

AMERICANS SHOULD LEAVE THE MIDDLE EAST ALONE

Leave the Arab Middle East

Leave the Middle East and let us be. "To them their ways and to me mine".

AMERICANS SHOULD STOP SUPPORTING ISRAEL

stop supporting the Israelis

NEGOTIATE PEACE IN PALESTINE WITH EU AS MODERATOR

allow an independent body to arrange peace in Palestine, but not the UN; try the European Union.

PARTICIPANT 13 (9 THEMES)

ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL

ARAB DICTATORS MORE SECURE AFTER ARAB SPRING

Arab dictators are more secure but worried

ARAB PEOPLE LESS FREE AFTER ARAB SPRING

As we Arabs say, 'they have us by the throat'.

Name
but say less
Egypt, Syria, Libya and the Arab World is not as free
the people are less free
ARABS USED TO SCAPEGOAT AMERICA FOR MIDDLE EAST
BUT BLAMING AMERICA STOPPED BY GOVERNMENTS
But since 2011 this has almost stopped. We Arabs now say that since 2011 "the people's eyes have been opened and our mouths shut". This means that we now see but cannot speak. Our governments do not want it.
We used to do this and our governments encouraged us to do this so that we did not blame them for corruption, stealing our people's money and not making anything better.
'BEST CONTROL OF THE PEOPLE IS BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES'
You know, 'the greatest control of the people is the people'. Create a system where the people think that they are being watched all the time and they will control themselves. Then spread the rumour that there are thousands of paid informers for state security.
'STATE CONTROL' HAS CHANGED ANTI-AMERICANISM
But also, there is much less of it due to state control.
But everything is watched by State Security so most people are too frightened to look at these sites.
IN MEDIA
Before, there would be people shouting now people just talk and discuss.

Name
it has changed
It was all over the media but now some is on TV but most is on the web, if you can find it.
most Arabs do. They do not shout about it but they do
Now they whisper. As we Arabs say, "If men cannot talk, they will whisper".
So what I am saying is that there is much less said openly than before but that does not mean that it does not exist. That is how it is now in Egypt or most of Egypt.
The Arab world is cursed with state informers.
ARAB SPRING
BROUGHT BETTER UNDERSTANDING
We see more, understand more
It is so sad for us.
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AL-QUDS DECISION
Al-Quds
This has been made much worse by the Trump Arab Muslim ban to the US and the Al-Quds decision
America causes anti-Americanism!
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
But America is definitely negative
I have to say that it is not positive
INSPIRES ANTI-AMERICANISM IN SUNNIS

Name
A lot.
It is all about power and strength.
US INTERFERENCE IN ARAB LANDS
America has lost any morality in the Middle East.
It interferes too much in Arab lands.
Many students would discuss this with teachers and ask what America was doing in Arab lands. They told us the truth our governments did not want us to hear.
We learned the truth about what the US did to Arab Muslims.
US MAKING ALL (ARAB) MUSLIMS THE ENEMY
"America talks about Arab democracy but supports Arab dictators"
"America was Iraq's friend and ally and then invaded it"
"America's dream is our nightmare"
"If America sows bombs, it cannot reap flowers"
AMERICA CREATED MANY EXTREMIST GROUPS
Yes, they created the many fighters and groups that opposed their illegal invasion and one of these became Da'ish.
'LIST OF ARAB COUNTRIES TO INVADE'
They did it because they could. They had invaded Afghanistan and were looking for another country to invade. On the Arab Street as you call it, many say they had an 'agenda', a list of Arab state to invade. On Arab television they showed General Clark the

Name
SEPARATED ARAB COUNTRIES AND TURNED AGAINST EACH OTHER (THE LION AND OXEN STORY)
The lion in this story is America and the oxen are Arab states.
There is also a story told by Arabs like a tale with a meaning. It is about the US invasion of Iraq and later destruction of so many Arab countries.
There was once a lion and he could see three oxen. He knew that he could not attack all of them at the same time because they would surround him and kill him with their large horns. So he decided to divide them and set them against each other. He noticed t
the US making all Muslims the enemy. But they mean us, the Arabs, not the Indonesians.
The West only betrays the Arabs.
TREATS ARABS AS LESSER THAN AMERICANS, ISRAELIS
still not be equal to them or Israelis
WANTS TO TURN ARABS INTO SECOND CLASS AMERICANS
It wants to make us all American second class citizens
It wants us to change our culture, religion and forget our history
Yes, it is negative.
AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
"As you cannot force a woman to love you, America cannot force Arabs to love Israel". There; that is another saying we have about

Name
America and Israel.
America will never understand us because the Zionists will not permit it.
AMERICAN AND ISRAEL ARE EXTREMIST
EXTREMISM CAUSES ARAB COUNTER-EXTREMISM
Extremism causes resistance or counter-extremism. "You cannot punch a man in the face and complain when he hits you back"
US and Israeli extreme action cause legitimate resistance
Is Israel not extreme~
Is the US invasion of Iraq not extreme~
Some people the West call terrorists are not terrorists and some are. Others that the West does not call terrorists, like the Israelis, are terrorists. So this is not as simple as it seems.
Why are you using the extremism with Islam or Islamism~
American support for Israel
ISRAEL AN INVADER, ILLEGAL OCCUPIER, TERRORIST
No
They invaded Arab land – again.
This is criminal. All such aggression by Israel is terrorist. These were terrorist attacks by Israeli terrorists.
Yes
Yes and most Arabs do.
Yes.

Name
ISRAEL MORE SECURE DUE TO ARAB SPRING
Israel is more secure
ISRAEL STATE NOT ACCEPTED BY SUNNIS
No
No.
It is immoral.
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE VERY IMPORTANT TO SUNNIS
It is very very important.
Never
No. Never.
Very very important.
SUFFERING OF PALESTINIANS
The suffering of our Palestinian brothers
US SUPPORT OF ISRAEL UNDERMINES NEGOTIATIONS
Yes
USED BY EXTREMISTS TO RECRUIT ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
Very often. Why wouldn't they.
Yes. It is. We all see it. By how much~ 95%
HISTORY IMPORTANT
ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS CARRY IT 'LIKE A SHADOW'
I remember it all. I carry it with me like a shadow. Ask me any dates, from the Crusades to now.

Name
It is like a black shadow. It is always there and with us.
The past is part of our present and it follows us around like a ghost or a shadow. We cannot be cut off from it. We may not want it our parents told us that "History is like our shadow. It is always there".
HISTORICAL EVENTS SHOW A DIRECTION
Did the blacks in South Africa give up because their leaders were put in prison and called terrorists~ Did they give up when the police and army slaughtered the demonstrators~ No. They bled so that others later may be free. Mandela was freed from prison an
These are just stones forming a long path.
They had invaded Afghanistan and were looking for another country to invade
They invaded Arab land – again. But this is yet another stone in this path.
We should look at these events as stones that form a pathway over time. The stones are not very important but the direction is what is important.
History is important to us. It is part of us, in our hearts and it is who we are.
Very
Yes. It is our history.
TRUMP'S MUSLIM BAN
has been made much worse by the Trump Arab Muslim ban to the US

Name
the Arab Muslim ban to the US
US INVASION OF IRAQ
'DEEP WOUND' FOR ARABS
NEVER FORGET
NEVER FORGET OR FORGIVE AMERICAN ATROCITIES
They acted like beasts. We will not forget or forgive what they did.
Very angry
Now you are tearing at a deep wound. We all lived during this and we will never forget it or let or children forget it.
The Americans talk about the holocaust, well this was our modern holocaust.
We hate them.
WORLD IS BLIND, DOES NOTHING
But the world is blind and does not want to see it. They do nothing to America
Yes. It did. They invaded our homeland and destroyed it. What did they expect~ Did they think we would love them for it~
Yes. We will never forget it.
It was illegal, it was criminal, it was a war crime
the US invasion of Iraq
WEAKENED ARAB SUNNI MUSLIM WORLD, BY DESTROYING IRAQ, IRAN GOT STSRONGER
It destroyed one of our strongest Arab countries and made

Name
Iran stronger.
it destroyed our 'brother Iraq'.
Yes. This invasion weakened the Sunni Arab world and allowed Iran to gather the riches of Iraq.
DECLINED TO SPEAK ABOUT JIHAD, KAFIR (UNBELIEVER)
I am not talking about this here.
I am not talking about this here. (2)
IMPROVE ARAB IMAGE IN THE WORLD
'LIVE BY ISLAM'
Each man must read the Holy Qur'an and interpret it as he can.
Life is Islam
Most of all, we need Islam to be the core of our lives, like the sun, and all other things in life should revolve around it.
Our day revolves around the five Islamic salat, not the other way. I mean that we do not fit Islam into our busy lives. We fit our busy lives into Islam.
WE ARE LOST WITHOUT IT
Otherwise we are lost.
'MAKE RUSSIA, CHINA ALLY'
NOT AMERICA, WEST
Arab states should have been supported by the Russians not America. They would not have brought us freedom or democracy but neither has America but they would not have destroyed our culture or tried to replace it with theirs. They do not care about our culture.

Name
make Russia our ally. The West should go
We need to make alliances with Russia and maybe China
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
Yes. It is an insulting question for one Muslim to ask another!
ISLAMISM AND EXTREMISM
HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST
HAMAS
No. Again, why would I~
No. Why would I~
Yes, 100%.
HEZBOLLAH
BUT NOW HEZBOLLAH KILLING SUNNIS IN IRAQ, SYRIA
Muslims should never kill Muslims.
Now in Syria and before in Iraq, killing Sunnis, it is a terrible thing.
HEZBOLLAH WERE HEROES FIGHTING ISRAEL
When they bravely fought Israel they were heroes to all Arabs.
No.
No. Why would I~ (2)
'WE DON'T KNOW THE TRUTH'
They are being used. We do not know the truth.
MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD NOT EXTREMIST

Name
AMERICAN AND ISRAEL SUPPORTED ARMY REPELLED THEM IN EGYPT
They had a long path to walk but they were kicked off it by the military supported by America and Israel.
No
NOT ANTI-WESTERN, BUT PRO-ISLAM
It is not anti-Western. It is against the bad things that the West does to Arabs. It is pro-Islam. Your question is poorly worded.
RESPECT FOR DAESH
It took many countries fighting them from all sides to push them back.
Most of their fighters died in battle or jihād.
Well the whole world could see how much territory they captured and how quickly.
WEST, ISLAM NOT COMPATIBLE
AMERICANISATION A MIXED BAG
"As Arabs, we must follow our heart, not America"
BRINGS 'MUCH GOOD AND CHOICE'
We all see it. It brings much good and choice to our underdeveloped Arab countries
MANY ARABS WORRY IT IS DESTROYING ARAB CULTURE
Arabs should stop pretending to be Westerners
but it also destroys our culture.

Name
You know, there is an unspoken struggle going on in many Arab hearts between 'the beards and non-beards' and the 'jalabiyyah and Western dress'. For many Arabs it is not a problem. But for others it causes pain to see our culture being diluted. It is like
CHRISTIANITY, ISLAM NOT COMPATIBLE
Popes and Islam~ This is not compatible. Not the same. It is like apples and oranges.
Democracy is Western. It has nothing to do with Islam.
PERSONAL VIEWS ON ANTI-AMERICANISM
PEOPLE FOCUS ON JOBS, 'TRY TO GET ON WITH OUR LIVES', LESS ON ANTI-AMERICANISM
after the world financial crisis we have less money and there are not as many jobs, so we think that this is more important.
we know they exist and we try to get on with our lives
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICA SHOULD ADMIT ISRAEL IS 'LAST CRUSADER STATE IN ARAB LANDS'
The Americans should own up to the world that they support Israel because it is the 'last Crusader state' in Arab lands and stop telling lies about a 'Two State Solution'.
AMERICA, WEST SHOULD LEAVE ARABS ALONE
America and the West should leave us alone to our religion, our culture and way of life.
If they are not going to help then get out and stay out.

Name
CONSTRUCT THE ARAB WORLD POSITIVELY, NOT NEGATIVELY
NOT ANTI-AMERICANISM, BUT ARAB PATRIOTISM, BROTHERHOOD
What you call anti-Americanism, we call Arab patriotism and Islamic brotherhood.
You take something positive and you turn it into a negative.
THE WEST SHOULD BETTER UNDERSTAND ISLAM
The West and I do not mean America, needs to better understand Islam.
WEST IS 'THOUGHT OF DIFFERENTLY THAN AMERICA'
I think that it is important to say that the West is thought of differently than America.

Appendix 18

Main Themes

Nodes

Name
MAIN THEMES (N=12)
PARTICIPANT 1 (2 THEMES)
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
ARABS SHOULD SEPARATE RELIGION AND STATE
The real question for Arab Muslims and other Muslims is does religion rule our lives or does it fit into our life~ This is our problem – not the West's. We cannot blame the West for that question.
Western civilisation did not make the leap until this issue was resolved – the Enlightenment. They did it, we have to do it and we have not done it yet. Some are still living their lives as it was at the time of the Prophet.
CHANGE FROM LIBERTARIAN TO IMPERIALIST TREATMENT OF MIDDLE EAST
a spike

Name
Bell Curve
CIA coup to overthrow a Middle Eastern democratically elected Prime Minister.
I think that post World War II it changed slightly from inward to outward looking with aggressive interventions
it shocked many in the Middle East
Perhaps even earlier, probably in the 1920s ~ 1930s the US changed in its approach to other countries in the Middle East
The Founding Fathers would not have approved.
The libertarian vision of the Founding Fathers seems to have been abandoned and even reversed
The US has moved away from their liberal origins. It is no longer liberal in its external relations and this includes the Middle East.
we had never thought of America in an imperialist light before that
I hope that it does impact on Islam to get the Arab World out of our dilemma!
I think that America used religion like a fire, but it is so dangerous, like in Afghanistan and Syria
It has a huge amount. You see during the Cold War with the Soviets, the US supported Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan against the USSR. We all know this.
one that changed a whole generation's view of America, the invasion of Iraq in 2003 !!!!!
This is a fire which was lit by the US and left to burn after they abandoned Afghanistan

Name
after the Cold War. It then spread elsewhere like a virus.
HISTORY AND COLONIALISM
But it is also, I think, distracting. It gives a backward push and is draining our resources
It is definitely important in North African Arab countries.
Yes of course. They are a legacy but they are also distracting
INVASION OF IRAQ
the main causes, these are the Palestinian issue and the illegal invasion of Iraq.
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
Much!
Yes, Syria and Iraq.
PALESTINIAN-ISRAEL ISSUE
Also, the MB (Muslim Brotherhood) use the Palestinians as a tool for their own reasons to give them legitimacy.
AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
DIGNITY ISSUE
It is a dignity issue
It is the injustice of it - the Israeli overreaction and it is also the 'dignity of the Arabs' which is being insulted.

Name
We say that "Israel is like a wart on my hand; I see it but do not accept its right to be there".
I don't want to say.
I would estimate 70~80%.
ISRAEL INJUSTICE AND ILLEGALITY
Also, we say that when Israel attacks innocent Palestinians - "What is wrong is wrong".
I am not sure. It would be too easy to say yes. But I want to base my decision on facts. I do not know. Maybe it was an accident or a mix-up. I don't think we will ever know because the Israelis keep their errors as secret, as they can.
It is not just. Surely that is clear for all to see.
It is the clear lack of balance, fairness and proportionality by Israel that is the problem. This is supported by the US and there is never any just criticism of Israel by the US.
It is the injustice of it - the Israeli overreaction and it is also the 'dignity of the Arabs' which is being insulted.
This is because injustice shines clear for all to see. You do not need to have been to university to know this. All Arabs know this.
Yes!
Yes! Not just me but the Arab World.
Israel is not Middle Eastern or Arab they are Western and democratic. Their Prime Minister wears suits, was educated in the US and speaks with an American accent. He

Name
and his people are not Middle Eastern.
It is a reality.
It is a reality. Israel could not survive without them. "America and Israel are joined at the hip". Have you heard this saying~
It is not good because it is in our lifetime. We can see it with our own eyes. It is not an account from history which may or may not be real or true.
'MIGHT IS RIGHT'
might is right
The lesson is - the weak tribes or clans lose
Palestine and the illegal invasion of Iraq in 2003
They are the West's foothold in the Arab Middle East.
This is supported by the US and there is never any just criticism of Israel by the US.
USED BY ISLAMISTS TO RECRUIT ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
A lot. Of course a lot. Why wouldn't they~
Yes. A lot. "America and Israel are like two wolves negotiating with a Palestinian lamb what they will have for lunch. You know the lamb will get eaten!"
Yes. This is clear for all to see.
HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

Name
Palestine and the illegal invasion of Iraq in 2003
Palestine, 1967, 1973, recent Israeli shelling of Palestinians
They are an indication of how Arab civilisation has deteriorated. The result of Ottoman and Western domination.
Unfortunately – a lot!
IMPORTANCE FOR SELF
It continues to be as important and relevant as ever. There is nothing more important to us.
It is very important to me and Arab Muslims.
It is very, very important to us Arabs. They are our brothers in Islam and Arab brothers. Do not underestimate the importance of Palestine to the Arabs.
No. Never, and Arabs in general do not.
Some of the Islamists say that "Israel is the Last Crusader State". Other extremist say that Israel is the 'Tenth Crusade'. I do not agree with the extremists but I do see what they mean.
They are an exported people to a foreign land!
they have no passports in their own land. If I had no passport I would be angry
IMPORTANCE FOR SUNI MUSLIMS AND ARABS
"Palestine is like a thorn sticking in Arab dignity, always there, and always painful".

Name
at school during history lessons, like most children. This was when the Palestinian question was taught.
But some Arabs do deny its very existence.
It continues to be as important and relevant as ever. There is nothing more important to us.
It is very important to me and Arab Muslims.
It is very, very important to us Arabs. They are our brothers in Islam and Arab brothers. Do not underestimate the importance of Palestine to the Arabs.
No. Never, and Arabs in general do not.
the main causes, these are the Palestinian issue and the illegal invasion of Iraq.
Yes, definitely. It tends to focus on~ Palestine
Yes. Ask any Arab. They will tell you that it is the Palestinian issue and the invasion of Iraq.
Yes. It was mostly the Palestinian cause because of the obvious injustice. But also because Israel was supported by the West, initially by the UK and then the US.
NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF PALESTINE BY ARABS
Arabs say quietly to each other that "The Palestinians are like the poor man at a party" and they are so toxic about it
We also say that "They are like a member of a family who was the only one who did not get anything from a will"; they attack other members of the family.

Name
the main causes, these are the Palestinian issue and the illegal invasion of Iraq.
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
AMERICA'S INVASION OF IRAQ INCREASED ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
Greatly! It remains the second greatly issue. Palestine remains the first.
It is like a thorn sticking into us. It does not go away. But also the US keeps twisting this Shoka or thorn with its support to Israel, or banning Arab Muslims from America.
It was illegal and it has caused so many problems for Arabs across the whole region.
Most Arabs say "Iraq was all about oil". But I think it was a combination of opportunity, unfinished business and oil. Opportunity because the invasion of Afghanistan was over so quickly, unfinished business because the 'son' (G W Bush) wanted to finish it.
Oil
Some Arabs call it "The American Crusade". Others say it was the Western ~ American 'Crusade' and oil.
The ideology existed before but was fed by the Iraq war and national interest.
Very angry! This is an example of the brutal US system. It is unjustified. Many say, "In the Arab World, the weak have no rights". Might is right.
Very negative. These were great insults at many levels – culturally, religiously, our dignity, our unity and so on.
Widespread instability in the Middle East. There has also been an increase in extremism and Islamism.

Name
Yes of course. Iraq was a strong Arab country. It was a block to Iran and created balance in the Middle East. The destruction of Iraq created instability in the whole region.
Yes, of course. The invasion was illegal and it destroyed the government and infrastructure of Iraq. It created chaos and a power vacuum but more importantly it created a common enemy for Iraqis and Arabs. The extremists like ISIS exploited this.
Yes. This is obvious.
ARE HAMAS AND HEZBOLLAH TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS
No difference. They are both the same, two hands of the same body – left hand and right hand. What is the difference~
No. I explained before.
Not before – no. Not when they gave Israel a beating in Lebanon and forced them to leave. But recently since Syria and Iraq – yes, I do. Their militias have done terrible things against Sunnis in Iraq and Syria
Not really. We say, "If someone kicks your door in, you must defend your home". What are you going to do~ You must fight. Some do fight but very few.
Yes, of course. What else are the Arabs going to do~ The West does not help us, so we must do what we can.
RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM 'LIKE A FIRE'
"Religious extremism is like a fire, if you start it, you cannot control it"
PARTICIPANT 2 (2 THEMES)

Name
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICAN BIAS, INJUSTICE, MANIPULATION AGAINST ARABS
A great degree! You know, if they just stopped interfering in the Arab World and exerted some control over Israel, it might be different. But they don't. Many Arabs say that "Americas are the new Roman Empire; they do what they want".
Now we have two causes – Palestine and the illegal invasion of Iraq.
stirring some Arab countries against other Arab countries to divide the Arabs, selling weapons to both sides, selling weapons to Saddam Hussein to block Iran, supporting him in the Iraq – v – Iran war, then later invading Iraq. Is that enough~
The US does not stand up for Arab rights. Quite the opposite.
The US is seen as a country that has bias against Arabs.
The US manipulated and continues to manipulate Arabs.
There is strong US bias against Arabs. Arab rights are not respected; they are not the same as Israeli rights.
This is a big issue! Why~ "Because as some say, "You have brought the enemy to our land!" Do we the Arabs have military bases in America~
Today's Arabs are eyewitnesses to the illegal US invasion of Iraq. They can also see what is happening in Israel and Palestine. It is not history, it is now. We have seen it with our own eyes!
Trump caused a huge rage and hatred because of the decision to appoint Al-Quds (Jerusalem) as the capital of Israel. As we say, "They will reap what they sow!"

Name
We say often "Palestine is the great injustice to Arabs" or that "Palestine is the 'First Cause' in Arab lives".
EDUCATION
Yes. It was with the teachers but they then had an influence and impact on the students and pupils. It was normally centred around the actions of the US in the Middle East.
HISTORY OF ARAB RELATIONSHIP WITH WEST IS IMPORTANT
COLONIALISM
It is still negative. It is still used against the British and French, especially when they try to intervene in the Arab World.
Yes. They form part of our history. In the West, history is old; it is dead and from the past. In the Middle East, history is now, today and unbroken. It is important to us what the West did to us in the Crusades or during empire or more recently. Your his
CRUSADES
Crusades
These are battles in a long war. The Crusaders stayed 300 years. This is a long war.
This is very important.
ISRAEL-US RELATIONSHIP
1973 war and the US support for Israel. The US saved Israel.
This is the logic of the jungle. When the Serbs did this to Muslims in the Balkans they were taken to the European Court or Human Rights. Why not Israel~ This is because of

Name
the US support of Israel. It is immoral and a double standard!
IRAQ INVASION
Huge! I said before. It is our Arab dignity, being oppressed, insulted and humiliated. If you want to humiliate an Arab Muslim, take off his clothes and humiliate him and this is what they did. Those photographs will never leave us. That is what America do
Palestine. Normally it was Palestine – the injustice and oppression. Then the illegal invasion of Iraq.
REASONS FOR INVASION OF IRAQ
People say Iraq's oil and Iraq had a strong army with modern weapons and formed a threat to Israel. Some Arabs say, "They invaded for oil and Israel".
RESULTS OF THE WAR
I agree! George W Bush said that he was bringing democracy. All he brought was~ starvation, diseases, poverty, death and destruction! That is what the US brought! You know that Iraq was the centre of our ancient civilisation what you in the West call the '
Yes, of course. The Arab World – yes. The Arabian Gulf countries are especially nervous and feel threatened. Look at Saudi, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria, Iraq – Lebanon. Sunni led power is blocked by Iran. Shia power is growing. It is the new power battle, Shia I
SENTIMENTS FOR THE IRAQ WAR
GRIEF
(No reply but upset)

Name
(No reply but upset) (2)
(No reply but upset) (3)
HATRED OF AMERICA
Very important. It brings more hatred of America.
REMEMBERANCE
The Iraq invasion is over but we will never forget.
Yes, of course! I mentioned this earlier.
the illegal invasion of Iraq,
US SUPPORT FOR, CREATION OF EXTREME ISLAMIST FIGHTERS
In the Arab street they say the US.
One created the conditions for the other like an open wound to disease. The Americans created the open wound and the disease of Da'ish came into it.
They know that the US invaded Iraq and like in Afghanistan where the US supported extreme Islamist fighters like Bin laden and others, they created the situation for Da'ish to come.
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
A lot!
Palestine, Iraq and Syria

Name
PALESTINIAN-ISRAEL ISSUE
AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL USED BY ISLAMISTS TO RECRUIT ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
A lot, probably more than 80%
HIGH IMPORTANCE FOR SELF AND ARABS
It is our number one 'living' issue.
No
No (getting a little upset)
No and it will not for the Arabs.
Not for here. Not for your study and not when you are writing it down.
This is big. It is strategic for us, Israel and the West.
Very important. They insult our brothers.
ISRAEL ILLEGAL, TERRORIST STATE
A lot.
Greatly. More hatred to US. I will not say anymore on this.
No. Never! That is a ridiculous question.
No. Street Arabs say, "Israel is Al-Kayan Al-Sahyuni" (the Zionist Entity). It occupies Palestine which is Arab land. The average people will never accept this. But not the leaders when they are in power because they play power games. When Arab leaders

Name
lea
Yes! It is an illegal occupier of Arab land.
Yes! Of course it is. It commits state crimes against innocent Palestinians; it bombs women and children. What do you call it~
Palestine. Normally it was Palestine – the injustice and oppression. Then the illegal invasion of Iraq.
SUPPORT FOR STRATEGIC ENEMY OF ARABS
A great degree! You know, if they just stopped interfering in the Arab World and exerted some control over Israel, it might be different. But they don't. Many Arabs say that "Americas are the new Roman Empire; they do what they want".
Also, the US supports our strategic enemy – the Zionist Entity (Israel).
More than 90%.
The US supports our strategic enemy - Israel.
Their support for Israel may weaken in the long term.
Yes of course. In the West this may seem a reasonable question to ask but to Arabs, it is a ridiculous question. Sorry, I am not getting at you but the US apply a double standard. How can they be independent~ This is a new brand for the US.
Yes, of course. (2)
Yes, of course. Killing civilians is a terrorist act. The West says it is a terrorist act if Da'ish kill civilians, then why is it not if the Israelis do~

Name
Yes - Palestine – Past – Present and Future
Yes (2)
Yes, of course.
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
CRITICISMS
A lot, probably more than 80%. We are already brought up as haters of the US. These groups nourish and manipulate it. Every family in the Arab World bring up their family as haters of Israel and America and for good reason. Look at Iraq. Look at Palestine.
A sin. A terrible sin against Islam
CRITICISM OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD
Never! Not even relevant for his own time
No! The Muslim Brotherhood leadership have citizenship in the US and UK. Citizenship! The Brotherhood people are living in comfort with children in US and UK.
Verbally when addressing their own supporters but they have contacts with US – to get into power in Egypt
Very bad. They failed the people
Yes (5)
Yes (6)
Yes (7)

Name
Extremists use Islam – it is not real Islam
INAPPROPRIATENESS OF 'UNBELIEVER' VIEWPOINT
It is not appropriate to modern life.
we should not kill someone for this
It is against Islam. They interpret Islam as they want – their own version to serve their own political agenda.
No!
Political
HAMAS AND HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST
If Palestinians were living in peace and Israel did not steal their land, allowed returns and Al-Quds (Jerusalem) to be capital and if Palestinians and Hezbollah attacked then – then yes. But now no!
In the West it may be negative. But to the Arabs, this is something to be proud of.
No.
No. How can it be~ It is resistance.
No. Of course not. They are a resistance organisation. Were the ANC terrorists~ Sure to the apartheid government they were but to the world~
No. Why should I~ I need to highlight one thing. We Arabs say, "Does Hamas plan attacks against Sweden, Argentina or Japan~ No, only against Israel". The Charlie Hebdo attack. Many Arabs said~ this is what they deserve now, they did against us

Name
terrible things.
Yes, of course they were. It was resistance.
PARTICIPANT 3 (2 THEMES)
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
America is aggressive and does not care about world opinion. They own the UN or can ignore them. As people say, "They do what they want".
AMERICAN INTERVENTIONISM
America's intervention in the Arab World is the problem. For example, Trump's decision to make Al-Quds (Jerusalem) the political centre and main city of Israel. No one forced him to do this. He an American decided to do this.
AMERICAN KEEPS POOR ARABS POOR BY SUPPORTING AUTOCRATIC ARAB LEADERS
Also, people will not say to you but America's support for autocratic leaders in the Arab world that keep the poor Arabs poor. You know that there are over one hundred million Egyptians and most of them are poor and kept poor. Did you know that Cairo has d
I don't want to say any more about this. (Note~ participant – slightly distressed).
Yes.
DAESH OR ISIS AN AMERICAN PROXY
Da'ish is a US proxy.

Name
The Americans.
The US.
HATRED FOR AMERICAN ATROCITIES
This was very bad. It is even worse because it was done by the West and America to Arabs and Muslims. It created deep hatred that will not go quickly.
Yes
IMPORTANT FOR SUNNI ARABS
A lot.
Now it is Trump, the Muslim ban to America, Trump's Islamophobia, Trump's decision to move the US embassy to Al-Quds and the Palestinian issue, America's support for Israel, the American invasion of Iraq.
AMERICANISATION
A lot. (2)
AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
America supports Israeli terrorist war crimes.
Every day.
LOW ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAEL STATE
BUT ISRAEL NOT TERRORIST

Name
No. It is important to make a distinction between Jewish, Zionism and terrorists.
ISRAEL PERFORMED ACT OF TERRORISM
Yes. All know it.
No. Never!
THE OLD WILL NEVER ACCEPT, THE YOUNG SEE ISRAEL ARABS HAVE WHAT THEY DON'T
This is difficult. It is not as simple as some people think. The old people, like my parents, do not accept Israel and will never accept it. But many of the young see that in Israel Arabs have rights, education and democracy and that is more than most Arab
Yes.
Most.
PALESTINIAN-ISRAEL ISSUE
HIGH IMPORTANCE FOR SELF AND ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
Extremely important.
It is very important.
No
Not at all.
This was not fair, not just and not lawful.

Name
Yes
HISTORY OF ARAB RELATIONSHIP WITH WEST IS IMPORTANT
BUT COLONIAL PERIOD OF MIXED IMPORTANCE
Mixed. In North Africa, the French involvement is more important, for the Egyptians it is the British and so on. Here (UAE) it does not seem important because they were never a colony.
CRUSADES
It is important.
They are important, especially if it is the West interfering in the Middle East.
From Crusades up to Trump.
RELEVANT TO MODERN LIFE
Yes.
TRUMP'S AL-QUDS DECISION
As I said, recently, Trump's decision over Al-Quds (Jerusalem).
IRAQ INVASION
A lot.
REASONS FOR AMERICA'S INVASION OF IRAQ
Death, destruction and long term hatred.

Name
It was terrible.
Unchecked US power and ambition, Israel and stealing our oil.
WAR CRIMES AND HUMANITARIAN CRIMES AGAINST IRAQ
These are war crimes and anti-humanitarian.
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
Yes it does.
ISLAMISM AND ISLAMIC EXTREMISM
CRITICISMS
It is against Islam. They interpret Islam as they want – their own version to serve their own political agenda.
MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD
It is anti-anything that opposes it.
It was terrible. They told lies and did not do what they said they would do. They were a complete failure.
No
They plot and take from the people. They make promises that they never keep. Some are OK and some are extremists.
Yes

Name
Yes (2)
Yes (3)
The old regimes of the Arab Middle East became scared. They tightened control. But remember that instability was not caused by the Arab Spring, it was caused by Political Islamists.
Yes it was wrong.
Yes, like all kinds of extremism, not just Islamist.
HAMAS AND HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST
CRITICISM OF HEZBOLLAH
It is wrong.
No
No
No (2)
No (3)
No. But, before 2006 it was fighting Israel's illegal occupation in the West Bank. After that it changed.
We are proud of them.
Yes

Name
MULTIPLE REASONS DRAW SOME ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS TO DAESH OR ISIS
There are many reasons for many different people. Because the young men who join them come from all over the world. There are political, religious and social reasons. Politically, most Arabs are not free in the Western sense so some wanted to travel to fig
POLITICAL ISLAMISTS PROVIDE SOCIAL AND OTHER SERVICES THAT ARAB GOVERNMENTS DON'T
Probably.

PARTICIPANT 4 (2 THEMES)

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
AGGRESIVE 'DO WHAT I WANT' POLICY
A lot. Of course it does. Everyone knows this. The invasion of Iraq, Palestine, Making Al Quds the capital city and supporting the Jewish lobby in the US. All of this.
Aggressive and does not care about world opinion. They own the UN or can ignore them and they do what they want.
Negative. As people say, "America has destroyed the Arab World". (2)
AMERICA BLAMED FOR MIDDLE EAST PROBLEMS
Most blame America. But this is not a false dream or mirage. America did this by its actions. Not us.
RELUCTANCE TO TALK ABOUT AMERICAN MILITARY BASES IN MIDDLE EAST

Name
I am not going to talk about that. As we Arabs say, "If you say it you own it". Do you understand~
DAESH CREATED BY US
The common view is that the US created it.
The US paved the way, made a pathway and helped to bring it into reality.
UNRELIABILITY OF AMERICA AS ALLY
"He who is covered by America is stripped naked because America is not a reliable ally"
Yes (2)
Yes. Common on the Arab Street.
AMERICANISATION DESTROYS CULTURES
A lot. Americanisation is slowly destroying distinctive global cultures. It makes our young people more vulnerable to influence by America.
IRAQ WAR
A lot. Sure.
AMERICAN WAR CRIMES
NOT KNOWN BY MANY
But you know; only a small percentage of university graduates in certain subjects in the Middle East will have access to this information.

Name
RELATED ATROCITIES-HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE FINDING OUT
But the man on reception had one newspaper hidden away and we all read it and looked at it over and over again, until it fell apart.
I was staying at a hotel when the newspaper came out with those terrible photographs in it of what they did to Arab Muslims. It was terrible. But as we were gathered around in the hotel lounge, the police arrived to collect all the newspapers. The Min (2)
This was terrible. It shocked us. Really!
We never thought that as bad as America was that they could do this
This is terrible - war crimes.
BUT PEOPLE ARE BUSY WITH THEIR LIVES AND JOBS
But we do not talk about it every day. We are too busy with life.
Many Arabs since the 2008 financial crisis have had other things to worry about like jobs, employment, bank loans and the collapse of the Arab Spring.
EMOTIONS FOR IRAQ WAR
ANGER
I also became angry. Many people became angry. It is like some strange man that you heard about before, came to your house and kicked your door in and then set fire to your house. It was terrible.
GRIEF-SADNESS

Name
Take the Iraq invasion. The day the Americans invaded Iraq, I was at school. It was a very sad day for us all. You cannot believe it. We were all asked to go to the computer room at school by our teachers. We all stood and watched, our teachers and us (2)
HUMILIATION
Yes. This humiliation sits deep within us.
NEGATION OF PERSONAL VIEW OF AMERICA AS AN ADVANCED SOCIETY FOREVER
Not really. As time has passed my views about America have become milder but they will never go away.
Yes. It changed them forever. There was a time when I saw America as an example of an advanced society. People had nice houses, cars, jobs and there people have a chance to live. But after what they did to Iraq, no. I have never thought about them like that.
INCREASED ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
Yes, of course.
It could not have been worse.
It is still Iraq and the Palestinian issue.
REASONS
ISRAEL'S SECURITY
and for the security of Israel.

Name
Oil and Israel.
The Islamists say it was to destroy "The Axis of Arab power" in the Middle East. By this they mean, destroy Iraq and destroy Syria. And they did. Iraq is in ruins and Syria is in ruins.
OIL
All Arabs know and even the rest of the world knows, it was oil
Oil and Israel.
They came and stole the oil and destroyed Iraq. No one ever believed the reasons that they gave and those reasons turned out to be lies, as we knew.
PURPOSEFUL DESTABILISATION
Yes. Iraq was the strongest Arab country. It blocked Iran and held back the Iranian flood and the Shī'a flood. It was the largest Arab buffer zone.
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
Yes of course. (2)
Yes, I think so.
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
Back in 1973, our president – President Anwar el-Sadat said "I can fight the Israelis but I cannot fight America". What he meant by this was, of course I would attack Israel if I was only fighting them, but I cannot because I would have to fight Israel and

Name
ISRAEL TERRORIST, ILLEGAL STATE
ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS DO NOT ACCEPT EITHER
No. Never. They stole our land and occupied it and then threw our people off their own land. How could any Arab accept this~
ATROCITIES
But also they wanted to destroy the future elections of the Palestinians by sending a message that any opposition would be crushed.
It also became punishment and cheapens the price of our lives to the world.
This was a war crime. All Arabs know this. Even the rest of the world knows that it was unfair and illegal. It was aimed at civilians.
No. Never!
This was an illegal occupation of Arab soil.
Yes. All Arabs do.
Yes. All in the Arab world believe this. Even the UN knows this but they are weak against the American control of the UN. Arabs know this.
Yes. They are a terrorist state because they stole our land, kill and torture innocent Palestinians. They are still stealing our land by using these foreign settlers and the world does nothing. This Zionism and terrorism. The two are no different. But when
It makes Arabs hate America. The Israeli war criminals could not do it without their permission, munitions, funding or help.

Name
Sure. I just said this.
UNDERMINES PALESTINIAN ISSUE
Sure. I said so.
we beat them, destroyed their whole air force, destroyed their tanks and beat them. But our final victory was stolen by America. This was so sad for us because this war was supposed to restore our pride, our dignity and our stolen land. All Arabs know this
We live with this humiliation every day of our lives. It sits deep inside us and we do not forget, nor should we.
Yes of course.
Yes, as I said before.
IMPORTANCE OF PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
HIGH FOR ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
Iraq is lost but this is still a 'game that can be won'; do you know this football term~
It is highly important at a popular level.
Many say, "Palestine is our living cause"
No
HIGH FOR SELF
No (2)

Name
Very important.
It is still Iraq and the Palestinian issue.
SHAME AND HUMILIATION
It is like a great shame to us that we could not protect these old men, women and children.
We live with this humiliation every day of our lives. It sits deep inside us and we do not forget, nor should we.
TRUMP'S MUSLIM BAN
But now there is also Trump. He has created hatred of Muslims in America. With him producing the Muslim ban and saying bad things about Islam, he is saying it is OK for others to do the same, and they are doing it. Just look on YouTube.
ISLAMISM AND ISLAMIC EXTREMISM
ARAB SPRING CAME AT PERFECT TIME BUT FAILED DUE TO JIHADISTS
But the outcome was worse than any of us could have imagined.
It came at the perfect time and was long overdue.
It is fine. What is more important is that it happened at the perfect time and it was long overdue.
The Arab Spring failed in Egypt, Libya, Syria and even Tunisia.
The jihādists ruined it. I think that if there had been no jihādists in Iraq, Libya or Libya it may have worked.

Name
CRITICISMS OF ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
BETTER IN THE PAST
But we once had a Golden Age of Islamic learning when such ideologies were defeated by logic and debate.
CRITICISM OF DAESH
Also, in Jordan they are very tribal. This is even worse in a tribal society. It offended the whole of Jordan and the Arab world.
CRITICISM OF HAMAS ACTIONS
No. Again for the same reasons. But the use of suicide bombers in Iraq is not Islamic and not acceptable.
CRITICISM OF HEZBOLLAH ACTIONS
but as I said before, it is not simple. If the Syrian government falls, the extremists will take over. So they are supporting the Syrian regime but killing Sunnis. It is not easy
It is wrong
No.
CRITICISM OF ISIS
They are wrong. They sometimes kill Sufis praying in masjids in Egypt. This is terribly wrong.
CRITICISM OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

Name
BUT SHOULD NOT BE BANNED
No
KGB-LIKE ESPIONAGE TACTICS
Yes and no. It is in a conceptual sense. But they also live in the West and use it to spread their message. They are also happy to have their wives and daughters educated in the West. They do not wear the niqāb and their men do not have beards.
MESSAGE DISTORTED, GOING TOO FAR
In Egypt the outcome was really bad. So-called 'democracy' brought the Muslim Brotherhood to power. Although, it is better to say that because of their organisation they were able to get to power. The others had no real chance
No. He was an Islamic scholar but he went too far in his books 'Milestones' and 'On the Shadows of Islam'.
Their message is a distortion and when they ruled Egypt, it was a disaster. They had no strategy to help the nation, just themselves. It probably has some extremists in it.
PROBABLY SOME EXTREMISTS IN IT
when they ruled Egypt, it was a disaster. They had no strategy to help the nation, just themselves. It probably has some extremists in it.
IGNORANCE OF EXTREMISTS, BOTH ARAB AND WESTERN
As people say, "Our future lies in education".
There are extremists there and they seem ignorant.

Name
Yes, but this also applies to the West.
NO WAY OUT FOR MEMBERS OF EXTREMIST GROUPS
It is like a vortex in bathwater that draws many small particles into it. The force just pulls them in with different messages, different incentives, different reasons – adventure, money, Islamic passion; many people for many reasons. But when they are ins
PERSPECTIVES OF ISLAMISTS AND EXTREMISTS
in general terms, he who does not follow the Sunnah is a Kafir or an unbeliever. But Al Azar Islamic University in Cairo does not use the term Kafir and they never apply the death penalty for being an unbeliever.
The extremists and jihādists use a very rigid interpretation and meaning. They do this for their own gain.
The Islamists and extremists have their own meaning and interpretation and even they cannot agree with each other.
This goes back to the Salafists and Wahhabis. This is not something that the Arab World wants the West to know about but it is true. They have their own interpretation. "To them their way, to me, mine".
PROPAGANDA AND KEEPING PUBLIC AWAY FROM KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING
Also, they want to give us ideology but keep us in poverty, poverty of knowledge and understanding. They only want us to think what they think.
REASONS OF CONFLATION OF ISLAM WITH ISLAMIC EXTREMISM

Name
INDIFFERENCE
For others, they just don't care. I see many American and British tourists in Arab countries. They come to the Middle East and Arab countries and bring their Western attitudes. They want to drink alcohol, go to night clubs but know nothing about and want t
LACK OF EDUCATION
Often it a lack of education or lack of knowledge.
WESTERN MEDIA
Also, all they get from Hollywood is awful projections of Arabs as terrorists. So they get confused.
It's mostly Hollywood and Western media.
SHARIA THREATENED
No. It simply is not.
No. Not at all. It is threatened by Islamist extremism and jihādism.
HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST
No.
No. Absolutely no. If you come to my house, kick in my front door and occupy it; it is my duty to resist.
No. Absolutely not.

Name

No. Again for the same reasons. But the use of suicide bombers in Iraq is not Islamic and not acceptable.

They must resist. It is their duty as Arab men and we support them.

Yes of course. What else can we do~ We must resist in any way we can. This is also about Arab pride and dignity.

NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF ARAB SPRING

INFLUX OF JIHADISTS

In Syria, it destroyed a great Arab country and let in the extremists, jihādists, Russians, Iranians, Turkish and Americans

PERSONAL DISTANCE FROM ISLAMISM AND ITS MESSAGE

Not me. I am not with them or their message. They are only for themselves. That is what happened when they took over Egypt. They had a great chance but they did nothing with it.

PARTICIPANT 5 (2 THEMES)

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

AMERICAN INTERFERENCE WITH ARAB COUNTRIES

US PAYS ARAB COUNTRIES TO DO WHAT IT WANTS

Yes, "you have to tie the donkey where the owner wants". This means if the US is paying, you have to do what they want. You know what I mean here~ If you are an Arab

Name
dictator and the US is paying to keep you in power, you keep your mouth shut and do what t
Yes. This saying is common to many Arabs.
MIDDLE EAST AND ARABS RESENT IT
ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
It does.
The 'Arab Street' blames America.
the Middle East and the Arabs resent their policies.
INFLUENCE FROM FRIENDS
I was surprised how strongly they felt.
It was mostly the US support for Israel.
It was really in 2008 from friends.
Sure – those but friends had more influence.
INFLUENCE FROM MEDIA
A little.
A little. (2)
Not really.
Sure – those but friends had more influence.

Name
Yes, it is there but less than before.
INVASION OF IRAQ
CONSEQUENCES
DESTABILISATION
Yes. (2)
DESTRUCTION OF IRAQ
the destruction of Iraq
DIVISION
The division of the Arabs
STRONGER ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
the increased strength of the Shi'a Crescent and Iran
Yes.
DAESH CREATED DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY BY AMERICA
The chaos caused in Iraq by America. Without the invasion there would have been no Daesh.
The US.
Yes – again.
GRIEF-SADNESS FOR LOSS OF IRAQI LIFE

Name
AMERICAN ATROCITIES
It was really bad.
People remember. It is sad for us.
Very sad.
Iraq and Palestine.
REASONS FOR THE INVASION
OIL
Israel and oil.
Israel and theft of oil.
Oil
POWER
Do you know that they executed Saddam Hussein on the first day of Eid Al-Adha~ They handed him to the Shi'a to abuse, insult and hang. We all saw it in the internet.
power
SELF-INTEREST
ALLIANCE WITH ISRAEL
Israel and oil.
Israel and theft of oil.

Name
US self-interest
Yes – very.
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
Of course.
PALESTINIAN-ISRAEL ISSUE
AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL USED BY ISLAMISTS TO RECRUIT ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
Sure. This is how it works
IMPORTANT TO MOST ARABS
It is still important to most Arabs.
No.
IMPORTANT TO SELF
Important.
No. (2)
Iraq and Palestine.
STATE OF ISRAEL ILLEGAL
It is Israel. It is what they do to the Arabs.
It is there so I just accept it.

Name
It is there. I see it. But seeing it is not the same as accepting it.
No, but it is there.
No. (3)
RELATIONSHIP WITH US COMPOUNDS THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE
ISRAELI TERRORIST ACTS
Yes. (4)
It is.
Negative
Of course. They are not independent.
Yes
Yes (2)
Yes.
ISLAMISM AND ISLAMIC EXTREMISM
CRITICISMS
HEZBOLLAH ACTS AS ANTI-ARAB ANTI-SUNNI MILITIA
HOWEVER HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST
No. (4)

Name
No. (5)
No. (6)
No. (7)
Yes. (3)
It is wrong.
No
There are acting like a militia for Iran against Arabs.
IGNORANCE FEEDS EXTREMISM
Correct.
IMMORALITY OF MUATH AL-KASASBEH MURDER
I don't know anyone who thinks that it was a moral thing to do.
ISIS ATTACKS ON SHIA MOSQUES
This is killing innocent people who are praying. This is terrible. It is like committing a massacre.
ISLAMISM MISUSES PEACEFUL ISLAM
Islamism is a misuse of Islam.
NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF ARAB SPRING
INTERNATIONAL INFLUX OF JIHADISTS

Name
Also, it drew jihādists from across the world. How can it be positive~
PARTICIPANT 6 (2 THEMES)
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AL-QUDS
Al-Quds.
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
AMERICA'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE MIDDLE-EAST
A little.
COMMON US PEOPLE NOT AT FAULT
I like many Arabs separate them. The common US people are unaware of the impact of US foreign policy on other countries.
POSITIVE IMPRESSIONS FROM 10-DAY STAY IN TEXAS
Generally, positive.
'DEMOCRACY BY INVASION'
"The Americans bring democracy by invasion"
"The Americans have 'Democracy' painted on their B52 bombs"
There are so many of these sayings in the Arab world.
HIGH IMPACT ON ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS

Name
A lot.
AMERICANS ARE UNWELCOME
We do not want them. They are not welcome.
AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
100%!
AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL FEEDS ARAB SUNNI MUSLIM RECRUITMENT BY ISLAMISTS
Of course.
ISRAEL ILLEGAL, NOT ACCEPTED BY ARABS
AMERICA TURNS A BLIND EYE TO ATROCITIES
the US does nothing
ARAB SUNNIS WILL 'NEVER' ACCEPT ISRAEL
No. Never.
ISRAEL PERFORMS ATROCITIES HABITUALLY
It is what the Israelis do. It has become a habit for them.
It was just another event in our sad history.
No.
No. Arabs do not accept Israel.

Name
WHICH OPPRESSES PALESTINE
the American support of Israel with their oppression of the Palestinian people
Yes.
Negative
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE IMPORTANT, TRAGIC, BUT COMPLEX
BUT COMPLEX
BUT LATER WARS, SEIZURES OF LAND NOT JUSTIFIED
But that does not excuse the 1967 and later seizure of lands.
ISRAELI ARABS ARE MANY AND ENJOY RIGHTS
Look, what you have to remember is that 20% of Israel is Arab and there they have more rights that in most Arab countries.
PALESTINIANS SOLD LAND TO ISRAEL
Also, what the Palestinians don't tell you is that they sold the land to the Israeli Jews. They sold the land. Arabs will try to explain this by saying that these people were cheated by the Jews but they sold their own land.
So it is not as simple as it looks from the outside.
WARS WERE TRAGIC
A tragedy.

Name
Yes, it is still important.
UNDERMINES NEGOTIATIONS OF PALESTINE AND ISRAEL
Yes, 100%!
Yes.
ARAB MEDIA
Before - often. Then it went on the 'back-burner' then Trump did the whole Muslim ban, and then declared Al-Quds to be the main city of Israel and these events have brought it all back. Now it is a hot topic.
Sure it does, but it is 'drip drip'.
TV. Internet too.
Yes. Especially Iraqi media.
ARAB MUSLIM BAN
The Arab Muslim ban from Trump
FRIENDS AND FAMILY KILLED BY AMERICAN BOMBING
Bombs!
Many of my friends were killed by the Americans. I lost family members too. My uncles were killed fighting the American invasion. They were in the Republican Guard.
Obviously it was negative.

Name
the US bombarded my home with bombs during the war
When the Americans bombed my home.
HISTORICAL RELATIONS WITH THE WEST
COLONIALISM
STILL RELEVANT TODAY
It still is. Especially in North Africa.
'MODERN FRENCH IMPERIALISM'
Look at the French and their military intervention in Chad. This was to protect their interests. They also protect their interests in the uranium stockpiles and the French high speed rail link from Rabat to Tangier in Morocco. This is still modern French
Yes.
HISTORY IS IMPORTANT
Iraq, Syria and Palestine. Sykes-Picot, Balfour, all of this.
Very big.
Very.
We should not forget history.
HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF, WEST STILL STEALS MONEY, OIL
Nothing has changed; they still come to take our money or oil.

Name
IRAQ INVASION
AMERICAN ATROCITIES IMPORTANT
Yes – of course. We all saw the photographs of an American woman humiliating Arab men with a dog on a leash very and even having Arab men on a leash, like a dog.
Yes important
you did not mention the use of depleted uranium shells in Iraq and the large number of birth defects resulting from their use.
AMERICA'S INVASION OF IRAQ A 'WAKE-UP CALL' TO THE WORLD
The illegal invasion of Iraq 'woke the world up' to what America really is.
The US lost about three thousand plus and we had 655 thousand die or killed. Is that proportionate~
CONSEQUENCES
ARAB WALL TO IRAN MAY HAVE BEEN A STRATEGIC TARGET
AMERICA, WEST DESTROYED 'ARAB WALL TO IRAN'
The Americans and the West invaded Iraq and destroyed what we call the Arab Wall to Iran. We say, "Iraq was the Arab Wall to Iran".
DESTRUCTION OF IRAQ
The destruction of Iraq
ISRAEL'S SECURITY

Name
a more secure Israel.
STRONGER IRAN
a stronger Iran
REASONS
ISRAEL INTERESTS
influenced by Israel through the lobby in the US.
The most common view is Israel
OIL
"The Americans only came to Iraq to steal our oil"
oil
The most common view is Israel and oil.
theft of oil
US NATIONAL INTEREST
US national interest
Terrible.
The Americans were wrong to invade Iraq
The invasion of Iraq

Name
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
It does.
ISLAMISM AND ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
CRITICISMS
ISLAMISTS ARE REALLY BAD
but the Islamists are really bad.
ISLAMISTS ARE STUCK IN THEIR WAYS
As some of say, they are "Men with long beards and a frozen mindset!"
MOST SUNNIS AGAINST ISIS
Most Sunnis are against it.
SEPARATION OF RELIGION AND STATE
Mixing religion with politics is a problem.
IRAQ CURBED ISLAMIST EXTREMISM PRE-INVASION
AMERICA'S DESTRUCTION OF IRAQI ARMY AND POLICE OPENED DOOR FOR EXTREMISTS
But after the Americans destroyed the Army and police, they came in large numbers. The military could have kept them under control if they had been allowed to but they were not.

Name
MAY HAVE BEEN A WESTERN PLOT
But many Arabs say it was a plot from the West and Israel to gather jihādists.
They all fought the Americans.
The US destruction of the Iraqi Army, police and government created the space for freedom fighters to come. They were ex-military who were then joined by the religious extremists and jihādists.
WAR INCREASED EXTREMISM
Yes.
SADDAM HUSSEIN AND IRAQ CONTROLLED ISLAMISTS
Saddam Hussein kept them under control. He did not allow them any power or influence. I think he understood how dangerous they could be. As we say, "The Ba'ath party was the belt that held us together and Saddam was the belt buckle".
'TERRORISM' OF HEZBOLLAH A MATTER OF PERSPECTIVE
BUT ARE AGAIST ARAB SUNNIS SINCE 2006
But now they have changed and have a new role working for Iran against Sunni Arabs.
But I would say that in 2006 they were freedom fighters against Israel. The Arab people loved them and respected them. We were proud of them.
INTIFADAS JUSTIFIED
Yes.

Name
We say, "Hezbollah is like a rose, to some it is beautiful and to others its thorns make them bleed". You see, it all depends on your perspective. Didn't Shakespeare say something about a rose~
PARTICIPANT 7 (1 THEME)
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
US SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
STRONGLY AGAINST ISRAEL
I don't accept it as a country. I would like to see it gone.
No.
Yes.
US SUPPORT UNDERMINES PALESTINE-ISRAEL NEGOTIATIONS
Yes
PARTICIPANT 8 (1 THEME)
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICA AN UNRELIABLE ALLY
RUSSIA GOOD, DEPENDABLE ALLY
GOOD ALLY TO SYRIA
Did Russia go against Al-Assad when the whole world stood against him~ No. They

Name
stood by him at the UN and blocked the America and the West. When he was losing the war against the jihādists the Russians sent their Army and Air Force and helped them win the
PUTIN A RELIABLE LEADER
Putin is Russia and Russia is Putin.
The lesson for the Arabs is that the Americans and the West just want our money but will not stand by us but the Russians will.
WOULD NEVER HAVE BETRAYED IRAQ
If he had bought weapons from Russia and not America and Britain, he would still be here today. If Russia had been his ally, they would never have turned against him and never have invaded him.
The lesson for the Arabs is that the Americans and the West just want our money but will not stand by us
they are not a reliable ally
TURNED AGAINST EGYPT AND HOSNI MUBARAK
But what did the Americans do when their long term Arab ally Mubārak, needed their help~ They turned against him. Do you remember, Clinton said "the people have spoken" or something like that~ No.
TURNED AGAINST IRAQ AND SADDAM HUSSEIN
But America turned against him and invaded him with Britain's help. That is the lesson for the Arabs.

Name
WAS STRONG ARAB COUNTRY
Iraq was a very strong Arab country under Saddam Hussein and Saddam Hussein was strong.
HISTORY, PERHAPS
TRIES NOT TO THINK ABOUT CRUSADES
I try not to think about them.

PARTICIPANT 9 (2 THEMES)

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
AMERICA, EUROPE WANT STABILITY, SO THEY RECOGNISE AND LEGITIMISE ARAB DICTATORSHIPS
And Europe also wants the Arab refugees to go away and for that they will accept dictatorship in Turkey, Egypt and Tunisia that pretends to be democracy as long as they maintain stability.
The West talks a lot about democracy and democratic values but when it is convenient for them, they just forget about them.
They just want stability and the jihādist attacks in Europe and America to go away.
American foreign policy and nothing else.
AMERICAN POLITICIANS CONSTRUCT ARABS AS ENEMIES

Name
Also, it is useful for their politicians to create us as their enemy like Trump's Arab Muslim ban. There are over one billion Muslims in the world and he tries to show us all as violent.
There are over one billion Muslims in the world and he tries to show us all as violent. More killings take place in America by Americans than by us.
they are creating an external enemy and an internal enemy so that they can control their people. We are used to this in the Middle East. We see it. We know it.
They manipulate their people who know nothing about us.
BUT AMERICAN PEOPLE NOT AT FAULT
We have no issue with the American people. They are people like us.
But first and last they just follow their own interests.
INTERFERE IN MIDDLE EAST FOR NATIONAL GOALS
They keep interfering in the Middle East and trying to achieve their national goals.
The whole world does not have to be Western. We have a different culture, history and religion. As we say, "To you your way and to me mine".
'THEY DON'T CARE ABOUT ARAB WORLD'
They don't care about the Arab World.
'THEY TAKE WHAT THEY WANT'
They take what they want.

Name
UNHAPPY ABOUT US MILITARY BASES IN MIDDLE EAST
This has a big impact.
When American military bases came to our land we were not happy.
UNITED NATIONS CORRUPT, OWNED BY AMERICA
The UN is corrupted. It is owned by America and the big powers. How the US uses its veto is immoral. We all know it. We all see it. Our hearts are crying.
US CREATED EXTREMIST GROUPS
US CREATED AL QAEDA
like they created the Al Qaeda fighters in Afghanistan. By this I mean, in Afghanistan they provided weapons, money and training so that they would fight the Russians. They supported Bin Laden. They even make Hollywood films about it.
US CREATED DAESH
In Iraq, they destroyed the government and all the pillars of our Arab society. They left nothing but destruction, chaos, criminals and into this came Da'ish. They created it by being there. We all know this.
The US and CIA created Da'ish
WESTERN MEDIA APPREHENSIVE, MISREPRESENTATIVE OF ARABS AND ARAB RELIGION
Anything which is not Western is seen as less than Western and something to be frightened.

Name
The Western media misleads their people about us and our religion.
Yes; it is very common.
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND CORRUPTION
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL (AFTER ARAB SPRING)
ABOUR IRAQ WAR, LOSS OF LIFE, AMERICAN ATROCITIES
The Arab leaders keep this information from us. Many Arabs do not know these figures.
ABOUT PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
not Arab governments
People don't shout about it
The governments want to oppress this feeling because they do not want a problem with America.
Arab governments do not want any more protests of any kind.
But we are silenced
CONDITIONS MUCH WORSE AFTER ARAB SPRING FAILURE
CONDITIONS ARE 'MUCH WORSE THAN BEFORE'
ARAB GOVERNMENTS CONTROL PEOPLE, MONEY
Arab governments and security forces say they are creating stability and fighting terrorism. But we know the truth.

Name
as they say in the streets, "The green shoots of democracy lie crushed under police boots"
It is like a policeman turning his eyes away from a crime being committed. What is this~ Either these are universal rights or they are not.
Most Arab politicians want to go back to the way it was before where they have the power and control of the people's money. They have done it.
'TANKS DO NOT FEED THE PEOPLE'
If the elite spends the money on more and more weapons from America. As we say, "Tanks do not feed the people". Did tanks help the Shah of Iran against his people? ~ He was buying tanks from the West against what he thought was an Arab threat.
They also say in the streets that "Arab governments now have their people by the throat".
CORRUPTION RETURNED
"Only in the Arab World do university graduates sell bread in the streets"
Corruption has returned to the controlling elite
If the country is controlled by a corrupt elite who steal the people's money and do not give the people a chance, and a group come and give bread, money, medical help and education what else can a poor man do~
Its consequences were worse conditions, much worse than before.
OUTSIDE WORLD INDIFFERENT

Name
But the outside world does not really care.
It was a terrible failure. History will see it as such. It failed us.
Poverty, unemployment, injustice, political oppression, ignorance and lack of hope! This is a dangerous soup! And this is a soup if it keeps cooking will boil over again! It is cooking and the more the squeeze the peoples' throats the more it will start to
The whole thing was a failure.
We call what you call the Arab Spring the 'Flowering of Flowers'. But for Arabs it was a failure.
IN ARAB MEDIA
BLOCKING DOES NOT AFFECT PERSONAL BELIEFS
The blocking has no impact. I still believe what I believe.
It was on television a lot but now it is internet. Most of these sites are blocked but people use VPNs which is why they have now been made illegal in Arab countries. Then people used Skype but this also now been blocked in many Arab countries.
There used to be a lot on television but after what they call the Arab Spring, it has reduced.
CORRUPT ARAB ELITES BUYING WEAPONS FROM AMERICA
If the elite spends the money on more and more weapons from America. As we say, "Tanks do not feed the people".
If you mean, do the people see where their money is being spent and do the people

Name
resent it, then – yes!
EXTREMISM
Yes
HISTORY
COLONIALISM IMPORTANT IN NORTH AFRICA
It is especially important in North Africa.
Yes. They are important. We must not forget the European occupation of our lands.
IMPORTANT, RELEVANT TODAY
For me, it is very important.
From the Crusades through the Gold Age of Islam and the Arabs to the invasion of Iraq to this week. It does not stop.
Relevant~ Yes. It is our past, present and future.
So we remember when the West first came to our lands during the Crusades and we remember all the way from then to the US invasion of Iraq up to the Arab Muslim ban to America.
To Arabs, history is our memory of the past. It must not be wiped or cleaned away, like cleaning a school chalk board. So for Arabs, history is important.
THE WEST DOES NOT LET THEM FORGET
We cannot forget because the West will not let us forget.

Name
'WILL NEVER FORGET' THE WARS
AMERICA'S INVASION OF IRAQ
Of course.
This is such an important reason for this. We do not forget.
We do not forget.
We will never forget.
Yes and Iraq is still suffering for this.
ATROCITIES, HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS REMEMBERED
It is a great humiliation to Arab Muslims to our religion, to our culture and to our manhood.
It is remembered by all Arabs.
The US war crimes will live on in our minds.
NEXT GENERATION IS TAUGHT ABOUT THEM
We teach our children.
We teach our children. (2)
PALESTINE-ISRAEL WARS
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
IMPORTANT FOR SELF, ARABS

Name
It is deep in my heart.
It is the central issue for Arab people
it is there with the people
They are so important to us.
We will never forget.
US-ISRAEL RELATIONSHIP
ISRAEL THIEVING, ILLEGAL, TERRORIST STATE
No. Never.
No. Never.
Yes, they stole Arab land.
Yes.
Yes. Of course.
It lacks any morality.
JEWISH LOBBY
The Israelis influence the US Government through the Jewish Lobby. It is a 'political wall' that protects Israel.
Of course.
PROMOTES RECRUITMENT OF SUNNIS BY ISLAMIST EXTREMISM

Name
Yes. Of course. It is obvious.
They support illegal occupiers.
UNDERMINES PALESTINE-ISRAEL NEGOTIATIONS
Look, as some Arabs say about this~ "America is like a fierce wolf; Israel is like a wolf cub and the Palestinians are a little lamb and all three are discussing what to have for lunch. All Arabs know that what the two wolves will have for lunch is lamb.
Other Arabs say that "America is the father and Israel is the daughter. How can they negotiate fairly~"
Yes. Of course.
Yes. It is completely.
Yes. They do value Israeli blood more than Arab blood.
ISLAMISM
DIFFERENT FROM EXTREMISM
But Da'ish are not Islamists, they are extremists and they are not real Muslims. (2)
HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH ARE FREEDOM FIGHTERS FOR ARABS
CRITICISMS OF HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH
It was unlawful and wrong.
These are wrong. I do not agree with these acts.
What they did in Iraq and Syria against Sunnis was not legal. It was wrong and against

Name
Arabs. It also causes greater separation between Sunni and Shia.
No
No. As I said for Hamas, they were trying to free Arabs from occupation.
No. Never.
They were trying to free Arabs from occupation.
Yes
IS ABOUT LIVING 'IN RIGHT WAY'.'STRAIGHT PATH'
'ISLAMIC PATH' REQUIRES POLITICAL SYSTEM CHANGE OF ARAB COUNTRIES
To do this it must change the political system of Arab countries towards an Islamic path.
Islamism is related to changing the people's way of living towards Islam. This means living as we should and following a straight path.
SHOULD ARAB RELIGION BE SEPARATE FROM ARAB STATE~
This question of the place of religion in the state was solved in the West many centuries ago. Should religion control the state or be separate from it~
'VERY DANGEROUS' TO TALK ABOUT DAESH AND SYRIAN REGIME FIGHT
This is a very dangerous question.
WESTERN SCIENCE, ENLIGHTENMENT WILL FADE, SHARIA WILL REMAIN
They will fade away in time and only Sharia will remain.

Name
PARTICIPANT 10 (2 THEMES)
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
ANTI-AMERICANISM IN AMERICA
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
It was anti-American about the involvement of the US in Latin America, the Iran Contras, Chile, Colombia, Oliver North and the drug cartels.
Yes, it was present in my American university.
Of course – lots. During the First Gulf War the US let Saddam Hussein invade. The Iraqi Ambassador in the US warned the US about Kuwait and what would happen. But the US ignored him and did nothing.
AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
Also, the US is not neutral in the Palestinian issue so they cannot be at the negotiating table.
ISRAEL ILLEGAL, OCCUPYING, TERRORIST STATE
It is a double-standard and an unlawful state. Israel also illegally occupied East Jerusalem.
Many Arabs do.
No

Name
No (2)
PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS FROM LEBANON, SYRIA WARS WITH ISRAEL
In Lebanon, I remember my father painting the car lights a blue colour with a small slit in it, so that we would not be bombed by the bombers flying over us.
In the war, in Lebanon, I remember seeing the Syrian and Israeli jet aircraft, you know, the fighters having 'dogfights' over our heads in the ski.
Later I went to Homs in Syria and I saw where the Israelis had bombed and destroyed an oil refinery and other targets.
UN HAS DONE NOTHING ABOUT PALESTINIAN DEATHS
But what has the UN done about it. Nothing again.
What has the UN done about it~ Nothing.
Yes.
It does. A lot.
MASS PALESTINIAN DEATHS AFFECT PERSONAL OPINION OF AMERICA
Yes, of course.
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
the Palestinian issue
Very.

Name
the American support for Israel
USED BY ISLAMISTS TO RECRUIT ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
Yes, in a big way
Yes, of course.
Yes. As far as the US is concerned, if Israel is OK then it is OK!
Yes. This is major. As the Arabs say, "Israel is the 51st State of America!"
ARAB MEDIA INFLUENCE
A little.
WHICH HAS CHANGED
A little. (2)
Yes, a little.
IRAQ INVASION
A complete mess.
DESTROYED ARAB BUFFER 'WALL TO IRAN'
The US invasion of Iraq destroyed the Arab Buffer against Iran.
For most Arabs, it is the invasion of Iraq
It is this invasion that has led to a lot of Middle Eastern anti-Americanism in the Arab World.

Name
Yes
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
Yes. It is the result of what I call 'rigid thought'.
ISLAMISM AND EXTREMISM
HEZBOLLAH TERRORIST, HAMAS NOT
No
Probably.
Yes I do and I will tell you why. It is Pro-Iran and anti-Arab.
ISLAMIST EXTREMISTS ARE LIKE SHOOTERS IN THE US
a type of mentality like the shooters in the US.
PARTICIPANT 12 (2 THEMES) (VALID 'PARTICIPANT 11')
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AL-QUDS
Al-Quds
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
'AMERICA DOES NOT CARE ABOUT ARABS', 'HATES US'
America does not care about us.

Name
They hate Muslims.
They hate us and want to see us as the enemy.
We know that they will never support the real wishes of the Arab people.
AMERICA SUPPORTS ARAB DICTATORSHIPS
FOR THEIR OWN INTERESTS, NOT THE PEOPLE'S
They may support Arab dictators for their own interests but never the people.
The American War on Terror gave every dictator across the world an excuse to call any opposition terrorists!
WHICH KEEP PEOPLE POOR, OPPRESSED
Also, it is America that is supporting the Arab dictators that are keeping their own people poor and oppressed.
AMERICA UNPREDICTABLE, UNTRUSTWORTHY
"Still waters are deep waters" like you never know what America is really doing
others say, "Americans are mad dogs and cannot be trusted".
American conduct in the Arab world does!
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AFFECTS ARAB SUNNI ANTI-AMERICANISM
Sure. It must do.
'PEOPLE AGAINST AMERICAN ACTIONS IN MIDDLE EAST'

Name
the people are against what American does to Arabs in the Middle East
WEST, AMERICA NOT BLAMELESS FOR SITUATION IN MIDDLE EAST
But also your question seems to say that our problems are not the fault of the West. Who invaded us for hundreds of years but the West~
HISTORY
But also your question seems to say that our problems are not the fault of the West. Who invaded us for hundreds of years but the West~
HISTORY IMPORTANT, RELEVANT TO CONTEMPORARY ARABS
History is important.
Others say that historical events are like, "Bright stars shining on a dark night", showing us the way in the darkness.
There are too many to mention. But we all know them from the Crusades to Trump's Arab Muslim ban.
This is very important to Arabs. History tells us our past so that we can understand our present and guide our future. You see - past, present and future. It is all connected.
we do not forget. We hold these events in our hearts
We say it is like a river flowing from the past into our present.
You cannot cut the past from the present.
You understand~ We cannot ignore it.

Name
MORE IMPORTANT IN MIDDLE EAST THAT IN THE WEST
It is more important in the Middle East than in most of the West.
WOULD BE LESS IMPORTANT IF THERE WAS PEACE, PROSPERITY
If we had peace and prosperity then maybe we could put less importance on it. But we cannot.
ISLAMIST EXTREMISM
Sure.
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
90%
DESTABILITATION OF REGION IS THE 'US-ISRAELI AGENDA'
Yes, on the streets or the Arab Street as you call it, people call this the "US Agenda" or the "US~Israeli Agenda".
I think that the Americans consider Israeli blood to be more valuable to the US than Palestinian blood.
The world superpower supporting a terrorist state.
UNDERMINES NEGOTIATIONS
Yes. We all know it. We Arabs say, "America and Israel are like two wolves negotiating with a Palestinian lamb what they will have for lunch. Everyone knows it will be the

Name
lamb!" You see, the lamb is Palestine.
US support for Israel
USED BY ISLAMISTS TO RECRUIT SUNNIS
Of course. 90%.
What other army in the world does this and gets away with it~ Which~
ISRAEL ILLEGAL, OCCUPYING, TERRORIST
Most Arabs think so. Don't you~
Of course.
They illegally occupied Arab land.
This was a clear war crime.
Yes, yes yes!
Yes.
ISRAEL LEGITIMACY WILL NEVER BE ACCEPTED BY SELF, SUNNIS
No. Never!
No. Never! (2)
No. Never.
MEANSHILE THE WORLD DOES NOTHING

Name
And the West does nothing
UN A PUPPET OF AMERICA
We Arabs say that, "The UN is a puppet and the US is the puppet master". Is this not true~
You see the UN does not work.
What did the world do~ Nothing!
VERY IMPRORTANT TO SELF, SUNNI ARAB MUSLIMS
It is the Palestinians
Very important.
Yes, it is very important.
WARS WERE TERRIBLE
CHEATED OUT OF 1973 WAR
1973 is different. We had won that war and then were cheated. They cheated us by tricking us to stop and talk peace. We should have captured Al-Quds and then talked peace.
The first two were terrible for us.
TRUMP'S MUSLIM BAN
the Trump ban on Arab Muslims

Name
US INVASION OF IRAQ
BROKE IRAQ WALL-'SHIELD' AGAINST IRAN
But they broke the 'Shield' against Iran.
to break the strong Arab states.
INCREASED EXTREMISM
Yes.
It is still in our hearts. It is not in the media but we hold it in our hearts.
It was a catastrophe.
the invasion of Iraq
This is very clear. It did and it does. This is probably one of the greatest reasons.
UNAWARE OF EXTENT OF IRAQI LOSS OF LIFE
This is terrible; a catastrophe.
Very upset.
We did not know this. We thought that it was high but not this high.
ISLAMISM AND EXTREMISM
CORRUPT ARAB GOVERNMENTS CONTRIBUTE TO EXTREMISM
Corrupt governments in the Arab world who keep their people poor does this. They do it on purpose. It is the Arab way.

Name
MOST ARABS THINK HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST
BUT HEZBOLLAH UNFAIR AGAINST SUNNIS IN IRAQ, SYRIA
No.
but most Arabs see these as just retaliations for Israeli attacks.
I will say that nearly all Arabs do not think so because Hamas protects Arabs.
Sure. It must be.
OTHER PERSONAL VIEWS
AMERICAN CULTURE IS 'SLAVERY AND THE DEATH OF THE SOUL'
BUT DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM HAVE INHERENT VALUE, AMERICA HAS PERVERTED THOSE VALUES
They think they want American fast food, music, clothes and movies. They think they want shopping malls, credit cards and debt, so much debt. They think that this is democracy and freedom. No! This is Western slavery and the death of the soul.
But I think America and the West understands this and is trying to kill our culture and religion for power, control, money and Israel.
is not compatible with Allah's law. It never will be.
It is democratic slavery
They think they want American fast food, music, clothes and movies. They think they want shopping malls, credit cards and debt, so much debt. They think that this is democracy and freedom. No! This is Western slavery and the death of the soul.

Name
AMERICANISATION 'A BIG PROBLEM FOR ISLAM'
DESTROYS ARAB CULTURE
This is a big problem. You see, it not only destroys Arab culture
IS AN ONGOING DEBATE IN ARAB COUNTRIES
This is a big problem for Islam. This debate is also going on in Turkey. They are moving away from Western secularism towards a more Islamic way. Saudi also has this debate at present. This is also being discussed quietly in other Arab countries.
STEERS ARABS AWAY FROM RELIGION
takes people away from our religion
We all start to look like Westerners and think like Westerners and then our culture and religion will slowly change into something different.
COMPROMISE BETWEEN WEST AND ARABS 'NOT POSSIBLE'
A compromise is not possible.
Again – wrong thinking! No. You must know Surat Al-Kāfirūn "To them their ways and to me mine".
You see, it is like oil and water; they do not mix. They will never mix.
RESEARCHER IS THREATENED
'CONSEQUENCES' IF RESEARCH IS USED AGAINST ISLAM OR ARABS
but if you take what I have said and misuse it against Islam or 'us', there will be what

Name
you Westerners call consequences.
SOME OF THE QUESTIONS ARE AGAINST ISLAM
I know that you are Muslim and believe that you mean well and I only talked to you because my friend recommended you and he trusts you;
Some of your questions are against Islam.
'THE PEOPLE ARE SHEEP; NEED A SHEPHERD'
The people are like sheep and need a shepherd.
PARTICIPANT 13 (2 THEMES) (VALID 'PARTICIPANT 12')
CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM
AL-QUDS DECISION
Al-Quds
This has been made much worse by the Trump Arab Muslim ban to the US and the Al-Quds decision
America causes anti-Americanism!
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
"America's dream is our nightmare"
AFFECTS RAB SUNNI MUSLIM ANTI-AMERICANISM
A lot.

Name
AMERICA CREATED MANY EXTREMIST GROUPS
Yes, they created the many fighters and groups that opposed their illegal invasion and one of these became Da'ish.
AMERICA, WEST BETRAY ARABS
"America was Iraq's friend and ally and then invaded it"
The West only betrays the Arabs.
ARABS USED TO SCAPEGOAT AMERICA FOR MIDDLE EAST
BUT BLAMING AMERICA STOPPED BY GOVERNMENTS
But since 2011 this has almost stopped. We Arabs now say that since 2011 "the people's eyes have been opened and our mouths shut". This means that we now see but cannot speak. Our governments do not want it.
We used to do this and our governments encouraged us to do this so that we did not blame them for corruption, stealing our people's money and not making anything better.
IMPLIED AMERICAN AGENDA OR POLICY OF INVADING ARAB COUNTRIES
They did it because they could. They had invaded Afghanistan and were looking for another country to invade. On the Arab Street as you call it, many say they had an 'agenda', a list of Arab state to invade. On Arab television they showed General Clark the
SEPARATED ARAB COUNTRIES AND TURNED AGAINST EACH OTHER (THE LION AND OXEN STORY)

Name
The lion in this story is America and the oxen are Arab states.
There is also a story told by Arabs like a tale with a meaning. It is about the US invasion of Iraq and later destruction of so many Arab countries.
There was once a lion and he could see three oxen. He knew that he could not attack all of them at the same time because they would surround him and kill him with their large horns. So he decided to divide them and set them against each other. He noticed t
TREATS ARABS AS LESSER THAN AMERICANS, ISRAELIS
still not be equal to them or Israelis
WANTS TO TURN ARABS INTO SECOND CLASS AMERICANS
It wants to make us all American second class citizens
It wants us to change our culture, religion and forget our history
US CONSTRUCTS ALL ARAB MUSLIMS AS THE ENEMY
the US making all Muslims the enemy. But they mean us, the Arabs, not the Indonesians.
US INTERFERENCE IN ARAB LANDS
America has lost any morality in the Middle East.
It interferes too much in Arab lands.
Many students would discuss this with teachers and ask what America was doing in Arab lands. They told us the truth our governments did not want us to hear.

Name
We learned the truth about what the US did to Arab Muslims.
US SUPPORTS ARAB DICTATORSHIPS
"America talks about Arab democracy but supports Arab dictators"
AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
"As you cannot force a woman to love you, America cannot force Arabs to love Israel". There; that is another saying we have about America and Israel.
America will never understand us because the Zionists will not permit it.
AMERICAN AND ISRAEL ARE EXTREMIST
EXTREMISM CAUSES ARAB COUNTER-EXTREMISM
Extremism causes resistance or counter-extremism. "You cannot punch a man in the face and complain when he hits you back"
US and Israeli extreme action cause legitimate resistance
Is Israel not extreme~
Is the US invasion of Iraq not extreme~
Some people the West call terrorists are not terrorists and some are. Others that the West does not call terrorists, like the Israelis, are terrorists. So this is not as simple as it seems.
Why are you using the extremism with Islam or Islamism~
American support for Israel

Name
ISRAEL AN INVADER, ILLEGAL OCCUPIER, TERRORIST
ISRAEL MORE SECURE DUE TO ARAB SPRING
Israel is more secure
No
They invaded Arab land – again.
This is criminal. All such aggression by Israel is terrorist. These were terrorist attacks by Israeli terrorists.
Yes
Yes and most Arabs do.
Yes.
ISRAEL STATE NOT ACCEPTED BY SUNNIS
No
No.
It is immoral.
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE VERY IMPORTANT TO SUNNIS
It is very very important.
Never

Name
No. Never.
Very very important.
SUFFERING OF PALESTINIANS
The suffering of our Palestinian brothers
US SUPPORT OF ISRAEL UNDERMINES NEGOTIATIONS
Yes
USED BY EXTREMISTS TO RECRUIT ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
Very often. Why wouldn't they.
We hate them.
Yes. It is. We all see it. By how much~ 95%
HISTORY
ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS CARRY IT 'LIKE A SHADOW'
I remember it all. I carry it with me like a shadow. Ask me any dates, from the Crusades to now.
It is like a black shadow. It is always there and with us.
The past is part of our present and it follows us around like a ghost or a shadow. We cannot be cut off from it. We may not want it our parents told us that "History is like our shadow. It is always there".

Name
HISTORICAL EVENTS SHOW A DIRECTION
Did the blacks in South Africa give up because their leaders were put in prison and called terrorists~ Did they give up when the police and army slaughtered the demonstrators~ No. They bled so that others later may be free. Mandela was freed from prison an
These are just stones forming a long path.
They had invaded Afghanistan and were looking for another country to invade
They invaded Arab land – again. But this is yet another stone in this path.
We should look at these events as stones that form a pathway over time. The stones are not very important but the direction is what is important.
History is important to us. It is part of us, in our hearts and it is who we are.
Very
Yes. It is our history.
TRUMP'S MUSLIM BAN
has been made much worse by the Trump Arab Muslim ban to the US
the Arab Muslim ban to the US
US INVASION OF IRAQ
'DEEP WOUND' FOR ARABS
NEVER FORGET OR FORGIVE AMERICAN ATROCITIES

Name
They acted like beasts. We will not forget or forgive what they did.
Very angry
Now you are tearing at a deep wound. We all lived during this and we will never forget it or let or children forget it.
The Americans talk about the holocaust, well this was our modern holocaust.
WORLD IS BLIND, DOES NOTHING
But the world is blind and does not want to see it. They do nothing to America
Yes. It did. They invaded our homeland and destroyed it. What did they expect~ Did they think we would love them for it~
Yes. We will never forget it.
DESTRUCTION OF IRAQ WEAKENED ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS, STRENGTHENED IRAN
It destroyed one of our strongest Arab countries and made Iran stronger.
it destroyed our 'brother Iraq'.
Yes. This invasion weakened the Sunni Arab world and allowed Iran to gather the riches of Iraq.
It was illegal, it was criminal, it was a war crime
the US invasion of Iraq
ISLAMISM AND EXTREMISM

Name
HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH NOT TERRORIST
HAMAS
No. Again, why would I~
No. Why would I~
Yes, 100%.
HEZBOLLAH
BUT NOW HEZBOLLAH KILLING SUNNIS IN IRAQ, SYRIA
Muslims should never kill Muslims.
Now in Syria and before in Iraq, killing Sunnis, it is a terrible thing.
HEZBOLLAH WERE HEROES FIGHTING ISRAEL
When they bravely fought Israel they were heroes to all Arabs.
No.
No. Why would I~ (2)
'WE DON'T KNOW THE TRUTH'
They are being used. We do not know the truth.
MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD NOT EXTREMIST
AMERICAN AND ISRAEL SUPPORTED ARMY REPELLED THEM IN EGYPT

Name
They had a long path to walk but they were kicked off it by the military supported by America and Israel.
No
NOT ANTI-WESTERN, BUT PRO-ISLAM
It is not anti-Western. It is against the bad things that the West does to Arabs. It is pro-Islam. Your question is poorly worded.
RESPECT FOR DAESH
It took many countries fighting them from all sides to push them back.
Most of their fighters died in battle or jihād.
Well the whole world could see how much territory they captured and how quickly.

Appendix 19

Other Themes

Nodes

Name
OTHER THEMES (N=12)
PARTICIPANT 1 (2 THEMES)
GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF MEDIA
"The Western media is a 'Trumpet'; but who is blowing the trumpet~"
For example, Al Jazeera is the 'trumpet' for Qatar and Turkey, Al Arabia and MBC Saudi are the 'trumpet' for Saudia Arabia, Sky News Arabia is the 'trumpet' for the UAE, ON TV is the 'trumpet' for Egypt and so on and on. You understand this very well.
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
Yes.
PARTICIPANT 10 (4 THEMES)
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF INFORMATION

Name
EXTENT OF IRAQI LOSS OF LIFE UNKNOWN TO ARABS
DID NOT KNOW, SURPRISED ABOUT, HIGH IRAQI DEATH RATES
Where did you get it~ Is it correct~ That many~
most do not know the real figures
These sites are blocked.
This information is not available to me and most Arabs.
SUPPRESSION OF ANTI-AMERICAN CONTENT
It is still in some but not as much as before. There is now greater control of the Arab media.
IMPROVING IMAGE OF ARAB WORLD
ARAB GOVERNMENTS NEED TO UNITE
ACCEPT EACH ARAB COUNTRY'S DIVERSITY
Look at Iraq and the UAE and how different they are. The Arabs are like the Europeans, they have different cultures and histories.
ISRAEL TAKES ADVANTAGE OF 'DYSFUNCTIONAL ARAB FAMILY'
Gaddafi once said, "We all talk about the Arab Family but we are a dysfunctional family". Look at the Palestinian issue;

Name
could Israel do what it is doing if Arab governments were united~
GRADUAL WESTERNISATION A POSITIVE PROSPECT FOR THE ARAB WORLD
Gradual Westernisation of the Arab World is good. It increases moderate beliefs and thoughts. It decreases extremist beliefs and marginalises the extremists. Most young Arabs want what the West has to offer.
MODERATE RELIGIOUS FIGURES SHOULD BE MORE OUTSPOKEN
Moderate imams must be more outspoken and speak out. They can influence so many people on television and in the masjids.
SEPARATE RELIGION AND STATE
Also, Arabs need to separate religion and the state. Until we do this, we cannot move forward because the religious extremists and the ultraorthodox have a stranglehold on governments and the people. Look at Iran before 1979, or Saudi in the 1960s, or Egypt
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
The silent majority of Muslims remain silent. They just get on with their lives, like everyone else.
Yes.
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM

Name
AMERICA SHOULD STOP WAGING WARS ON ARAB COUNTRIES
Spend more money helping Arabs and not starting wars. This applies especially to America.
The European Union does not go around starting wars in Arab countries.
'SAY WHAT YOU MEAN AND MEAN WHAT YOU SAY'
Say what you mean and mean what you say. Do not preach democracy and then support dictators because it suits you.
STOP ENDORSING AND SELLING WEAPONS TO ARAB DICTATORS
Help Arabs by not selling weapons to Arab dictators
WHO STEAL PEOPLE'S MONEY
allowing the Arab elite to steal the people's money
Ensure that the money given to Arab countries actually goes to the people.
PARTICIPANT 12 (4 THEMES)
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL
ALLIED TO AMERICA, BUT THE PEOPLE ARE AGAINST AMERICAN ACTIONS IN MIDDLE EAST
In many ways it is a big contradiction. Our governments are allies

Name
of America and the people are against what American does to Arabs in the Middle East.
Our governments in the past allowed anti-American ideas to grow because it took our eyes away from what they were doing. Now they do not want any trouble.
These are more events that the truth is kept away from us by our governments. They do not want problems.
ARAB SPRING A DISASTER THAT BROUGHT LESS FREEDOM, FEAR, 'POWER WON'
Iraq is destroyed, Syria destroyed, Libya destroyed and Egypt is in a mess. Tunisia is going backwards.
It was a disaster for us.
Less freedom of speech!
More fear!
Power won.
CONTROL OVER PEOPLE
ARAB GOVERNMENTS AFRAID OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE
But a frightened tiger is dangerous.
You see, our governments do not want US to talk about it and do not want us to protest about it. They are frightened. Yes,

Name
frightened of their own people.
As we Arabs say, "The leaders have the people by the throat"
GOVERNMENT TRACKS PEOPLE'S INTERNET USAGE
Even the VPNs are tracked.
They know when you access it, when you leave it and they probably follow you inside it. You see, in Arab countries the telecoms companies are state owned and are a way of tracking the people.
you need to know where to go to get it or have a VPN
KEEP PEOPLE POOR AND FIGHTING EACH OTHER
In Egypt, in the coffee shops, we tell a story of a man who brought a bag full of live rats onto a train. Every 5 minutes he would shake the bag very strongly. After about half an hour of doing this every five minutes, other people asked him why he was doing.
So this is how Arab dictators rule. They keep us poor, fighting each other and fighting for life, so that we do not attack them.
This is the secret to Arab rule; keep the people poor, divided and fighting.
CONTROL OVER THE ARAB MEDIA
it is not like before. As we Arabs say, "The leaders have the

Name
people by the throat". So now it is more controlled and under their control.
CORRUPT ARAB GOVERNMENTS CONTRIBUTE TO EXTREMISM
Corrupt governments in the Arab world who keep their people poor does this. They do it on purpose. It is the Arab way.
Many Arab governments are failing their people.
IMPROVING IMAGE OF ARAB MUSLIM WORLD
LIVE LIFE ACCORDING TO ISLAM
"To them their ways and to me mine".
follow Islam and live our lives according to Islamic principles
Follow Islam. Let it determine how you live your life, not dictators, America or the West.
REMOVE ARAB DICTATORS WHO SERVE THEMSELVES AND AMERICA
Remove our dictators who serve only the West and themselves
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
Yes. Of course!
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICANS SHOULD LEAVE THE MIDDLE EAST ALONE

Name
Leave the Arab Middle East
Leave the Middle East and let us be. "To them their ways and to me mine".
AMERICANS SHOULD STOP SUPPORTING ISRAEL
stop supporting the Israelis
NEGOTIATE PEACE IN PALESTINE WITH EU AS MODERATOR
allow an independent body to arrange peace in Palestine, but not the UN; try the European Union.
PARTICIPANT 13 (4 THEMES)
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL
ARAB DICTATORS MORE SECURE AFTER ARAB SPRING
Arab dictators are more secure but worried
ARAB PEOPLE LESS FREE AFTER ARAB SPRING
As we Arabs say, 'they have us by the throat'.
but say less
Egypt, Syria, Libya and the Arab World is not as free
the people are less free
ARABS USED TO SCAPEGOAT AMERICA FOR MIDDLE EAST

Name
BUT BLAMING AMERICA STOPPED BY GOVERNMENTS
But since 2011 this has almost stopped. We Arabs now say that since 2011 "the people's eyes have been opened and our mouths shut". This means that we now see but cannot speak. Our governments do not want it.
We used to do this and our governments encouraged us to do this so that we did not blame them for corruption, stealing our people's money and not making anything better.
'BEST CONTROL OF THE PEOPLE IS BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES'
You know, 'the greatest control of the people is the people'. Create a system where the people think that they are being watched all the time and they will control themselves. Then spread the rumour that there are thousands of paid informers for state security.
BUT PEOPLE FOCUS ON JOBS, 'TRY TO GET ON WITH OUR LIVES', LESS ON ANTI-AMERICANISM
after the world financial crisis we have less money and there are not as many jobs, so we think that this is more important.
we know they exist and we try to get on with our lives
'STATE CONTROL' HAS CHANGED ANTI-AMERICANISM
But also, there is much less of it due to state control.
But everything is watched by State Security so most people are

Name
too frightened to look at these sites.
IN MEDIA
Before, there would be people shouting now people just talk and discuss.
it has changed
It was all over the media but now some is on TV but most is on the web, if you can find it.
most Arabs do. They do not shout about it but they do
Now they whisper. As we Arabs say, "If men cannot talk, they will whisper".
So what I am saying is that there is much less said openly than before but that does not mean that it does not exist. That is how it is now in Egypt or most of Egypt.
The Arab world is cursed with state informers.
IMPROVING ARAB IMAGE IN THE WORLD
'LIVE BY ISLAM'
Each man must read the Holy Qur'an and interpret it as he can.
Life is Islam
Most of all, we need Islam to be the core of our lives, like the sun, and all other things in life should revolve around it.

Name
Our day revolves around the five Islamic salat, not the other way. I mean that we do not fit Islam into our busy lives. We fit our busy lives into Islam.
WE ARE LOST WITHOUT IT
Otherwise we are lost.
'MAKE RUSSIA, CHINA ALLY'
NOT AMERICA, WEST
Arab states should have been supported by the Russians not America. They would not have brought us freedom or democracy but neither has America but they would not have destroyed our culture or tried to replace it with theirs. They do not care about our culture.
make Russia our ally. The West should go
We need to make alliances with Russia and maybe China
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
Yes. It is an insulting question for one Muslim to ask another!
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICA SHOULD ADMIT ISRAEL IS 'LAST CRUSADER STATE IN ARAB LANDS'
The Americans should own up to the world that they support Israel because it is the 'last Crusader state' in Arab lands and stop telling

Name
lies about a 'Two State Solution'.
AMERICA, WEST SHOULD LEAVE ARABS ALONE
America and the West should leave us alone to our religion, our culture and way of life.
If they are not going to help then get out and stay out.
CONSTRUCT THE ARAB WORLD POSITIVELY, NOT NEGATIVELY
NOT ANTI-AMERICANISM, BUT ARAB PATRIOTISM, BROTHERHOOD
What you call anti-Americanism, we call Arab patriotism and Islamic brotherhood.
You take something positive and you turn it into a negative.
THE WEST SHOULD BETTER UNDERSTAND ISLAM
The West and I do not mean America, needs to better understand Islam.
WEST IS 'THOUGHT OF DIFFERENTLY THAN AMERICA'
I think that it is important to say that the West is thought of differently than America.
PARTICIPANT 2 (2 THEMES)
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE

Name
Extremists use Islam – it is not real Islam
Muslims in the world are 1.6 Billion. Only a small number are violent.
Yes (8)
REDUCTION OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN MIDDLE EAST ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
AMERICAN NON-INTERFERENCE
A just and fair solution to Palestine. Stop immediately the support for Israel.
if they just stopped interfering in the Arab World and exerted some control over Israel, it might be different.
Stop interfering in Arab affairs
BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ARABS
A greater understanding of the Arabs, Arab culture and our religion by the US and West.
COLLABORATION WITH ARABS
More collaboration between the West ~ US and Arab world.
DECLINE OF AMERICA AS SUPERPOWER DUE TO WAGING WARS
America as a superpower is weakening. It is spending its wealth on wars.

Name
SOLUTION TO PALESTINE
A just and fair solution to Palestine. Stop immediately the support for Israel.
PARTICIPANT 3 (4 THEMES)
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL
ARAB SPRING CHANGED FOCUS FROM EXTERNAL ISSUES (PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE, AL-QUDS) TO INTERNAL ISSUES (SYRIA, IRAQ, EGYPT...)
Before the Arab Spring, Arabs were mostly interested in the Palestinian issue, Israel and Al-Quds (Jerusalem). This applied to nearly all Arabs. But after the Arab Spring it is internal issues which are in Arab minds, like Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, Saud
CONTROL OF ARAB MEDIA ANTI-AMERICANISM AFTER ARAB SPRING
Also, our Arab media after the Arab Spring became more controlled and the state controlled media want to cut off anti-Western and anti-American views in case it created more jihādists and more instability. Stability is now much more important for Arab stat
Before – yes, but after the Arab Spring that has changed. Now Arab leaders want a strong relationship with Trump and they have stopped open criticism of America on state channels. If media is state owned then it has been stopped. Also, people are more

Name
intelligent.
Before the Arab Spring – there was a lot in the Arab media. But now, much of that has gone. There still is some subtle criticism.
The old regimes of the Arab Middle East became scared. They tightened control. But remember that instability was not caused by the Arab Spring, it was caused by Political Islamists.
IRAQ AND PALESTINE PUT IN HEART, MIND OCCUPIED WITH JOBS, MONEY, SECURITY, STABILITY
Before the Arab Spring and after 2003, this was in mind every day. But after the Arab Spring, Iraq and Palestine had to be put in our hearts. Our minds every day are occupied with thinking about jobs, money eating and our own security.
but is mixed. It is carried deep in our hearts but now we have other troubles to think about.
But when something happens and the West or America does something against the Arabs, these move from our hearts to our minds.
Yes. In my heart.
Yes. In their hearts.
IMPROVING THE IMAGE OF THE ARAB MUSLIM WORLD
FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Name
Our leaders need to adopt Western values like freedom of speech.
INVEST IN EDUCATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE
They need to invest in education and spend on infrastructure and bring about social justice.
SOCIAL JUSTICE
They need to invest in education and spend on infrastructure and bring about social justice.
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
CAVEAT
SHARED BLAME OF US AND SAUDI ARABIA IN FUNDING AFGHAN FIGHTERS AND ARAB ISLAMIST FIGHTERS
Also, America and the West like to forget history, even recent history, if you can call recent happenings history. It was the Americans who paid for and equipped the Afghan fighters to fight the Soviets. When the Islamist fundamentalists came along, they f
Also, the Arab world is not innocent in this. Saudi Arabia also funded the Afghan and Arab Islamist fighters. They also funded the spread of Salafism and Wahhabism not just in Saudi but across the world. Just make any Google search today about the Holy Qur'an.
There are so many Muslims in the world and only a very small number

Name
of violent Muslims.
UNEASY TALKING ABOUT SUNNI ISLAM SITUATION
SUNNI ISLAM HAS NO CENTRAL LEADER, HOLY TEXTS MAY BE INTERPRETED BY ISLAMIST EXTREMISTS
I am not talking about this. I have probably said too much already.
No reply.
No reply. (2)
No reply. (Participant looking uneasy)
Yes.
REDUCTION OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN MIDDLE EAST ARAB SUNNI MUSLIMS
One last thing. Israel is allowed to divide and conquer the Arabs. This is as much the fault of the Arabs. We need to unite, not countries but opinions and policies.
TWO-STATE SOLUTION WITH EUROPE AS MODERATOR
A two state solution but not with America moderating. I want the European Union to moderate. America needs to change so that it is fair and seen to be fair to the Arabs. Look at the writings of the Arab writer Mohamed Hassanin Haikal and you will see.

Name
PARTICIPANT 4 (4 THEMES)
ADDITIONAL PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS
PEOPLE ARE TIRED OF GOVERNMENTS
We are tired of America, Israel and our own governments.
PEOPLE ARE TIRED OF WAR AND VIOLENCE
Many Arabs are tired of the war and destruction in Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen, the refugees flowing into other Arab countries and they do not want any of that where they live. So it has made them tired. We are tired of violence. Not like before. This is a c
the people are tired of war, fighting and all of that.
PEOPLE WANT FOR A DECENT LIFE
We just want a decent life for our families.
THERE ARE MULTIPLE VIEWPOINTS
MANY INTERPRETATIONS OF ISLAM
And all along Muslims who do not agree with each other accuse others of being kafir.
It depends on which Islam you are speaking about. Is it Shi'a, Sunni or Salafism and Wahhabism or jihādism.
Yes, of course and they do.

Name
NO SINGLE ARAB MIND
As I said before, there is no single Arab Mind.
But as I said before, there is no single Arab mind.
There is no single Arab 'Mind' and there is no single 'Muslim Mind'.
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL
ARAB GOVERNMENTS OBFUSCATE BECAUSE THEY DO BUSINESS WITH AMERICA
Again, there is an Arab government view and the Arab Street view. As they say in the street, "Arab governments are like a blind man on a black night, seeing nothing and saying nothing".
before, the Arab governments let some criticism exist in the Arab press to take the people's eyes off what they were doing with our money or our freedom. They controlled the media. They still do.
But again, most Arabs do not know the full story.
But there is a difference between the people's thoughts and minds and the message from their leaders and governments. Their leaders do business with America and so they do not criticise it. Only Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi did and they were removed
Most people do not know this and our governments do want us to know. Do you know why~ They want to do weapons deals and

Name
other business with America and this gets in the way. They do not want the people to know.
So they did not want the people to know the truth and they did not want any trouble from the people. So, the police collected all the newspapers in the hotel and left with them to burn them.
That is because the Egyptian government was so close to the American government and they got hundreds of millions of US dollars every year from America. Also our government did not make any protest to the US government. They also allowed the US to use the
ARAB MEDIA ANTI-AMERICANISM ABOUT PALESTINE ISSUE, EGYPT
But some Arab governments get worried about it. In Egypt some journalists get arrested if they speak about Egypt's cooperation with Israel.
Yes, especially about Iraq and Palestine. Well before it was a lot but now it is much less because of government control. You know what I am saying
CRUEL ARAB GOVERNMENTS MAY PROTECT FROM EVEN CRUELER OUTSIDERS
But as I said before, it is not simple or easy. Some street Arabs say that "Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi were like cruel step fathers who beat their step children but they protected them from an even worse person outside the family". You can say the

Name
You know one of my professors at university said that "The Arabs are not taught to live together but are forced to do so". He is correct. What he meant by this is that the Sunni, Shi'a, different ethnic groups, different tribes and so on all need to be sup
LESS FREEDOM, MORE CONTROL AS A RESULT OF ARAB SPRING
But in my country Egypt, you need clearance from the Security Police for everything. No really. They even have State Security inside Egyptian universities.
Even in Tunisia, it is going back and the government and as people say, "The government has the people by the throat" in this so-called 'anti-terrorist campaign'.
The state is more concerned with sitting on the people rather than let the economy grow because the elite and the government can get their money from the US.
They also use many informers so you cannot speak freely.
IMPROVING THE IMAGE OF THE ARAB MUSLIM WORLD
FREEDOM, ACCOUNTABILITY, EDUCATION, SOCIAL JUSTICE
Arab leaders need to embrace more Western values like freedom of speech and accountability.
free the press, free the courts and let their people 'breathe the breath of freedom'. and enjoy social justice.

Name
OVERTHROWING THE GOVERNMENT (LESSON FROM ARAB SPRING)
BUT ARABS SHOULD OVERTHROW AUTOCRATIC ARAB STATES WHO KILL THEIR PEOPLE
The only exception is where autocratic Arab states start killing their own people and calling them traitors.
RISK TO OVERTHROW GOVERNMENT 'TOO HIGH'
The main consequence of the Arab Spring to Arabs is to teach them that the risks of overthrowing the government by a popular uprising are too high.
They must spend on the people rather than buying US weapons. Invest in education, health,
INTEGRATION AND MODERNIZATION
Muslims living in the West should not point fingers at the West. They should integrate better.
Wearing Middle Eastern clothing in Europe that was designed for the deserts of the Arabian Gulf make no sense in the 21st Century. In Egypt, most of us in Cairo wear suits.
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
TWO-STATE SOLUTION WITH EUROPE, NOT AMERICA, AS MODERATOR

Name
But we of this new generation need to find a way to deal with them. Maybe a fair settlement of a Two State Solution can be achieved but not if America is the mediator or negotiator. Europe and the European Union could do this. They do not have an interest
Try to settle the conflict between Israel and Palestine by bringing about a two state solution.
Use - not America but the European Union to moderate. We need a just and lasting settlement.
WESTERN SUPPORT OF AUTOCRATIC ARAB REGIMES SHOULD CEASE REGARDLESS OF PAST AGREEMENTS OR FINANCIAL GAIN
I am going to take a risk here by saying, the West must not support Arab autocratic regimes just because they have a treaty with them or because they buy US weapons.
PARTICIPANT 5 (4 THEMES)
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL
ARAB GOVERNMENTS SILENT
But you will not hear that from Arab governments. But you will from the people if you listen.
Yes. We all know it. It is our open secret.
ARAB GOVERNMENTS SUPPRESS ANY FORM OF PROTEST

Name
But people don't talk about it openly like before. Arab governments want to keep any form of protest suppressed. As they say in the coffee shops, "A man who protests against Israel today may protest against his own government tomorrow!" You understand~
IMPROVING IMAGE OF ARAB MUSLIM WORLD
ARAB SPRING DID NOT BRING UAE LESS FREEDOM
except for here (UAE). This place is different to anywhere else in the Arab world. That is why we come here.
LESS FREEDOM IN ARAB COUNTRIES
AS A RESULT OF ARAB SPRING
But the rest; - the leaders have closed in on their people. The leaders never want this to happen again and the West is helping them.
DESTRUCTION OF ARAB COUNTRIES
CREATION OF REFUGEE WAVE
and millions are refugees.
LIBYA
Also, it destroyed Libya.
SYRIA
Also, the country is devastated.

Name
Do you know Dr Mohammed Maaz~ He was a doctor who worked to save the injured in Syria. He was trying to help people but he was killed in Aleppo in 2016 when the Russians or Syrian Air Force bombed his hospital. He is just one of many thousands.
In Syria, it started because the Al-Assad family believed that they owned the country like a big family company in the West where it is passed from father to son. But the people are not a company and do not want to be owned like in a kingdom. The old were
It started a fire that destroyed the beautiful country of Syria.
The fire it started destroyed so many Arab countries
The result is less freedom in Arab countries
UAE ARE AN EXCEPTION
except for here (UAE). This place is different to anywhere else in the Arab world. That is why we come here.
ARABS TO LIVE ISLAM PEACEFULLY
Live Islam in a peaceful way.

Name
ISLAM RELIGION OF PEACE
Islam is a religion of peace.
Yes
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ISLAM AND ARABS BY AMERICA-WEST
Understand Islam and the Arabs much better.
PARTICIPANT 6 (4 THEMES)
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL
ARAB RULERS STRONGER, MORE PREPARED AFTER ARAB SPRING
Arab rulers have become more difficult and are stronger.
Now there is no chance of this again.
IMPROVING ARAB MUSLIM IMAGE IN THE WORLD
FOLLOW THE UAE EXAMPLE
The UAE is a good example of a modern Arab country where all can prosper and where there is law. Try to copy the UAE.
The UAE seems to have a practical solution.
We have the Qur'an, hadith and fatwas. Look at the UAE. It works

Name
and no extremists.
PROMOTE ARAB TRAVEL TO EUROPE
Yes, give more visas to Arabs to visit Europe.
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
Yes.
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICA SHOULD STOP INTERVENING
Stop interventionism in the Arab world.
PARTICIPANT 7 (4 THEMES)
ARAB GOVERNMENT CONTROL IMPLIED
ARABS DO NOT SPEAK OPENLY, HIDE THEIR FEELINGS
WILL ONLY TALK TO FAMILY AND CLOSE FRIENDS
ANTI-AMERICANISM
In the Middle East many Arab people do not talk openly about such things. They only trust their family and maybe a few very close friends.
US INVASION OF IRAQ
This is important to Arabs. But many are now hiding their feelings. They will only tell family and sometimes very

Name
close friends.
IMPROVE ARAB MUSLIM IMAGE TO THE WORLD
COPY UAE EXAMPLE
Sure. Here is a way to do it. The UAE gives Arabs from around the world a way to live. Copy here.
UAE IS AMERICAN-FRIENDLY
I never heard about it in the UAE.
Not in the UAE. Here people at school are not anti-American.
We live in the UAE, we like Western products and lifestyle. It is free.
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
Yes.
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
STOP NEGATIVE PORTRAYAL OF ARABS IN MOVIES
Stop making Hollywood movies that shows Arab Muslims as being bad. It is propaganda.
PARTICIPANT 8 (3 THEMES)
IMPROVE ARAB MUSLIM IMAGE IN THE WORLD

Name
EDUCATION AND JOBS FOR ARABS
Educate our people better and give them jobs. Give them a chance.
RECONCILE WITH THE WEST
Embrace the West and do not fear it.
FOLLOW UAE EXAMPLE
MODERATION
This could be a solution – moderation and no extremists.
UAE HYBRID STATE, COMBINES ARAB AND WEST
I like it here (UAE). Everything works and it is Arab but also Western.
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
Yes I believe it is.
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
AMERICA SHOULD IMPROVE ITS IMAGE IN ARAB WORLD
COPY THE PRACTICE OF THE US EMBASSY IN AMMAN
Show the Arab world the great things about America but use 'people to people' to do it.
They have one man, an American who can speak a little

Name
Arabic. So many Jordanians are talking about him. He shows videos on Facebook but it is not official and boring but it connects to young Arabs. He has done more for America's image that anyone else I know.
Yes, copy the US Embassy in Amman.
AMERICA SHOULD ISSUE TRAVEL AND WORK VISAS FOR ARABS
America can open up its doors to Arabs and the Arab world. They can give us visas to go there to see it and to work there. That would help.
AMERICA SHOULD STOP INTERFERING
But when people from outside put their hands into Islam it goes the wrong way.
PARTICIPANT 9 (3 THEMES)
IMPROVEMENT OF ARAB MUSLIM IMAGE IN THE WORLD
FAIR, TWO-STATE SOLUTION TO PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE
POTENTIALLY WITH RUSSIA'S HELP
If we need Russia to do this then we should use them but we know that nothing is free
We must get a fair solution to Palestine
We need the Two State Solution not what Israel is doing now.

Name
They are taking Palestinian land and putting settlements there. They are following a One State Solution – Israel!
FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF UAE
But Dubai is a great example to the Arab world. I want to stay here.
this place is good. If only our country could be like this.
OBSERVE SHARIA
Live our lives according to Sharia
OVERTHROW DICTATORSHIPS
remove our dictators
SHOW REAL FACE
Let the world see who we really are
ISLAM A RELIGION OF PEACE
Yes.
REDUCING ANTI-AMERICANISM
A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ARAB CULTURE AND RELIGION
They should understand our culture and religion.
AMERICA, WEST SHOULD STOP CONSTRUCTING ARABS AS

Name
ENEMY
America and the West should stop pretending that Arabs and Muslims are their enemy
CHANGE NATURE OF RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL
stop being controlled by the Jewish lobby
FAIR TREATMENT OF PALESTINIANS
They should stop valuing Israeli blood above Palestinian blood
HOWEVER THERE IS THE 'CURSE OF THE ARABS'
But none of what I have just said is going to happen. It is the curse of the Arabs.
STOP SUPPORTING ARAB DICTATORSHIPS
They should stop telling lies about democracy. Either it is for all or not and if it is for all, stop supporting Arab dictators. They should support real democrats.

Appendix 20

Specific Analysis of Selected Semi-Structured Interviews

Interview 1

Participant Number: 1

Interview Date: 6 Jan 18

Duration: 3 hours 17 minutes

General

The first interviewee was born in Libya, educated at university level in Egypt and had travelled widely, including America. He provided balanced responses and was capable of both appreciating and criticising concepts. Additionally, he was generally dispassionate in his responses to sensitive subjects such as Arab casualties of the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq and Palestinian casualties caused by the State of Israel (Israeli Defence Forces (IDF)). Overall and at various points of the interview, he showed a serious commitment to justice, and answered questions in a calm and rational manner. At points he spoke with passion but also with a sense of reasonableness.

Furthermore, the first interviewee maintained a positive outlook toward life, was untroubled by American culture and generally presented as a high consumer of American products, such as American films, news channels, but also clothing, beverages and foods. The participant also saw the Arab Spring in a positive light because it led him to research the issues it brought to the surface ("It caused me to read much. I have been reading internet sites, blogs, watching documentaries and reading").

Superordinate Themes

The final coding of the interview transcript data for interviewee one included a total of 4 x superordinate themes that encompassed 100 x references. The superordinate themes were:

- '*Causes and influences of anti-Americanism'*.
- The '*Palestinian-Israel issue'*.
- '*Islamist extremism'*.
- '*Islam is a religion of peace'*.

The main themes and subthemes for interview one are outlined in more detail below.

There were two additional superordinate themes that emerged, 'Attitudes toward American culture' and 'Arab Spring'. These were removed from the analysis during the narrative write-up stage, as they were not directly relevant to the main research question of what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim men to Islamist extremism, in the contemporary era. The same logic was applied to the selection and presentation of the superordinate themes of the other participants.

Causes and Influences of Anti-Americanism

The main causes given for Middle Eastern Arab Muslim anti-Americanism by the first interviewee were Palestine and Iraq ("The Palestinian issue and the illegal invasion of Iraq"), as well as America's support for Israel ("I would estimate 70-80%"). An additional cause of anti-Americanism, as understood by the researcher, was 'America's change from libertarian to imperialist treatment of the Middle East'. As he viewed it, there was a spike or a bell curve change in the way American foreign policy applied to the Middle East. After World War II, or perhaps as early as the 1920s and 1930s, America changed its outlook from the libertarian approach pioneered by its founding fathers, to an aggressive and imperialistic perspective ("Changed slightly from inward to outward looking with aggressive interventions"). As he went on to say, the United States have "Moved away from their liberal origins… in its external relations and this includes

the Middle East", and this appeared to disappoint him as the "Founding Fathers would not have approved".

Another cause of anti-Americanism discussed by the interviewee was the 'Effect of American foreign policy on Arab *Sunni* anti-Americanism', illustrated with a metaphor of religion as a fire and that America had used to promote extremism ("If you start it, you cannot control it"; "I think that America used religion like a fire, but it is so dangerous, like in Afghanistan and Syria"; and "This is a fire which was lit by the US and left to burn after they abandoned Afghanistan after the Cold War. It then spread elsewhere like a virus."). However, the interviewee did caution that the West is not to blame if Muslims' lives were ruled, instead of complemented, by religion:

> "The real question for Arab Muslims and other Muslims is does religion rule our lives or does it fit into our life. This is our problem – not the West's. We cannot blame the West for that question".

Other influences to anti-Americanism (to a lesser degree) were colonialism, *Jihādism*, and the manipulation of the press ("[t]he western media is a 'trumpet'; but who is blowing the trumpet?").

Palestinian-Israeli Issue

The interview revealed that the Palestinian-Israeli issue was one of the most important causes of anti-Americanism in the view of the participant and many Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* Muslims. This topic is also important as a distinct superordinate theme, by virtue of the volume of discussion it generated from the participant. The Palestinian-Israeli issue elicited powerful responses from the interviewee, who showed a genuine and perhaps controlled passion about "The sheer injustice of it". He believed that while the State of Israel is a "terrorist state", caution should be exercised when interpreting events.

The four themes it generated were: the 'High importance' of the Palestinian-Israeli issue for Arabs; the 'Historical importance' of the Palestinian-Israeli issue for Arabs; 'The role of America and Israel' and the 'Negative construction of Palestine by Arabs'.

The Palestinian-Israeli issue was connected with the theme of 'The role of America and Israel', with Israel receiving the 'Support of America' ("Israel could not survive without them; 'America and Israel are joined at the hip''"). Israel was clearly viewed as an 'unjust and illegal state' and an aggressive neighbour that imposes its will by force ("Might is right"; "[t]he lesson is – the weak tribes or clans lose"). The interviewee noted interestingly:

> "It is the clear lack of balance, fairness and proportionality by Israel that is the problem. This is supported by the US and there is never any just criticism of Israel by the US".

> "This is because injustice shines clear for all to see. You do not need to have been to university to know this. All Arabs know this".

Additionally, the Palestinian issue, *via* America's relationship with Israel, was related to issues of 'Dignity' of the Arabs ("Which is being insulted").

The fourth theme was unexpected and regarded a 'Negative construction of Palestine by Arabs'. It emerged through two remarks made by the participant, who mentioned that some Middle Eastern Arab Muslims portray Palestine and Palestinians as the poor and lesser family member of the Arab world:

> "Arabs say quietly to each other that 'The Palestinians are like the poor man at a party' and they are so toxic about it";

> "We also say that 'They are like a member of a family who was the only one who did not get anything from a will'; they attack other members of the family".

Islam*ist* Extremism

The final superordinate theme of 'Islam*ist* extremism' included two further themes relating to whether *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* were terrorist organisations and whether America's invasion of Iraq increased Islam*ist* extremism. Regarding *Hamas* and *Hezbollah*, the interviewee offered a common Middle Eastern saying that "If someone kicks your door in, you must defend your home'… You must fight", but also felt that Arabs needed to take care of themselves because:

"The West does not help us… we must do what we can".

The participant stressed that whilst *Hezbollah's* militia forces had not been terrorist in the past:

"When they gave Israel a beating in Lebanon and forced them to leave";

"Recently since Syria and Iraq – yes", *Hezbollah* has become a terrorist organisation";

"Their militias have done terrible things against *Sunnis* in Iraq and Syria. They were as bad as *Da'ish*".

The interviewee also emphasised that the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq and the subsequent war led to an increase of Islam*ist* extremism ("This is obvious"), through the creation of:

"A power vacuum but more importantly… a common enemy for Iraqis and Arabs. The extremists like ISIS exploited this".

The participant also stressed that regional instability was another consequence of the 2003 invasion Iraq and subsequent conflict ("Widespread instability in the Middle East"). As the participant put it:

"Iraq was a strong Arab country. It was a block to Iran and created balance in the Middle East. The destruction of Iraq created instability in the whole region".

Islam is a Religion of Peace

Finally, the participant put great emphasis on the point that 'Islam is a religion of peace', and therefore, the researcher retained this as a superordinate theme, not least because it included an inherent 'value of peace' that is pertinent to the research and subject under study.

At any rate, the first interviewee maintained a positive outlook toward life, was positive and untroubled by the culture of the United States and generally presented as a high consumer of American products, such as American films, news channels, but also clothing, beverages and foods. The participant also saw the Arab Spring in a positive light because it led him to research the issues it brought to the surface ("It caused me to read much. I have been reading internet sites, blogs, watching documentaries and reading").

Themes and Subthemes for Interview 1

Causes and influences of Anti-Americanism

- Palestine and Iraq
    - "The Palestinian issue and the illegal invasion of Iraq"

- America's support for Israel
    - "I would estimate 70-80%"

- America's change from libertarian to imperialist treatment of the Middle East
    - "Moved away from their liberal origins… in its external relations and this includes the Middle East".
    - "Changed slightly from inward to outward looking with aggressive interventions".
    - "Founding Fathers would not have approved".

- Effect of American foreign policy on Arab Sunni Anti-Americanism
  - "This is a fire which was lit by the US and left to burn after they abandoned Afghanistan, after the Cold War. It then spread elsewhere like a virus".
  - "America used religion like a fire, but it is so dangerous, like in Afghanistan and Syria".
  - "If you start it, you cannot control it".

Palestinian-Israeli Issue

- High importance to self and Arabs
  - "It is very, very important to us Arabs"
- Historical importance
  - "An indication of how Arab civilisation has deteriorated. The result of Ottoman and Western domination".
- The role of America and Israel

- *America's collusion with Israel –*
  - "It is the clear lack of balance, fairness and proportionality by Israel that is the problem. This is supported by the US and there is never any just criticism of Israel by the US"
  - "Israel could not survive without them. 'America and Israel are joined at the hip'"

- *Israel an unjust, illegal state –*
  - "The sheer injustice of it".
  - "Injustice shines clear for all to see. You do not need to have been to university to know this. All Arabs know this".
  - "Might is right".
  - "The lesson is – the weak tribes or clans lose".

- *Hurt dignity of the Arabs –*

- o "Which is being insulted"

- Negative construction of Palestine by Arabs
  - o "Arabs say quietly to each other that 'The Palestinians are like the poor man at a party' and they are so toxic about it".
  - o "We also say that 'They are like a member of a family who was the only one who did not get anything from a will'; they attack other members of the family".

Islam*ist* Extremism

- Are *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* terrorist organisations?
  - o "If someone kicks your door in, you must defend your home… You must fight"
  - o "Recently since Syria and Iraq … [t]heir militias have done terrible things against *Sunnis* in Iraq and Syria. They were as bad as *Da'ish*"
- America's invasion of Iraq increased Islam*ist* extremism?
  - o "This is obvious".
  - o "There has also been an increase in extremism and Islamism".
  - o "A power vacuum but more importantly… a common enemy for Iraqis and Arabs. The extremists like ISIS exploited this".

Islam - a Religion of Peace?

- Is Islam a religion of peace?
  - o "Yes".
- Separating Arab Religion from Arab State.
  - o "The real question for Arab Muslims and other Muslims is does religion rule our lives or does it fit into our life. This is our problem – not the West's. We cannot blame the West for that question"

Interview 2

Participant Number: 2

Interview Date: 9 Jan 18

Duration: 2 hours 27 minutes

General

Participant two was more straightforwardly critical and damning of American foreign policy and what he considered to be America's biased approach towards the Arabs, Muslims and the Middle East in general. He provided interesting arguments which highlighted what he considered to be injustice. Additionally, it was observed and noted that he was significantly more emotional than the first participant. For example, he was visibly emotional and at times became angry when discussing the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq (and subsequent conflict), the loss of Arab life in general and Iraqi life in particular and the negative regional and political ramifications of the conflict. He also viewed *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* to be legitimate resistance movements who took action against a known oppressor. Consequently, he did not consider any of the actions of *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* to be terrorist.

Superordinate Themes

Final analysis of the transcript provided with four salient themes. These themes were:

- 'Causes of anti-Americanism'*.*
- '*Islamist extremism'.*
- '*Islam is a religion of peace'.*
- 'Reducing anti-Americanism in Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* Muslims'.

Initial analysis generated two additional themes. These were 'Attitudes towards the American Culture' (personal and social views, high consumption of American products), and 'Negative personal View of Arab Spring' (Arab Spring being a Western term). However, these themes were eliminated from the analysis during the narrative write-up stage, as they were not directly relevant to the main research question of what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim men to Islamist extremism, in the contemporary era. The same logic was applied to the selection and presentation of the superordinate themes of the other participants. The main themes and subthemes for interview one are outlined in more detail below.

Causes of anti-Americanism.

The causes of anti-Americanism discussed were elaborate and complex and were both directly and indirectly derived by the researcher. There were six primary causes which were:

- American bias, injustice and manipulation of the Arabs.
- The Palestine-Israel issue.
- Education.
- History of relationship with the West.
- The American invasion of Iraq.
- Islam*ist* extremism.

References for the first subtheme of a general American bias, injustice, and manipulation of the Arabs were multiple and the most significant appear below:

- "The US is seen as a country that has bias against Arabs".
- "There is strong US bias against Arabs. Arab rights are not respected; they are not the same as Israeli rights".
- "The US does not stand up for Arab rights. Quite the opposite".
- "The US manipulated and continues to manipulate Arabs".
- "Do we the Arabs have military bases in America?".
- "Stirring some Arab countries against other Arab countries to divide the Arabs, selling weapons to both sides, selling weapons to Saddam Hussein to block Iran, supporting him in the Iraq versus Iran war, then later invading Iraq. Is that enough?"
- "It is not history, it is now. We have seen it with our own eyes!"
- "Americans are the new Roman Empire; they do what they want".

The Palestine-Israel issue was very important for both the interviewee and other Arabs in general. For example, he stated: "It is our number one 'living' issue"; "Very important. They insult our brothers". In this context, it was observed and noted that the interviewee became upset when asked if this issue was reducing in importance for him.

Connected to this cause of anti-Americanism was, in the opinion of the interviewee, America's support for Israel, whom he viewed as the strategic enemy of the Arabs For example, he stated: "The US supports our strategic enemy – the Zionist Entity (Israel)". The interviewee did state however that this support may decrease over time: "Their support for Israel may weaken in the long term".

Another feature of America's support for Israel, as highlighted by the interviewee, was that Israel did not face international justice due their support from the US. For example, he stated:

> "This is the logic of the jungle. When the Serbs did this to Muslims in the Balkans they were taken to the European Court or Human Rights. Why not Israel? This is because of the US support of Israel. It is immoral and a double standard".

The interviewee viewed Israel as an illegal, occupying, terrorist state. For example, he stated:

> "Yes! It is an illegal occupier of Arab land"; "It occupies Palestine which is Arab land. The average people will never accept this"; "Yes! Of course it is. It commits state crimes against innocent Palestinians; it bombs women and children. What do you call it?"

The US invasion of Iraq was another cause of anti-Americanism, with the participant expressing what he considered to be the Arabs' hatred for America ("It brings more hatred of America"), as well as grief and remembrance ("the invasion is over but we will never forget"). He viewed an additional consequence of this "illegal" war to be a failure to bring democracy to Iraq as promised by the Americans but instead it brought what he described as:

"Starvation, diseases, poverty, death and destruction! That is what the US brought!"

Islam*ist* extremism was also regarded as a cause of anti-Americanism ("A lot!"), without any further elaboration.

The role of education in anti-Americanism was commented upon through the use of a single sentence, which did indicate that teachers influence their students on issues of anti-Americanism. He stated:

"The teachers… then had an influence and impact on the students and pupils. It was normally centred around the actions of the US in the Middle East".

The history of the relationship of the Arab world with the West was understood by the researcher as an important indirect aspect of anti-Americanism in this transcript. This was true for the Crusades, which are seen as a war that is still going on: "Crusades… These are battles in a long war. The Crusaders stayed 300 years. This is a long war". This was also true for Colonialism, which is: "still used against the British and French, especially when they try to intervene in the Arab World".

Islam*ist* Extremism. The participant regarded *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* to be legitimate resistance groups and not terrorist, organisations. When asked the question, he stated:

"No. Of course not. They are a resistance organisation"; "No. Why should I?"; "No. How can it be? It is resistance".

One particular view and argument appeared to be important to him. In it he stressed that it was no accident that *Hamas* attacked Israel, and only Israel. For example, he stated:

"I need to highlight one thing. We Arabs say, Does *Hamas* plan attacks against Sweden, Argentina or Japan? No, only against Israel".

He also reemphasised the importance of the Palestinian-Israeli issue and America's support for Israel are important factors in Arab relations with Israel and America. He stressed that in a culture where "Every family in the Arab World bring up their family as haters of Israel and America and for good reason", America's support for Israel was thought to be used by Islam*ists* in order to recruit Arab *Sunni* Muslims ("A lot, probably more than 80%"), where "These groups nourish and manipulate it". But Islam*ism* and extremism were considered "against Islam" and "use Islam – it is not real Islam", as the next theme indicates.

Interestingly, the participant also signified that America created and supported extreme Islam*ist* fighters in the Arab world. He made particular references to *Da'ish*:

> "The US invaded Iraq and like in Afghanistan where the US supported extreme Islamist fighters like Bin laden and others, they created the situation for *Da'ish* to come".

> "One created the conditions for the other like an open wound to disease. The Americans created the open wound and the disease of *Da'ish* came into it".

Islam is a Religion of Peace.

To the interviewee, Islam was and is a peaceful religion. He also considered Islam*ists* and extrem*ists* to be:

> "Against Islam. They interpret Islam as they want – their own version to serve their own political agenda".

He added:

> "Muslims in the world are 1.6 Billion. Only a small number are violent".

Reducing Anti-Americanism.

In order for anti-Americanism to be reduced, the participant offered five subthemes as solutions. These were:

- The solution of the Palestinian-Israeli issue.
  - "A just and fair solution to Palestine".
- The cessation of American support for Israel.
  - Stop immediately the support for Israel".
- The cessation of American interference in Arab affairs.
  - "Stop interfering in Arab affairs".
- The better understanding of, and collaboration, with Arabs.
  - "A greater understanding of the Arabs, Arab culture and our religion by the US and West".
- "More collaboration between the West/US and Arab world".

Finally, the researcher observed an indirect means of reduction of anti-Americanism hinted at by the interviewee, where the status of America as a world superpower is purported to be deteriorating, due to the country's constant waging of wars:

- "America as a superpower is weakening. It is spending its wealth on wars".

Themes and Subthemes for Interview 2

Causes of Anti-Americanism

- **American bias, injustice, manipulation of the Arabs**
  - "There is strong US bias against Arabs. Arab rights are not respected".
  - "The US does not stand up for Arab rights. Quite the opposite".
  - "The US manipulated and continues to manipulate Arabs".
  - "Do we the Arabs have military bases in America?"
  - "Stirring some Arab countries against other Arab countries to divide the Arabs, selling weapons to both sides, selling weapons to Saddam Hussein to block Iran, supporting him in the Iraq versus Iran war, then later invading Iraq. Is that enough?"
  - "Americans are the new Roman Empire; they do what they want".

- **Palestinian-Israeli Issue**
  - "It is our number one 'living' issue".

- o "Very important. They insult our brothers".

- o Israel, the 'strategic enemy' of the Arabs
  - ▪ "The US supports our strategic enemy – the Zionist Entity (Israel)".

- o Israel does not face justice due to US support
  - ▪ "When the Serbs did this to Muslims in the Balkans they were taken to the European Court or Human Rights. Why not Israel? This is because of the US support of Israel. It is immoral and a double standard!"
- o Israel an illegal, occupying, terrorist state
  - ▪ "Yes! It is an illegal occupier of Arab land".
  - ▪ "It occupies Palestine which is Arab land. The average people will never accept this".
  - ▪ "Yes! Of course it is. It commits state crimes against innocent Palestinians; it bombs women and children. What do you call it?"

- **Effect of Education**
  - o "The teachers… then had an influence and impact on the students and pupils. It was normally centred around the actions of the US in the Middle East".

- **American invasion of Iraq**
  - o "Starvation, diseases, poverty, death and destruction! That is what the US brought!"

- **Arab hatred of America**
  - o "It brings more hatred of America".

- **Grief**
  - o Expressed non-verbally.

- **Remembrance**
  - o "The invasion is over but we will never forget".

- **History of relationship with the West**
  - o Crusades

- - "Crusades… These are battles in a long war. The Crusaders stayed 300 years. This is a long war".
  - o Colonialism
    - - "Still used against the British and French, especially when they try to intervene in the Arab World".

Islam*ist* Extremism

- Are *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* terrorist organisations?
  - o "No. Of course not. They are a resistance organisation"
  - o "No. Why should I?"
  - o "No. How can it be? It is resistance"
  - o "Does *Hamas* plan attacks against Sweden, Argentina or Japan? No, only against Israel'"
- America creates, supports Arab extremists
  - o "The US invaded Iraq and like in Afghanistan where the US supported extreme Islamist fighters like Bin Laden and others, they created the situation for *Da'ish* to come".
  - o "One created the conditions for the other like an open wound to disease. The Americans created the open wound and the disease of *Da'ish* came into it".
- American support for Israel used by Islamists to recruit Arab Sunni Muslims
  - o "A lot, probably more than 80%".
  - o "These groups nourish and manipulate it".
- Islamism, extremism Against Islam
  - o "Against Islam. They interpret Islam as they want – their own version to serve their own political agenda".
  - o "Use Islam – it is not real Islam".

Islam is a Religion of Peace

- **Is Islam a religion of peace?**
  - o "Yes"
  - o "Muslims in the world are 1.6 Billion. Only a small number are violent".

Reducing Anti-Americanism in Middle Eastern Arab *Sunni* Muslims

- Solve Palestine-Israel issue and Stop American support for Israel
  - "A just and fair solution to Palestine. Stop immediately the support for Israel".
- Stop American interference in Arab affairs

  - "Stop interfering in Arab affairs".
- Better understanding of Arabs

  - "A greater understanding of the Arabs, Arab culture and our religion by the US and West".
- More collaboration with Arabs

  - "More collaboration between the West-US and Arab world".
- America declining as a world superpower

  - "America as a superpower is weakening. It is spending its wealth on wars".

Interview 3

Participant Number: 3

Interview Date: 3 Feb 18

Duration: 2 hours 12 minutes

General

Interviewee three presented as a fair and reasonable man with a calm demeanour. When discussing the causes of anti-Americanism, he provided a coherent argument with various examples. Through these he criticized America and its foreign policy towards that Middle East. He was also critical of America's actions against Arab nations, such as Palestine and Iraq. He also highlighted and was critical of America's support for Israel. The interviewee was also expressed concern about the welfare of the poor in Arab countries, mentioning in particular the situation of 100 million Egyptians whom, he said were poor and are 'kept in poverty'. He further argued that the Muslim Brotherhood should be banned and stressed that Israel maintained a 'divide and

conquer' policy in relation to Arab states but that this did not leave Arab states completely without blame for allowing themselves to be divided.

Superordinate Themes

Final analysis of the transcript yielded six salient themes. These themes were:

- 'Causes of anti-Americanism'.
- 'Arab Government Control'.
- 'Islamism and Islamist Extremism'.
- '*Islam is a religion of peace*'.
- 'Improving the Image of Arab Muslims'.
- 'Reducing anti-Americanism'.

Causes of anti-Americanism.

Subthemes. Six subthemes were identified within the main theme of causes of anti-Americanism. These were:

- America's support for Israel.
  - The Palestinian-Israeli issue was identified as a subtheme.
- American foreign policy.
- Americanisation.
- America's invasion of Iraq.
- Islamist extremism.
- Historical factors.

America's Support for Israel / Acceptance of Israel. America's support for Israel was viewed as an important facet of anti-Americanism with a commensurate close connection to anti-American sentiments ("Most"). The interviewee did not accept the State of Israel ("No. Never!") and considered that acceptance of Israel was low in general amongst Arabs. However, the he provided a caveat that the younger generation of Arabs could see that Arabs who were Israeli citizens enjoyed much greater rights

under the law and a better education than Arabs in many Arab states. For example, he stated:

> "This is difficult. It is not as simple as some people think. The old people, like my parents, do not accept Israel and will never accept it. But many of the young see that in Israel Arabs have rights, education and democracy and that is more than most Arabs have in their own country. The young see it".

Israel – A terrorist State? The interviewee also stated that Israel had performed terrorist war crimes against Arabs ("Yes. All know it"), with the help of the US ("America supports Israeli terrorist war crimes"). However, he cautioned that Israel was not a terrorist state. For example, he stated:

> "No. It is important to make a distinction between Jewish, Zionism and terrorists".

Palestinian Issue. The Palestinian issue was considered to be of great importance both for the interviewee and for Arab *Sunni* Muslims in general.

> "It is very important"; "Extremely important".

American Foreign Policy. American foreign policy was another significant factor of anti-Americanism that was seen as very important for Arab *Sunni* Muslims ("A lot"). Overall, the US was portrayed as a hostile, and unilateral, tyrant:

> "America is aggressive and does not care about world opinion. They own the UN or can ignore them. As people say, 'They do what they want'".

American Interventionism in the Arab World. Related to the above notion is the subtheme of American interventionism in the Arab world:

> "America's interventionism in the Arab World is the problem. For example, Trump's decision to make *Al-Quds* (Jerusalem) the political center and main city of Israel. No one forced him to do this. He, an American decided to do this".

In a similar vein, Americans were viewed as the creators of *Da'ish* ("The US"; "The Americans"), with *Da'ish* serving as a "US proxy".

Impact of US Support for Autocratic Arab States. Furthermore, the interviewee took the view that America supported and continues to support autocratic Arab dictators, which makes, and keeps the Arab people poor:

> "People will not say to you but America's support for autocratic leaders in the Arab world that keep the poor Arabs poor. You know that there are over one hundred million Egyptians and most of them are poor and kept poor. Did you know that Cairo has double the people of London but most of those people are poor and kept poor. In Egypt and across the Arab World there is a big gap between some people with money and most people who are poor".

Human Rights Violations. In relation to proven American human rights violations within the Middle East, the interviewee highlighted that this created a deep and lasting hatred of and for America:

> "This was very bad. It is even worse because it was done by the West and America to Arabs and Muslims. It created deep hatred that will not go quickly".

America's invasion of Iraq was another cause of anti-Americanism ("A lot"), that brought "Death, destruction and long term hatred". The interviewee stressed that the massive loss of Iraqi life constituted "war crimes" and was "anti-humanitarian".

Historical. The history of Arab relations with the West and America was construed by the researcher as an important factor of anti-Americanism, since the participant tended to connect past events, and especially the Crusades, with contemporary era and the reality of the relationship with America:

> "From Crusades to Trump".

> "[The Crusades] are important, especially if it is the West interfering in the Middle East".

Other Factors. Other important factors of anti-Americanism were expressed but without emphasis or elaboration, such as Islam*ist* extremism ("Yes it does") and Americanisation ("A lot").

Arab Government Control. Arab government control was described by the participant as having increased following the Arab Spring. He provided an example such as control of the Arab media (and their anti-American messages). He went on to highlight that this benefited Arab governments and their alliances with America but added that it was also helped counter the fear of extremism and instability:

> "Before the Arab Spring – there was a lot in the Arab media. But now, much of that has gone. There still is some subtle criticism".

> "Before – yes, but after the Arab Spring that has changed. Now Arab leaders want a strong relationship with Trump and they have stopped open criticism of America on state channels. If media is state owned then it has been stopped. Also, people are more interested in jobs and getting money to eat. The failed Arab Spring has made governments feel more vulnerable – leaders and people".

> "Our Arab media after the Arab Spring became more controlled and the state-controlled media want to cut off anti-Western and anti-American views in case it created more *jihādists* and more instability. Stability is now much more important for Arab states".

Change of Focus. Two related issues were noteworthy. The first involves the view that, after the Arab Spring, there was a change in the people's focus, from the Palestine-Israel issue and *Al-Quds,* to what were described as 'internal' issues, such as Syria, Iraq, Egypt Tunisia, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Yemen:

> "Before the Arab Spring, Arabs were mostly interested in the Palestinian issue, Israel and *Al-Quds* (Jerusalem). This applied to nearly all Arabs. But after the Arab Spring it is internal issues which are in Arab minds, like Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and others. With Syria it is about freedom and what it will look like after the war and who will rule it?"

"In their hearts". Additionally, the participant further stressed that Arabs have placed the burning issues of Iraq and Palestine "In their hearts", because in their minds they are now focused on employment, money, security and stability:

> "It is carried deep in our hearts but now we have other troubles to think about… Before the Arab Spring and after 2003, this was in mind every day. But after the Arab Spring, Iraq and Palestine had to be put in our hearts. Our minds every day are occupied with thinking about jobs, money eating and our own security".

The participant stressed that these issues returned to Arab minds whenever America did "something against the Arabs":

> "But when something happens and the West or America does something against the Arabs, these move from our hearts to our minds".

This final idea highlighted that anti-American sentiment can be brought rapidly to the surface whenever America was considered to have transgressed against Arabs.

Islamism and Islamist Extremism.

Reasons for Joining Islam*ist* Organisations. According to the interviewee, there are "many different" reasons that draw Arab *Sunni* Muslims and global Arabs to join Da'ish, ISIS, and Islam*ist* extremist organisations in general.

> "There are many reasons for many different people".

> "Because the young men who join them come from all over the world".

Some of these are "political, religious and social reasons" and include:

- Political freedom
  - "Politically, most Arabs are not free in the Western sense so some wanted to travel to fight for that freedom".
- Islamist influences

- o "Others were inspired by the messages of Islam*ic* fundamentalism and the 'fake sheikhs'".
- Poverty
  - o "Some Arab men were desperately poor".

Hamas and *Hezbollah*. At any rate, *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* were not viewed by this interviewee as terrorist organisations ("No"; "We are proud of them"). Nevertheless, *Hezbollah's* use in Iraq and Syria against *Sunnis* was said to be unjust and "wrong"; and that *Hezbollah* had "changed" after 2006, before which;

"It was fighting Israel's illegal occupation in the West Bank".

ISIS. Stronger criticism was directed at organisations such as ISIS, which considered to interpret Islam in arbitrary, self-serving ways:

"It is against Islam. They interpret Islam as they want – their own version to serve their own political agenda".

Finally, it stressed that the participant declined to answer interview questions about *Sunni* Islam not having a central religious leader unlike *Shi'a* Islam or indeed other denominations and religions:

"I am not talking about this. I have probably said too much already".

Furthermore, it was observed and noted that he looked distinctly uneasy when asked whether Islamic holy texts could be interpreted by Islam*ist* extremists, in an extremist manner.

Islam is a Religion of Peace.

Islam was briefly recognised as a peaceful religion ("Yes"), where violence characterises only a small minority of Muslims in the world:

"There are so many Muslims in the world and only a very small number of violent Muslims".

However, the interviewee noted, as a type of caveat, that peace is made difficult due to the shared blame of America and Saudi Arabia in funding Afghan and Arab Islam*ist* fighters. The relevant passage is coherent and is provided in full:

> "America and the West like to forget history, even recent history, if you can call recent happenings history. It was the Americans who paid for and equipped the Afghan fighters to fight the Soviets. When the Islamist fundamentalists came along, they funded them too, like letting *Jinn* out into this world. This meant funding *Jihād* but they did not care. From here it grew. They not only allowed it to happen but made it grow. What did the US do when the Soviets left Afghanistan? They abandoned it to Islamist extremists like the Taliban. What did they expect to happen?"

> "Also, the Arab world is not innocent in this. Saudi Arabia also funded the Afghan and Arab Islamist fighters. They also funded the spread of Salafism and Wahhabism not just in Saudi but across the world. Just make any Google search today about the Holy Qur'an on *fiqh* (jurisprudence) and it will be a Salafist interpretation funded by Saudi money. I am sorry but this must be said".

Improving the Image of Arab Muslims in the World.

For this specific theme, four main subthemes were developed. These subthemes are:

- Arab nations should adopt freedom of speech.
    o "Our leaders need to adopt Western values like freedom of speech".
- They should invest in education and in infrastructures.
    o "They need to invest in education and spend on infrastructure and bring about social justice".
- They should commit to "bring about social justice".
- Finally, the interviewee encouraged Arabs to unite, so that this division could no longer be taken advantage of by Israel.

o "One last thing. Israel is allowed to divide and conquer the Arabs. This is as much the fault of the Arabs. We need to unite, not countries but opinions and policies".

Reducing anti-Americanism.

For the reduction of anti-Americanism, the participant suggested a two-state solution to the Palestine-Israel issue, with the European Union, not America, acting as mediator:

"A two-state solution but not with America moderating. I want the European Union to moderate".

Additionally, as interpreted by the researcher, the interviewee implied that America's treatment of the Arabs needs to improve and become less biased and, in so doing, it would gain respect and recognition within the Arab world:

"America needs to change so that it is fair and seen to be fair to the Arabs".

Themes and Subthemes for Interview 3

Causes of Anti-Americanism

- **America's support for Israel**
    - Palestinian-Israeli Issue
        - "It is very important".
        - "Extremely important".
    - Low acceptance of Israel state
        - "No. Never!"
    - Israel performs terrorist acts
        - "Yes. All know it".
    - However Israel not a terrorist state
        - "No. It is important to make a distinction between Jewish, Zionism and terrorists".
    - And Israeli Arabs enjoy rights, democracy

- ▪ "Israel Arabs have rights, education and democracy and that is more than most Arabs have in their own country. The young see it".

- **American Foreign Policy**
  - o Important for Arab Sunni Muslims
    - ▪ "A lot".
  - o US a hostile, unilateral tyrant
    - ▪ "America is aggressive and does not care about world opinion. They own the UN or can ignore them. As people say, 'They do what they want'"
  - o American interventionism in Arab world
    - ▪ "America's interventionism in the Arab World is the problem. For example, Trump's decision to make Al-Quds (Jerusalem) the political center and main city of Israel. No one forced him to do this. He an American decided to do this".
  - o America created *Da'ish*
    - ▪ "The Americans".
    - ▪ "US proxy".
  - o American support for Arab dictators creates and maintains the people's poverty
    - ▪ "America's support for autocratic leaders in the Arab world that keep the poor Arabs poor. You know that there are over one hundred million Egyptians and most of them are poor and kept poor".
    - ▪ "Across the Arab World there is a big gap between some people with money and most people who are poor".
  - o American atrocities create hatred
    - ▪ "This was very bad. It is even worse because it was done by the West and America to Arabs and Muslims. It created deep hatred that will not go quickly".
  - o **America's invasion of Iraq**
    - ▪ "A lot".

- - "Death, destruction".
  - o Created hatred for America
    - - "Long-term hatred".
  - o Massive loss of Iraqi life
    - - "War crime".
    - - "War crimes and anti-humanitarian".
  - o Historical relations with West/America
    - - "From Crusades to Trump"
    - - "[The Crusades] are important, especially if it is the West interfering in the Middle East".
  - o Islamist extremism
    - - "Yes it does".
  - o Americanisation
    - - "A lot".

Arab Government Control after Arab Spring

- Control of Arab media and anti-Americanism
  - o "Before the Arab Spring – there was a lot in the Arab media. But now, much of that has gone. There still is some subtle criticism".
  - o "Our Arab media after the Arab Spring became more controlled".
- Due to alliances with America
  - o "Now Arab leaders want a strong relationship with Trump and they have stopped open criticism of America on state channels. If media is state owned then it has been stopped".
- Fear of more extremism and instability
  - o "The state-controlled media want to cut off anti-Western and anti-American views in case it created more *jihādists* and more instability. Stability is now much more important for Arab states".

Islamism and Islam*ist* Extremism

- Many reasons why Arabs join Islamist and extremist organisations
  - "There are many reasons for many different people. Because the young men who join them come from all over the world".
  - "Political, religious and social reasons".
- Political reasons
  - "Politically, most Arabs are not free in the Western sense so some wanted to travel to fight for that freedom".
- Islamist influences
  - "Others were inspired by the messages of Islamic fundamentalism and the 'fake sheikhs'".
- Poverty
  - "Some Arab men were desperately poor".
- *Hamas*, *Hezbollah* not terrorist organisations
  - "No".
  - "We are proud of them".
  - "Nevertheless, Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunnis was said to be unfair and "wrong"; and Hezbollah "changed" after 2006, when "it was fighting Israel's illegal occupation in the West Bank".
  - But *Hezbollah* use in Iraq and Syria against *Sunnis* was wrong - "It was wrong".
- ISIS interprets Islam in a self-serving way
  - "It is against Islam. They interpret Islam as they want – their own version to serve their own political agenda".
- Are *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* terrorist organisations?
  - "No."

Islam is a Religion of Peace

- **Is Islam a religion of peace?**
  - "Yes".
  - "There are so many Muslims in the world and only a very small number of violent Muslims".

- However America, Saudi Arabia share blame in funding Islamist fighters
  - "When the Islamist fundamentalists came along, [Americans] funded them too, like letting Jinn out into this world. This meant funding Jihād but they did not care. From here it grew. They not only allowed it happen but made it grow. What did the US do when the Soviets left Afghanistan? They abandoned it to Islamist extremists like the Taliban. What did they expect to happen?"
  - "Also, the Arab world is not innocent in this. Saudi Arabia also funded the Afghan and Arab Islamist fighters".

Improving the Image of Arab Muslims

- Arab nations to adopt freedom of speech
  - "Our leaders need to adopt Western values like freedom of speech".
- Arab nations to invest in education
  - "They need to invest in education".
- Arab nations to improve infrastructure
  - "Spend on infrastructure".
- Arab nations to adopt social justice
  - "Bring about social justice".
- Arabs to unite so as not to be taken advantage by Israel
  - "One last thing. Israel is allowed to divide and conquer the Arabs. This is as much the fault of the Arabs. We need to unite, not countries but opinions and policies".

Reducing Anti-Americanism

- Two-state solution to Palestine-Israel issue, with EU as moderator
  - "A two-state solution but not with America moderating. I want the European Union to moderate".
- American treats Arabs fairer
  - "America needs to change so that it is fair and seen to be fair to the Arabs".

Interview 4

Participant Number: 4

Interview Date: 3 Feb 18

Duration: 2 hours 18 minutes

General

Participant four presented as a well-dressed professional man (employed in the banking field), who had a calm and controlled demeanour. His answers appeared to be considered and were delivered in a clear manner. His responses were relatively lengthy and elaborate and his interview was the largest of the set.

Use of Arab Metaphors. This interviewee used Arab metaphors to articulate his points, which made the interview interesting from a cultural perspective. An example is, when discussing why some Arab *Sunni* Muslims may be drawn to *Da'ish* or ISIS, he stated:

"It is like a vortex in bathwater that draws many small particles into it".

The 'Arab Mind'. He also paid special attention to individual differences in Arab views, which is exemplified by him mentioning on three times his conviction that:

"There is no single Arab mind".

Historical Events. For interviewee four, the initial theme of history and historical events for modern Arabs was removed, since it bore little interest to the participant. As he mentioned:

"It is not important to me, it is just dates and events".

He did however suggest that a lack of education may lie at the heart of the perceived importance of history in the present time:

"To some uneducated people they are important. But the more people learn at university, the less important they become".

Anti-American Sentiment. The interviewee spent much time discussing anti-American sentiment which according to him increased significantly, both personally and socially, after America's invasion of Iraq in 2003. He recalled watching the scenes on television of America's armed forces bombing and invading the "strongest Arab country". He watched this at school with his teachers and peers. He states that he cried during this event and that he became angry. He added that the American invasion changed his and his peers' perspectives, forever. His words also reveal that he probably once held strong anti-American views, but that at present his views are more moderate.

State Controlled Poverty. Similar to participant three, who presented the situation of one hundred million Egyptians living in poverty and being kept poor by their government; this interviewee suggested that a similar situation existed in Morocco, where Moroccans were being deliberately kept in poverty by the government. He stated:

"Look at Morocco. The people there are so poor, struggling to stay afloat as you say in the West, but they are kept poor by their own government. It is so corrupt".

Superordinate Themes

Final analysis of the transcript yielded six salient themes. These themes were:

- 'Causes of anti-Americanism'.
- 'Arab Government Control'.
- 'Islamism and Islamist Extremism'.
- '*Islam is a religion of peace*'.
- 'Improving the Image of Arab Muslims in the world'.
- 'Reducing anti-Americanism'.
- 'Additional Observations and Reflections'.

Causes of Anti-Americanism

Subthemes. Five subthemes were identified within the main theme of causes of anti-Americanism. These were:

- Palestine-Israel issue.
- The 2003 Iraq War.
- American foreign policy.
- Trump's 'Muslim ban'.
- Islam*ist* extremism.

The latter two themes were only discussed briefly. Islam*ist* extremism was seen as a probable cause of anti-Americanism ("Yes, I think so"). The interviewee seemed to believe that a consequence of President Trump's 'Muslim ban' was that, by his actions the American president had encouraged others to speak ill against Islam:

> "But now there is also Trump. He has created hatred of Muslims in America. With him producing the Muslim ban and saying bad things about Islam, he is saying it is OK for others to do the same, and they are doing it. Just look on YouTube".

Palestine-Israel issue. The Palestine-Israel issue transpired to be important for the participant ("Very important") and for Arab *Sunni* Muslims in general:

> "It is highly important at a popular level".

> "Many say, 'Palestine is our living cause'".

> "Iraq is lost but this is still a 'game that can be won'".

It appears to be an issue that brings shame and humiliation:

> "We live with this humiliation every day of our lives. It sits deep inside us and we do not forget, nor should we".

> "It is like a great shame to us that we could not protect these old men, women and children".

An important subtheme of the Palestine-Israel issue was America's support for Israel:

"It makes Arabs hate America. The Israeli war criminals could not do it without their permission, munitions, funding or help".

American support for Israel was seen as undermining the negotiations of Palestine and Israel ("Sure. I said so"). Additionally, Israel was seen as an illegal and terrorist state:

"This was an illegal occupation of Arab soil".

"They are a terrorist state because they stole our land, kill and torture innocent Palestinians. They are still stealing our land by using these foreign settlers and the world does nothing".

Non-acceptance of the State of Israel by Arab *Sunni* Muslims:

"No. Never. They stole our land and occupied it and then threw our people off their own land. How could any Arab accept this?"

Related to the non-acceptance of the State of Israel are what are considered to be war crimes and humanitarian offences perpetrated by Israel:

"This was a war crime. All Arabs know this. Even the rest of the world knows that it was unfair and illegal. It was aimed at civilians. But also they wanted to destroy the future elections of the Palestinians by sending a message that any opposition would be crushed. It also became punishment and cheapens the price of our lives to the world".

2003 Invasion of Iraq. America's 2003 invasion of Iraq and subsequent conflict were described and construed as an important and multi-faceted cause of anti-Americanism. The main subthemes that developed were: the anti-American sentiments it created; American war crimes not known by many Arabs; and the destabilisation of the area through 'destruction' of the Arab / Iraqi 'wall' to Iran. The effect that the war has had in increasing Islam*ist* extremism was also briefly commented upon ("Yes, of course").

The participant provided a vivid, "terrible" recollection of the time when he found out about the war:

> This war "could not have been worse".

> "The day the Americans invaded Iraq, I was at school".

> "We were all asked to go to the computer room at school by our teachers. We all stood and watched, our teachers and us all. We watched the Americans bombing the strongest Arab country. They bombed Baghdad and all over".

Through this experience, the participant described emotions that he and other Arabs felt at the time. These included emotions of sadness, anger, and humiliation:

> "It was a very sad day for us all. You cannot believe it".

> "As we stood and watched this, I was crying and so were others".

> "I also became angry. Many people became angry. It is like some strange man that you heard about before, came to your house and kicked your door in and then set fire to your house".

> "This humiliation sits deep within us".

Therefore, the invasion of Iraq, experienced through the above event, was a significant cause of anti-Americanism that changed the participant's view of America forever:

> "Yes. It changed them forever. There was a time when I saw America as an example of an advanced society. People had nice houses, cars, jobs and there people have a chance to live. But after what they did to Iraq, no. I have never thought about them like that again".

He argues that his views will never change, but that they have become more moderate over time:

"As time has passed my views about America have become milder but they will never go away".

The great extent of Iraqi casualties of war constituted "terrible – war crimes", and many Arabs do not have access to this information:

"But you know; only a small percentage of university graduates in certain subjects in the Middle East will have access to this information".

Finally, for the participant the invasion of Iraq had a wider American foreign policy agenda and that was the purposeful destabilisation of the area through weakening, or destroying, Iraq:

"Yes. Iraq was the strongest Arab country. It blocked Iran and held back the Iranian flood and the Shī'a flood. It was the largest Arab buffer zone".

It must be noted that within this context, the participant emphasised that due to the consequences of the 2008 financial crisis many Arabs had shifted their focus away from the 2003 Iraq war towards issues such as employment and living:

"But we do not talk about it every day. We are too busy with life".

"Many Arabs since the 2008 financial crisis have had other things to worry about like jobs, employment, bank loans and the collapse of the Arab Spring".

The above view may indicate that anti-Americanism may potentially fall into the same category, and may not have the same intensity of focus for many contemporary Arabs, but that it continues to 'lurk' below the surface.

American Foreign Policy. The interviewee was categorical that American foreign policy in the Middle East contributed to or caused anti-Americanism in the region:

"A lot. Of course it does. Everyone knows this".

American foreign policy includes a number of subthemes that explain different actions and policies seen to cause anti-Americanism. The interviewee provided examples of

what he considered to be American foreign policy decisions which resulted in anti-Americanism in the contemporary era. These were:

> "The invasion of Iraq, Palestine, Making *Al Quds* the capital city and supporting the Jewish lobby in the US. All of this".

American foreign policy was considered to be aggressive and reckless:

> "Aggressive and does not care about world opinion. They own the UN or can ignore them and they do what they want".

> "Negative. As people say, 'America has destroyed the Arab World'".

America was viewed as the country at fault for many of the problems in the Middle East:

> "Most blame America. But this is not a false dream or mirage. America did this by its actions. Not us".

Also, America was viewed as an unreliable ally by many Arabs:

> "'He who is covered by America is stripped naked because America is not a reliable ally'… Common on the Arab Street").

Furthermore, the US was viewed as having created *Da'ish*:

> "The US paved the way, made a pathway and helped to bring it into reality".

> "The common view is that the US created it".

In the context of this interview, Americanisation was also construed as an American foreign policy that caused anti-Americanism, since it was aimed at destroying cultures of the world and making people more susceptible to America:

> "A lot. Americanisation is slowly destroying distinctive global cultures. It makes our young people more vulnerable to influence by America".

Arab Government Control. The interviewee considered that Arab governments had imposed greater control on their people through surveillance, use of informers and control of the Arab media. Consequently, he considered that Arabs had less freedom now, especially since the Arab Spring. Furthermore, he seemed to believe that Arab governments refused to criticise America in order to remain in power.

> "The Arab governments who did survive started to 'grab the people by the throat'. They did this will widespread surveillance, widespread use of informers and more control".

> "But in my country Egypt, you need clearance from the Security Police for everything. No really. They even have State Security inside Egyptian universities".

> "Even in Tunisia, it is going back".

> "The government has the people by the throat".

> "They also use many informers so you cannot speak freely".

> "But some Arab governments get worried about it. In Egypt some journalists get arrested if they speak about Egypt's cooperation with Israel".

The participant offers an interesting anecdote about his personal experience with government control of the media:

> "So they did not want the people to know the truth and they did not want any trouble from the people. So, the police collected all the newspapers in the hotel and left with them to burn them. But the man on reception had one newspaper hidden away and we all read it and looked at it over and over again, until it fell apart".

He also suggested that Arab governments obfuscate the truth and do not criticise America because of economic interests with America, with whom they are allied and in

order to receive substantial funding from America. There is considerable narrative on this topic and it is provided below:

"Most Arabs do not know the full story".

"Most people do not know this and our governments do want us to know. Do you know why? They want to do weapons deals and other business with America and this gets in the way. They do not want the people to know".

"The state is more concerned with sitting on the people rather than let the economy grow because the elite and the government can get their money from the US".

"That is because the Egyptian government was so close to the American government and they got hundreds of millions of US dollars every year from America. Also our government did not make any protest to the US government. They also allowed the US to use the Suez Canal and US military aircraft to fly across our land to bomb Iraq. So they did not want the people to know the truth and they did not want any trouble from the people".

The interviewee went on to suggest that autocratic Arab governments may protect their people from even 'crueler' outsiders.

"But as I said before, it is not simple or easy. Some street Arabs say that 'Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi were like cruel step fathers who beat their step children but they protected them from an even worse person outside the family'. You can say the same for Bashar Hafez al-Assad. It is like a choice of, as we say 'Our own stale water or someone else's vinegar'".

In this context the participant discussed the view of one of his professors at his university in Egypt, which is pertinent. This appears to refer to the segregation of different Islam*ic* ethnic groups and religious denominations within the same country or area:

"You know one of my professors at university said that 'The Arabs are not taught to live together but are forced to do so'. He is correct. What he meant by this is that the *Sunni*, *Shi'a*, different ethnic groups, different tribes and so on all need to be suppressed so that they can live together. Saddam did this, Gaddafi did this and Al-Assad did this. This is what we are. It goes back to 1916".

Islam*ism* and Islam*ist* Extremism.

The participant distanced himself from Islam*ism* and its message:

"Not me. I am not with them or their message. They are only for themselves".

At the same time, he emphasised that *Hamas* and *Hezbollah* are not terrorist organisations. Instead, he stressed that, it was the duty of those organisations, and Arabs in general, to maintain a resistance:

"No. Absolutely no. If you come to my house, kick in my front door and occupy it; it is my duty to resist".

"What else can we do? We must resist in any way we can. This is also about Arab pride and dignity".

Arab Spring. The Arab Spring was regarded positively by the participant, who repeated on two occasions that:

"It came at the perfect time and was long overdue".

It was however, viewed as a failure:

"The Arab Spring failed in Egypt, Libya, Syria and even Tunisia", with an outcome that was "worse than any of us could have imagined".

The Arab Spring was considered to be a failure due to extremists:

"The *jihādists* ruined it. I think that if there had been no *jihādists* in Iraq, Libya or Libya it may have worked". And a negative effect of the Arab Spring was the influx of extremists and other foreign elements in Syria: "In Syria, it destroyed a great Arab country and let in the extremists, *jihādists*, Russians, Iranians, Turkish and Americans".

Within the theme of Islam*ism* and Islam*ist* Extremism, there is a large subtheme that concerns criticisms of Islam*ist* Extremism, which was offered by the participant. They concern: Islam*ist* extremism and *jihādism*, *Hamas*, *Hezbollah*, *Da'ish*, Muslim Brotherhood, and other issues. These subthemes are discussed below and weighted for salience to the research question. Several points follow.

Islamists and extremists interpret Islam in a rigid way and for their own benefit:

"The extremists and *jihādists* use a very rigid interpretation and meaning. They do this for their own gain".

"The Islamists and extremists have their own meaning and interpretation and even they cannot agree with each other".

"This is not something that the Arab World wants the West to know about but it is true. They have their own interpretation. 'To them their way, to me, mine'".

Sharia is threatened not by the West but by extremism:

"It is threatened by Islamist extremism and *jihādism*".

Islamist extremism creates propaganda intended to keep people ignorant:

"Also, they want to give us ideology but keep us in poverty, poverty of knowledge and understanding. They only want us to think what they think".

Furthermore, there is a notion that extremists, both Arab and Western, are ignorant and in need of education and knowledge:

"There are extremists there and they seem ignorant".

"Yes, but this also applies to the West".

"Our future lies in education".

Difficulty in leaving extremist groups:

"It is like a vortex in bathwater that draws many small particles into it. The force just pulls them in with different messages, different incentives, different reasons – adventure, money, Islamic passion; many people for many reasons. But when they are inside the vortex there is no escape, no way back. I think many found this out. I think that *Hezbollah* is like this".

The interviewee expressed criticisms of the Muslim Brotherhood and alleged that it utilises KGB-style espionage tactics in order to advance its grasp of power:

"But they also live in the West and use it to spread their message. They are also happy to have their wives and daughters educated in the West. They do not wear the *niqāb,* their men do not have beards, they blend into Western life without being seen. The West think that it is assimilation but it is more like Russian spies living in London. They are living a lie. But all they really want is power".

The interviewee considered that the Muslim Brotherhood should uses a distorted message and that as an organisation, it probably includes extremist elements:

"Their message is a distortion and when they ruled Egypt, it was a disaster. They had no strategy to help the nation, just themselves. It probably has some extremists in it".

Improving the Image of Arab Muslims in the World.

In this theme, the participant proposed that Arab leaders need to bring freedom, accountability, education, and social justice to the Arab world:

"Arab leaders need to embrace more Western values like freedom of speech and accountability".

"They must spend on the people rather than buying US weapons. Invest in education, health".

"Free the press, free the courts and let their people 'breathe the breath of freedom'. And enjoy social justice".

Additionally, he adumbrated that Muslims living in the West should not antagonise the West but instead integrate better:

"Muslims living in the West should not point fingers at the West. They should integrate better", including their clothing:

"Wearing Middle Eastern clothing in Europe that was designed for the deserts of the Arabian Gulf makes no sense in the 21st Century. In Egypt, most of us in Cairo wear suits".

Reducing Anti-Americanism.

For the reduction of anti-Americanism, the interviewee provided two suggestions: the implementation of a fair and lasting two-state solution for the Palestine-Israel issue and that Europe not America, should be the mediator:

"Try to settle the conflict between Israel and Palestine by bringing about a two-state solution".

"We of this new generation need to find a way to deal with them. Maybe a fair settlement of a Two State Solution can be achieved but not if America is the mediator or negotiator. Europe and the European Union could do this. They do not have an interest in the region".

"Not America but the European Union to moderate. We need a just and lasting settlement".

Furthermore, the participant suggested that the West should stop supporting autocratic Arab regimes, regardless of financial gain or past agreements between them:

"I am going to take a risk here by saying the West must not supporting Arab autocratic regimes just because they have a treaty with them or because they buy US weapons".

It is worthy of note at this point to stress that the interviewee seemed to believe that making the above comment involved a degree of risk to himself. This apprehension and concern was also evident in other transcripts of this IPA analysis.

Additional Observations and Reflections.

Within this theme, personal observations and reflections of the interviewee have been placed. These include that people were tired of their governments, tired of war and violence, and want a decent life for themselves and their families:

"We are tired of America, Israel and our own governments".

"The people are tired of war, fighting and all of that".

"We just want a decent life for our families".

"Many Arabs are tired of the war and destruction in Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen, the refugees flowing into other Arab countries and they do not want any of that where they live. So it has made them tired. We are tired of violence".

A second observation was that different Arab people have different viewpoints, and that there is no single Arab mind:

"But as I said before, there is no single Arab mind".

"As I said before, there is no single Arab Mind".

Interpretations of Islam:

"It depends on which Islam you are speaking about. Is it *Shi'a*, *Sunni* or Salafism and Wahhabism or *jihādism*".

"There is no single Arab 'Mind' and there is no single 'Muslim Mind'".

A final point that was offered by the participant regarding a lesson from Arab Spring, was that he stressed that the risks involved in Arabs overthrowing their governments was too high, unless that government was an extremely ruthless autocratic state:

> **"**The main consequence of the Arab Spring to Arabs is to teach them that the risks of overthrowing the government by a popular uprising are too high. The only exception is where autocratic Arab states start killing their own people and calling them traitors".

Appendix 21

Terminated Interview

Participant Number: Terminated Interview

Interview Date: 26 March 2018

Duration: 42 minutes

All participant replies are in green

RESEARCH QUESTION

An investigation into what role anti-Americanism plays in attracting Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslim males to Islam*ist* extremism, in the contemporary era.

KEY WORDS

Anti-Americanism, Middle Eastern, Arab Sunni Muslim, Males, Islamist extremism and contemporary era.

QUESTIONS

Introduction – Early Years and America

- Can you please tell me a little about yourself and your formative years?
  - I was born in Syria, in Damascus. I lived there for most of my life with my family. My family is still there but it is getting better now. The terrorists are being beaten.

- When did you first become aware of America?
  - Television.

  - Was it in a positive or negative context?
    - Mixed.

  - Can you please elaborate?

- ▪ No reply.

- Have you visited America?
    - o No.

    - o In what capacity – work, student, tourist or other?

        - ▪ N/A

    - o For how long did you stay?
        - ▪ N/A.

    - o Were your impressions positive or negative?
        - ▪ N/A.

    - o Have your opinions been altered in any way by your visit(s)?
        - ▪ N/A.

- Do you or would you:
    - o **Purchase** American products?
        - ▪ Yes.

    - o **Wear** American brands, such as Nike, Calvin Klein, Polo Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, Levi Strauss, Gap, or American Eagle?
        - ▪ Yes, I wear Nike, Calvin Klein, Polo, Tommy, Levi and American Eagle. But I like American Eagle especially.

    - o **Dress** in a contemporary US style such as baseball cap, jeans, 'T' shirt, trainers?
        - ▪ I like the casual style and polo shirts. I also wear jackets and Christian Louboutin shoes. They are French.

    - o **Eat** American fast food such as McDonald's, KFC, Subway, Dunkin' Donuts or Pizza Hut?
        - ▪ Yes. I eat McDonald's, KFC, Subway and Pizza Hut.

    - o **Drink** American soft drinks such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi or Dr Pepper?
        - ▪ Yes. I drink Coca-Cola and Pepsi.

- o **Watch** American made Hollywood movies?
    - ▪ If so which?
        - • Yes.
- o **Watch** US news channels such as CNN, Fox or NBC, on any media platform?
    - ▪ I watch CNN, Fox and NBC.

- o **Listen** to American music such as Pop, Rock, Rap, Heavy Metal, R&B, or Jazz, on any music platform?
    - ▪ If so which?
    - ▪ Yes – I like pop, rock and jazz.

- o **Drive** an American car such as GMC, Ford, Chrysler or Cadillac?
    - ▪ Yes – I own a Ford.

- o **Possess** an Apple iPhone, iPad, MacBook, iMac or use Microsoft?
    - ▪ If so, which?
        - • Yes. I use Apple products.

Family Relatives & Friends

- • How is the West and America generally regarded by you, your family, relatives, and friends?
    - o Never. My family and relatives still live in Damascus. They support the lawful government of Syria and their fight against terrorists.

    - o Has this changed in any way recently?
        - ▪ No.

- • How often is America, its foreign policy, or actions in the Middle East a topic of conversation for you, your family or friends?

    - o Often, sometimes, never?
        - ▪ Never.

Anti-Americanism

- • When did you first become aware of anti-Americanism?
    - o I cannot talk about this.

    - o Within a Middle Eastern context?

        - ▪ No reply.

- How did it manifest itself?

    - N/A.

- Media, social commentators, politicians, religious leaders, organisations, friends, relatives, family or other?

    - N/A.

- Did it affect you in any way? If so how?

    - I cannot talk about this.

- Did it shape your views? If so how?

    - No reply.

- Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your school?

    - If so, how? Why?

        - I cannot talk about this.

- Was anti-Americanism or anti-Westernism present in your college or university?
    - I cannot talk about this.

- Are you consciously aware of anti-Americanism in the Arab media?
    - No reply.

- If so – which parts of the media?
    - No reply.

- To what degree if any does American foreign policy in the Middle East have on Arab Sunni anti-Americanism?
    - No reply.

    - How do you view American foreign policy?

    - No reply.

- To what degree if any does the presence of American military bases in the Middle East and especially in Saudi Arabia, contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?
  - This is too sensitive.

- To what degree if any does 'Americanisation' (globalisation) and its impact on Arab culture and Islamic life contribute to Arab anti-Americanism?
  - I can talk about this from a fashion angle. Yes, Arab dress is changing. Western styles are being absorbed into the Middle East. Tastes are changing. Grooming of men and women also. Bags, shoes, watches, sunglasses and dress are all becoming more global. For those who cannot afford top end designers, there are more popular high street brands and of course fakes or copies of high end brands. I like Western and Turkish style. Cosmetics have almost completely been dominated by Western brands. Arabic perfumes are also popular. Also, many Arabs are getting cosmetic surgery or those who can afford it. Facings on teeth are very common although some are 'wash basin' white.

- To what degree do Middle Eastern Arabs blame America for preexisting problems within the Middle East?
  - I cannot talk about this either.

Causes of Contemporary Anti-Americanism

- What do you think are the causes of contemporary anti-Americanism within the Middle East?
  - Can you please provide some examples?
    - Participant appears nervous and keeps looking around.
    - I am not going to talk about this. My parents and family and relatives are still in Damascus. They support the lawful government of Syria who are fighting terrorists and foreign invaders.
    - I want to read all the questions now.
    - Participant reads all the questions and appears very nervous.
    - The risk is too great. I will not talk about Israel, jihādists, Muslim Brotherhood or the Syrian War on Terrorists.
    - Did you really want to ask me about the Arab Spring in Syria? Seriously? You know, that there is no middle ground in Syria. In Damascus you are either with or against the lawful government of Syria. If you are accused of being against the government, you are a terrorist. If I talk for the government, I am in trouble here, if I talk against the government, I am in trouble there. Also, I do not want any member of my family to go to an interrogation centre. In Syria,

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you have to be on one side or another and <mark>our side is winning</mark>. I do not want to talk any more. I need to go.

- **Participant departs.**
- **Interview terminated.**

  o Is your opinion commonly held?

Sayings or Common Phrases

- What Arab phrases or sayings about the West or America are most memorable to you, or come quickly to your mind?
  o Are these common?

Historical Events

- What do you consider to be the most important historical events in relation to the West's historical relationship with Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

  o Can you explain why?

- How important or relevant do you think historical events such as the Crusades are to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?

  o How important is it to you?

- What historical events can you recall or are important to you in relation to Western interventionism in the Middle East?

- How important do you think the colonial period is to Arab Sunni Muslims?
  o How important is it to you?
  o Do you think that these events are relevant to modern Arab life?

Islam*ism*

- What do you understand by the word Islam*ism*?

- When did you first become aware of Islam*ism* or Islam*ist* ideologues?
  o If so, which ideologues?

Palestine & Israel

- How important is the Palestinian issue to modern Arab Sunni Muslims?
  o Is this issue reducing in importance in Arab minds in any way?

- How important is the Palestinian issue to you?
    - Is this issue reducing in importance in your mind?
- How do you feel about the 1948, 1967, 1973 wars?

- Do you view Israel as an illegal occupier of Palestine and Palestinian territory?
- Do most Arab Sunni Muslims accept the existence of the State of Israel?
    - Do you?

- How do you view the Israeli occupation of Lebanon which lasted 18 years (1982-2000)?
- Do you view the State of Israel as legitimate?
- Do you view Israel as a terrorist state?
- To what extent is anti-Americanism caused by US support for the State of Israel or linked to the US/ Israeli alliance?
    - How do you feel about American support for Israel?

    - How do you feel about this alliance?

- To what extent is America's support for Israeli used by Islam*ists* to recruit Arab Sunni Muslims?

- Does the US support for Israel undermine its purported independence in negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?

- Do many Arab Sunni Muslims conflate Judaism with Israelis or Zionism?

- Do you consider Hamas (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah*) to be a terrorist organisation? If so why? If not, why not?

- Do you consider the military wing of Hamas (*Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades*) to be a terrorist organisation?
    - Were the Intifadas[1039] against Israel justified?

    - If so, why?

- Do you consider Hezbollah to be a terrorist organisation?

[1039] Intifadas - 1st Intifada - 1987-1991, 2nd Intifada – 2000-2005 and 3rd - Intifada 2014.

- o If so, why?

- Do you consider Hezbollah's attacks on Israel to be terrorist? If so why?

- Were the deaths of 7 x family members of a Palestinian family[1040] (Ghaliya family) on Gaza beach in 2006 caused by an Israeli artillery barrage, an act of terrorism?

- In the 2014 Gaza conflict, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) state that 1,462 x Palestinian civilians were killed by Israeli Defence Force (IDF) aerial bombing, tank and artillery fire[1041] and that 5 x Israeli civilians were killed by Hamas rockets.

    - o What is your view on the proportionality of this?

    - o In what way does this influence your opinion of America and its support for Israel?

    - o In what way does this impact on Arab minds in relation to America's support for Israel?

    - o Does it contribute to anti-Americanism?

    - o Do you have any other related views?
- Do you believe that America considers 'Israeli blood' to be more valuable than Arab 'Palestinian blood'?

US Led Invasion of Iraq

- Is the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq still a 'burning issue' to Arab Sunni Muslims?
- **Iraqi loss of life due to the war**

[1040] On 9 June 2006, at *Beit Lahia* Beach located in the north of Gaza, a barrage of Israeli artillery shells killed 7 x members of the same Palestinian family (3 x children, aged 1, 3 and 10), which had been "packed" with picnicking Palestinian families (McGreal, 2006). McGreal, (2006). Death on the beach: Seven Palestinians Killed as Israeli Shells Hit Family Picnic, *The Guardian*, [online]. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/jun/10/israel [Accessed 12 Aug. 2017].
[1041] Involving "6,000 airstrikes by Israel and approximately 50,000 tank and artillery shells fired" (UNHR, 2015) during the 51 day operation. UNHR, (2015). 'UN Gaza Inquiry finds credible allegations of war crimes committed in 2014 by both Israel and Palestinian armed groups', *UN*, [online]. Available at:
http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=16119 [Accessed 26 Aug. 2017].

- o John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health calculated that 655,000 Iraqis died as a consequence of the 2003 Iraq War[1042] (reported in *The Lancet* medical journal).

- o The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that 151,000 violent deaths in Iraq occurred from March 2003 to June 2006[1043].

- o Classified Pentagon files released by WikiLeaks recorded in excess of 66,000 civilians killed in the Iraq War between 2004 and 2009[1044].

- How do you feel about these statistics?

- Is the loss of Iraqi life still a 'burning issue'?

  - o With you?

  - o With other Arabs?

- How important to modern Arab Sunni Muslims are the documented American atrocities and human rights violations at *Abu Ghraib* detention facility, the assaults on *Fallujah*[1045] (Apr & Nov 2004), the use of extraordinary rendition[1046], or the existence of Guantanamo Bay detention facility?

- To what extent do you think the US led invasion of Iraq contributed to:
  - o A growth in anti-Americanism?
  - o The formation of *Daesh* or ISIS?

    - Who do you think created Daesh?

[1042] Burnham, G. Lafta, R. Doocy, S., and Roberts, L. (2006). Mortality after the 2003 invasion of Iraq: a cross-sectional cluster sample survey. *The Lancet,* 11 Oct 2006, [online]. Available at: http://www.thelancet.com/pdfs/journals/lancet/PIIS0140-6736(06)69491-9.pdf [Accessed 17 Oct. 2016].
[1043] Iraq Family Health Survey (IFHS) Group (2008). Violence-Related Mortality in Iraq from 2002 to 2006, Engl, N. and Med, J. in, *The New England Journal of Medicine*, [online]. Available at: http://www.nejm.org/doi/full/10.1056/NEJMsa0707782#t=article and https://www.medpagetoday.com/upload/2008/7/24/431.pdf [Accessed 10 Feb 2017 and 18 Aug. 2017].
[1044] Leigh, D. (2010). Iraq War Logs Reveal 15,000 Previously Unlisted Civilian Deaths, *The Guardian*, 22 Oct 2010, [online]. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/22/true-civilian-body-count-iraq [Accessed: 28 Nov. 2016].
[1045] UN General Assembly Human Rights Council (HRC) (2014). 22nd Special Session. Written Statement Submitted by the Human Rights Now (HRN). The HRN report states "grave violations of international human rights and humanitarian law by occupying powers in Iraq. For example, the US attacks on Fallujah in April and November 2004 were widely reported to include alleged war crimes, direct attacks against the civilian population, use of white phosphorous weapons on civilians, and a denial of citizen's access to hospitals" Human Rights Now (HRN) report (GE.14-15261 (E) published in, *UN General Assembly, HRC, A/HRC/S-22/NGO/9* dated 1 Sep. 2014. *HRN*, [online]. Available at: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/805885/files/A_HRC_S-22_NGO_9-EN.pdf [Accessed 26 Nov. 2016].
[1046] Extraordinary Rendition - can be defined as the government-sponsored detention (abduction) and extrajudicial transfer and interrogation of suspected persons from one country to another.

- o Destabilisation of the region -
  Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Influence of Iran or Turkey or others?

  o Increased Islam*ist* extremism?

- What do you believe are the consequences of the invasion?

- What do you think about the US led invasion of Iraq?

- What do you think was the primary reason for the invasion?

Daesh / ISIS / Jihād / Syria

- Islam*ists* derive their Islam*ic* theological credibility by claiming to be waging *jihād* and living according to the Hadith and Sunnah, similar to the earlier caliphates. To what extent is this correct?

- What do you understand as the meaning of *jihād*?

  o In what circumstances may it be waged?

- What do you understand as the meaning of the terms *Takfir*[1047] and *Kafir* or unbeliever?

  o How do you feel about this concept in the modern world?

- Islam*ist* extremism can be said to grow in the 'fertile ground of ignorance'. Is this correct?

  o To what extent does this fuel anti-Americanism?

  o Can you please provide examples?

- It is said by some Arab Sunni Muslims that "*Daesh* are extreme and do terrible things but they 'fight' the Syrian regime with commitment and the other opposition groups do not".

[1047] *Takfir– Sharia* refers to the declaration by one Muslim that another Muslim is an apostate or *kafir* (Brown, 2010, p. 89).

- To what extent is this correct, if at all?

- Was the burning alive of Muath Al-Kasasbeh[1048] a terrorist act or an act of *jihād*?
- What do you think of ISIS attacks on Shia *masjids* (mosques) and the Shia community?

- Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be fair and reasonable?

- Do you consider Hezbollah's use in Iraq and Syria against Sunni's to be terrorist?

'Arab Spring' (*Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī*)

- What have been the consequences of the *Ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī* - 'Arab Spring' for Middle Eastern Arabs?

- What was the impact of the 'Arab Spring' on the current situation in the Muslim world and its relationship with the outside world?

- Do you like or use the term 'Arab Spring'?

- Do you view the 'Arab Spring' positively or negatively?

- Do you consider the death of Mohamed Bouazizi[1049] to have been worth it?

Muslim Brotherhood

- The Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) are viewed as an extremist organisation in some countries but not in others and is banned in some countries but not in others; do you believe that it is extremist?

    o Do you believe that it should be banned?

    o What do you think of their recent experience in Egypt?

    o Are the teachings of Sayyid Qutb relevant to modern Arabs?

[1048] Muath Safi Yousef Al-Kasasbeh (1988-2015), the Royal Jordanian Air Force pilot who was captured and burned to death by the so called 'Islamic State' *jihadists* after his F-16 fighter aircraft crashed over Syria in January 2015. His death became a rallying point for many moderate *Sunni* Arabs against ISIS, *Jihadists* and Islam*ism* in general.
[1049] Mohamed Bouazizi – the Tunisian street vendor who set himself on fire in December 2010 and became the catalyst for large scale demonstrations which ultimately led to the removal of President Ben Ali in January 2011.

- It is said that political Islamists such as the Muslim Brotherhood only gain popularity because they replace the social and other services that should be delivered by many Arab governments.

    o Is this correct?

    o Does this contribute to anti-Americanism?

    o Does this contribute to extremism?

- Is the Muslim Brotherhood anti-Western?

Islam

- Do you think that Islam is a religion of peace?
- If so why? If not why not?

- What do you think that some and possibly many Westerners conflate Islam with Islamist terrorism?

- Why are 'radical Muslims' seen as representative of Islam in the West?
- Sunni Islam has no globally accepted central religious leader or doctrinal centre such as the Grand *Ayatollah* in Shia Islam or the Pope or Vatican for Roman Catholics;

    o Does this contribute to a situation where Islam*ist* extremists can interpret Quranic texts in an extremist manner?

    o What do you view as the solution to this challenge?

- Is Sharia compatible with democracy?

- Is Islam or Sharia threatened by Western scientific humanism or the secular 'Enlightenment'?

Possible Solutions

- What do you think the West or America can do to reduce the levels of anti-Americanism amongst Middle Eastern Arab Sunni Muslims?

Improvements in the Image of Arab Muslim World

- What do you think can be done to improve the image of the Arab / Muslim world in the rest of the world?

Any Other Matters

- Is there any other matter related to the research question (directly or indirectly) which you would like to mention?