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THEORIZING A NEW SECURITY MODEL OF RADICALIZATION: THE CONICAL MODEL

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ABSTRACT

The words radical and radicalization have been used frequently since 2004 after the Madrid and London bombings. In reality, the term 'radical' predates to the eighteenth century when it was used in a different context. The current meanings of the terms 'radical' and 'radicalization' make them distinct categories of analysis from related but different concepts of terrorism and extremism. The current paper is an attempt to explain the origin and evolution of the concept of radicalization to date, delineate the difficulties in theorizing its universal definition, signify its precursors and causes, highlight a few models used for objectively measuring its nature and extent, and finally, to describe and explain a new security model namely The Conical Model of Causal Factors and Behavioural Cues of Radicalization. The proposed model of radicalization is multidimensional in approach. It gives insight into the causes and manifest behaviour associated with radicalization. The model is far- reaching in extent and valid for future practical application in the field of security studies. The Conical Model is a theoretical model with great practical potential. It fills the existing research gap as it holistically explains the process of becoming radicalized, depicts the individual after radicalization and also distinguishes between violent radicalism and non- violent radicalism.

INTRODUCTION

History took a turn for the worse when ten bombs exploded on four commuter trains in Madrid, Spain, killing 191 people and injuring more than 1,800 on March 11, 2004 according to CNN. Next year, another bloodbath occurred when three suicide bombings killed 52 people and injured more than 700 on the London Underground on July 7, 2005 (CNN). Having failed to understand the causes of terrorism and its preventive measures in spite of a burgeoning field of terrorism studies, policy makers sought to understand and eliminate its root

causes by coining a new term "radicalization" soon after 3/11 and 7/7 (Hornqvist and Flyghed, 2012). Prior to 2001, the word 'radicalization' was used in academic literature to depict a turn towards "more radical politics", whereas by 2004, the term was loaded with negative connotations pertaining specifically to Muslims becoming extremists (Kundnani, 2012). This paper throws light on the nature of radicalization, causes of radicalization, its analytical models and proposes a new radicalization model: The Conical Model of Causal Factors and Behavioural Cues of Radicalization. The current research is in an attempt to answer the following research questions:-

a.   What is the nature of radicalization?
b.   What causes radicalization?
c.   What does radicalization lead to? or How can the transition from radicalism to terrorism be mapped?

In order to answer these research questions, the paper proposes a radicalization model for analyzing the causes, cues and different stages of radicalization. The analytical model is an attempt to understand the phenomenon of radicalism from its stages of initiation to culmination in the form of either violent radicalism or non- violent radicalism. Besides, it also helps to offer insight into de radicalization strategies.

Origin and Evolution of the term "Radicalization"

The word 'radical' is derived from the Latin word 'radix' meaning 'root'. It is defined as something 'new' or 'different' by the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (Hornby, 2005). The term 'radical' antedates to the eighteenth century when it was used to denote 'liberal' and pro-democratic people[6] (Schmid, 2005). The term has undergone many changes over a century of its usage. Nowadays, it is mostly associated with the phenomenon of extremism and terrorism. Schmid differentiates among these three terms. He describes the history of radicalism in the eighteenth century when the word 'radical' was used for those who adhered to democracy, liberalism and the Enlightenment project, hence underscoring positive meanings of radicalism like open- mindedness and inquisitiveness. Contrarily, extremism is understood as a rigid and close-minded phenomenon antithetical to democracy and change. When radicalism and extremism culminate in physically violent forms, the phenomenon is called terrorism. However, radicalization does not necessarily end in terrorist acts. Therefore, there is a distinction between violent radicalism and non- violent radicalism.

Radicalization or radicalism can be one of the many pathways to and mechanisms of terrorism, but most people who support radical ideas do not necessarily become terrorists[7] (Borum, 2011). Research is lacking in understanding fully why and how different people become radicalized and either progress to or don't progress to terrorism. The current paper proposes the Conical Model to explore the causes behind radicalism or radicalization. It specifically addresses this fundamental transition from radicalization to terrorism.

One of the subfields of security studies is terrorism studies which aims to solve the problem of terrorism via counter- terrorism policies grounded in theoretical and empirical research[8] (Gunning, Jackson and Smyth, 2007). Abundant literature was produced to understand and resolve the terrorist problem following the catastrophe of 9/11 (Maskaliunaite, 2015). The inability to eliminate terrorism spelled failure for researchers and policy makers. It was also realized following 3/11 and 7/7 that terrorism is a nuanced and layered problem which cannot be simplified to a cause-and-effect relationship (Horgan, 2007 as cited in Voorde, 2011). Hence, radicalization emerged as a branch within terrorism studies in 2004 as an effort to get acquainted with the cognitive patterns and external conditions leading to terrorism.

Nature of Radicalization and Difficulty in Defining the Concept

Due to this shift in meanings of the term, Leonidas Karakatsanis and Marc Herzog describe radicalization as a term "loaded with value judgments" and both positive and negative connotations in political, socio- political and politico- philosophical discourses (2016). There is a lot of ambiguity related to the concept of radicalization because there is no unanimous definition (Githens-Mazer, 2008). The term radical Islamists has increasingly begun to be used specifically for Muslim terrorists or extremists who rebel against "the liberal western, political thought" (Hansen and Kainz, 2007). McCauley and Moskalenko rid the concept of its Muslim specificity by giving two categories of "activism" and "radicalism", where the former refers to engagement in "legal and non- violent political action" while the latter is defined as participation in "illegal and political action" (2011). Due to this politicization of the term, Schmid calls radicalization as a "political shibboleth" (2005), whereas Githens-Mazer (2008) categorizes it as an 'elite-driven popular construction of perceived causation'. These diverse views about radicalization make it difficult for a unanimous definition of the concept.

In short, in its positive connotations as given by Schmid (2013) and Karakatsanis and Herzog (2016) the concept is useful in fostering change in a society, whereas in its negative connotations it can help to identify one of the pathways of terrorism and thus, help in its elimination. The focus of this paper is limited to radicalization as used in this latter negative political connotation.

Proposed Operational Definition

Based on the explanation of the nature of the term as ambiguous and defying definitional boundaries, the current paper uses the following operational definition of radicalization:-

"A socio- psychological process forcing individuals to adopt ideologies, attitudes and behaviour against the mainstream status quo in matters pertaining to religion and politics, resulting either in violence or non-violence is called radicalization" (Noor, 2017).

This definition captures both the positive and negative connotations within the meaning of the term. It also enshrines both the types of radicalism, that is,

violent radicalization and non- violent radicalization. The intensification of beliefs can result in non- violent radicalization or culminate in violent radicalism. Adoption of ideas contrary to the mainstream implies at the positive connotation of the word radicalization where it can bring about positive changes in society. Thus, this definition embodies the ambiguous nature of the concept and also tries to counter the definitional problem of limiting the process to either one of its meanings.

Precursors of Radicalization

The precursors of radicalization are numerous operating at different levels. Alex P. Schmid (2013), Della Porta and La Free (2012), and Veldhuis and Staun (2009) divide the causes into micro, meso and macro levels. The micro level precursors deal with an individual's personal inclinations and psychological constitution which contribute towards a person's radicalization. Socio-psychological theories help in studying micro level precursors (Rahimullah, Larmar and Abdalla, 2013). Stimulants at the meso level include organizational and institutional factors leading towards radicalization. Researchers often use case studies of Al- Qaeda to explore the role of organizational galvanization of radicalization and generalize the results to jihadist/ Islamist radicalization[19,20] (Wiktorowicz, 2005); Anderson, 2009). At the macro level, large- scale national and international phenomenon are explored as causes and precursors of radicalization. Factors which contribute towards radicalization at this level include forms of government, governmental transitions, types of regime, democratic or authoritarian mores etc. (Larzillière, 2012; Heiduk 2012). This division of precursors into three categories helps study a broad range of causes in a delimited and understandable way.

Theories and Models of Radicalization

In order to understand various factors linked with radicalization like its causes, effects and stages of graduation, researchers study the process through theories and models. These theories are inter- disciplinary including subject matter from diverse fields of sociology, psychology, behavioural sciences and criminology so as to study the process holistically (Nasser-Eddine et al. 2011). For instance, Crossett and Spitaletta (2010) include sixteen different theories in their causal explanation of radicalization (as cited in Borum, 2011).

Besides theoretical focus, various models have been proposed to investigate the phenomenon. For instance, security agencies like NYPD (New York Police Department) and PET (Danish Intelligence Services) tackle the problem through phase models. These kinds of models are practical and are used for identification and prevention of radicalization. Other models have been developed by Velhuis and Staun (2009), Wiktorowicz (2004), Roy (2004) and Moghaddem (2005) (Rahimullah, Larmar and Abdalla, 2013). The Conical Model (Noor, 2017) proposed in this paper is an adaptation of the Root Cause Model by Veldhuis and Staun (2009) and Behavioural Model by Klausen, Campion, Needle, Nguyen and Libretti (2016).

Conical Model of Causal Factors and Behavioural cues of Radicalization

The current paper attempts to give a radicalization model which can study the development of radicalization in an individual or a group. The model is adapted from Veldhuis and Staun's Root Cause Model (2009) and Klausen et al.'s Behavioural Model (2016).

The model highlights the causes leading to radicalization through a three- tiered concentric circular base. Each circle represents the precursors of radicalization at micro, meso and macro levels. Some of the causes may be overlapping, but the model tries to place them in distinct categories. The conical structure of the model traces the gradual development of radicalization through time in the form of different stages. Each stage includes various behavioural manifestations or cues which point towards the extent of radicalization. The model is useful for studying both violent and non- violent radicalization. In addition, it can also chart individuals who do not radicalize given the same circumstances. In such a way, the model is not limited to a biased control group constituting only radical individuals because that would have been insufficient to explain why some individuals do not radicalize given the same set of causes and why some radicals become violent and others do not become violent. Hence, the model is not hampered by the problem of selection bias.

Figure 1 Conical Model of Causal Factors and Behavioural Changes of Radicalization
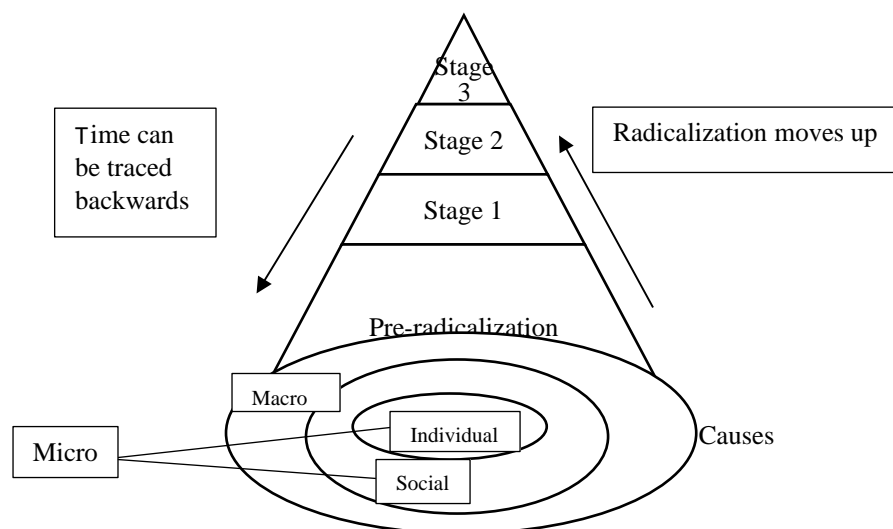
Note. From Sara Noor (2017, p.32). The concentric circles at the base of the Conical Model depict the causes of radicalization. These causes give rise to behavioural cues among radicalized individuals. The radicalized individuals gradually progress along the stages of radicalization.

The micro individual causes include personal characteristics and experiences. The micro social causes include social identity, interaction and relative deprivation. The macro level causes include international relations, modernization, globalization and poor integration. These causal factors are adapted from the Root Cause Model of Veldhuis and Staun (2009). The

behavioural cues in the pre- radicalization stage include information seeking, personal crisis, trauma, disillusionment and presence of authority figures. Cues at Stage 1 include lifestyle changes, education withdrawal, proselytization, drop out and underemployment. Stage 2 includes behavioural patterns of peer immersion, training, desire for action and marriage seeking. Stage 3 includes contacts with a foreign organization, steps to violence and passive support.

Formulating the Conical Model of Radicalization

In order to understand its adaptation and formulation, the Root Cause and Behavioural models need to be understood as the proposed model fills the gap between these existing models and presents a new security model to understand and tackle the problem holistically.

Root Cause Model

This model explains the micro individual, micro social and macro level causes of radicalization. These levels provide the necessary prerequisites or 'preconditions' of radicalization in individual and social contexts. The strength of the model is its explanation of 'catalysts' or 'trigger events' which propel an individual to become radicalized or not. Thus, it can account for why someone has become radicalized. On the other hand, its drawback is that it cannot explain how radicalization occurs as the causes are not integrated into a chronological pattern (Rahimullah, Larmar, Abdalla, 2013).

Figure 2: Causal Factors of Radicalization
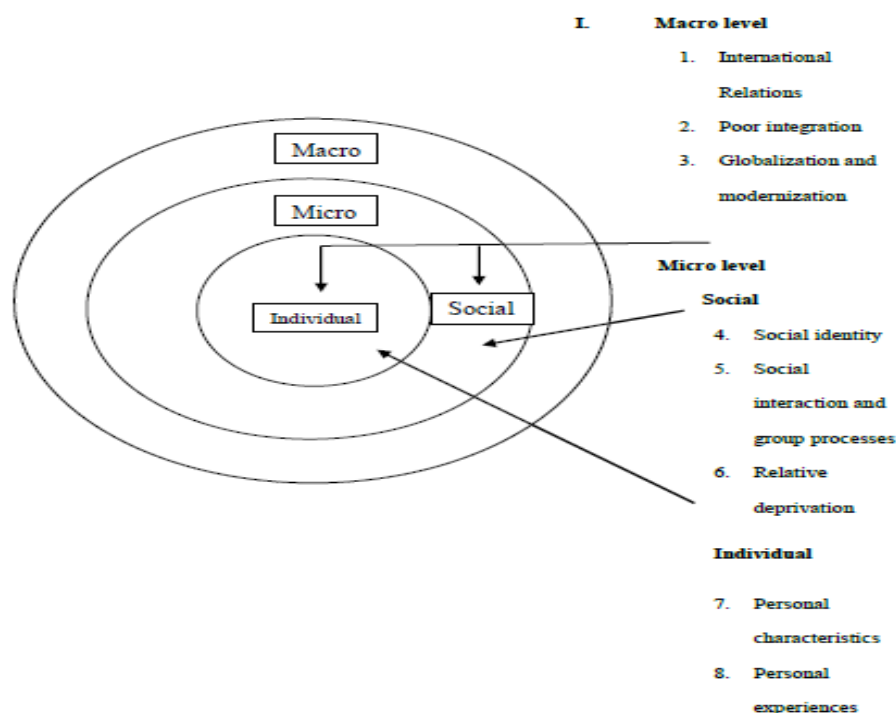
Note: From Veldhuis and Staun (2009, p.28).

Table 1
Causes at Different Levels of the Root Cause Model

Macro level	Micro Social level	Micro Individual level
International Relations	Social identity	Personal characteristics
Poor integration	Social interaction and group processes	Personal experiences
Globalization and modernization	Relative deprivation	

Note: From Veldhuis and Staun (2009, p.28). The causal factors behind radicalization are divided into three categories.

Behavioural Model

This model is a type of phase model. Phase models explain the process of radicalization through stages. The Behavioural model also divides the process into four stages. Each stage has separate behavioural cues which reveal a person's extent of radicalization. The first stage is pre- radicalization. It includes the set of behavioural indicators conducive for developing radicalization like personal trauma, one's search for information etc. The next stage called the 1st stage includes deliberate life style changes like proselytization, drop out etc. The subsequent 2nd stage includes indicators like training and peer pressure. The fourth and last 3rd stage includes passive support of and steps to violence. The strength of the model is that it is able to trace the process of radicalization in its different stages and also find out the time of becoming radicalized in specific cases. The limitation of this model is that it depends on a set of 'listed' cues or indicators- called 'unspecific characteristics' by Veldhuis and Staun (2009)- to characterize any one as a radical and thus, it remains insufficient to explain why some people with visible cues are actually not radicals. The model is only operative on violent radicals under observation for research in the form of a controlled group, hence the results generalized to the whole population exhibit a bias and the problem of statistical discrimination.

Figure 3 Behavioural Model of Homegrown Radicalization Trajectories
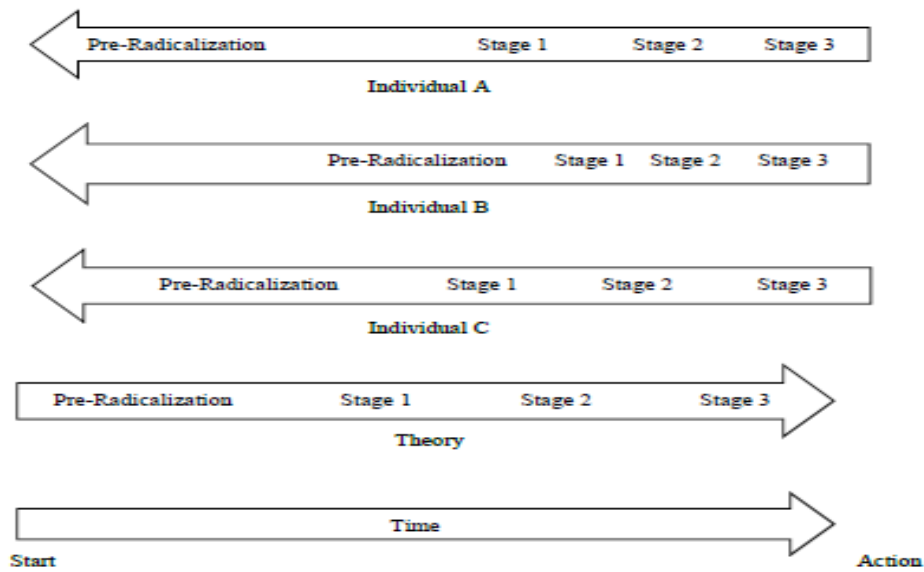
Note: From Klausen, Campion, Needle, Nguyen and Libretti (2016, p.6).

Table 2 Behavioural Changes in Different Stages

Pre-Radicalization	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
Seeking information	Lifestyle change	Peer immersion	Foreign organization
Personal crisis	Education withdrawal	Training	Steps to violence
Trauma	Da'wah (virtual or real)	Desire for action	Passive support
Disillusionment	Dropout	Marriage seeking	
Authority figures	Underemployment		

Note: From Klausen, Campion, Needle, Nguyen and Libretti (2016, p.8).

Strengths of the Conical Model

The Conical model bridges the gap between existing models which either explain the stages or causal factors of radicalization. The strengths of the Conical model include its amalgamation of both the causes and their effects in the form of behavioural patterns. It also traces an individual's progression through time and hence, can account for the shift from non- radicalism to radicalism and from radicalism to terrorism. Moreover, it can also trace when an individual has not radicalized at all. So, one of its strengths is that it does not depend only on the control group used for studying radicalization. It can be equally applied to non- radical individuals and hence, it is greatly beneficial for distinguishing between problematic elements and safer elements in a society. It

can be used for contextual studies of individuals. As the causal factors are at the base of the model, it is each individual's interaction with and responses to those precursors that determine one's position on the radicalization trajectory. In this way, the model does three things: it provides a causal base for radicalization to occur; it gives a chronological account of radicalization; the interplay between the base of the model and the overlying cone suggests how each individual will proceed along the trajectory contextually.

Another strength of the model is that it can be applied to individuals as well as groups and organizations to determine their association with radicalism. Since the model is applicable on both radicals and non- radicals, it takes into account the ambiguous nature of radicalization. Last but not the least, just as going upwards through the various stages depicts increasing radicalization, likewise going downwards through the same stages points towards de- radicalization. Policy makers can take steps to counter the behavioural patterns exhibited in radicalizing individuals to make them disengage from radicalism. Thus, the model can be used in studying diverse individuals from various backgrounds, understand their extent of radicalization and even de- radicalization based on their outward behaviour.

Limitations and Scope of the Conical Model

The model needs to be tested in the field of security studies to become more useful and practical. At present, it has only been tested theoretically by carrying out case studies of fictional characters from two novels in a research study "Representation of Radicalization in Western and Indigenous Literature: A Study of Updike's *Terrorist* and Ahmed's *Muqaddas*" by the author (2017) as these were the easily accessible case studies to depict the model's application. The current paper is delimited in scope as it explains the theoretical workings of the Conical model. The empirical application of the model offers scope of future research. Biographies and case studies of radicals, non- radical individuals and violent radicals can be tested to ascertain the usefulness of the model in correctly identifying and eliminating the problem.

CONCLUSION
The aim of this study was to identify the nature, causes and effects of radicalization by mapping the whole process in the form of an analytical model. First, the paper explained the origin and evolution of the concept of radicalization, linked it with the explanation of its ambiguous nature and proposed an operational definition. The focus of the definition was on pointing out the positive and negative connotations of the term as well as mentioning the two types of radicalization, that is, violent and non- violent. Then, the paper briefly explained various precursors and theories of radicalization. Next, the Conical model's formulation, adaptation and usefulness were explained theoretically. The model addressed the research questions about the nature, causes and transitional mechanisms of radicalization.

DISCUSSION
The capacity of the model to be equally applicable to a wide range of individuals directly relates with the ambiguous nature of the concept. The model clearly

delineates the varying radicalization trajectories for radicals and non- radical individuals. It depicts a "continuum" of behaviours in a specific socio- political context to highlight the relative and ambiguous nature of radicalization. This is how radicalization should be understood according to Sedgwick (2010). Hence, the first aim of the current research is adequately analyzed through description and via the model.

The base of the cone mentions the causal factors responsible for radicalization. The causes may be overlapping in individual cases, but are broadly categorized separately. This part of the model addresses the second research question. The cone and its radicalization trajectory in the form of stages mentions the effects of those causes and explains the symptoms of becoming radicalized. The inter- relationship between the causes and the symptoms or the base of the model and the overlying cone explain how and when radicalization occurs. To sum up, the model bridges the research gap by combining linear progression of individuals, causal explanatory factors at personal, social and international levels and the inter- relationship between these two in specific contexts to provide a holistic treatment of the problem.

Implications for De radicalization

Individuals who are under the surveillance of law- enforcing agencies for their capacity to commit to radical ideas and conduct violence, can be gauged and monitored using this model. The law- enforcing agencies can take necessary steps to reverse the radicalization process by gradually minimizing and eliminating those causes and behavioural cues which had led to radicalization in the first place. For instance, if an individual with personal traits depicting a proclivity to violence, begins to display behavioural symptoms like training and peer immersion within the larger micro- social context of social interaction and group processes, interference can be made in time to distance such an individual from nefarious groups and their harmful influence. Utilized on a large scale, the model can be used to study multiple cases and take necessary measures to de- radicalize them.

Implications for Future Research

There is potential of identifying and eliminating the problem of radicalization by understanding various individuals according to the suggested causes and cues. Policy makers and law enforcement agencies can use this model in empirical settings. The Conical model can be employed in empirical researches to distinguish between radicals and non- radicals. It can also come in handy for adopting de- radicalization practices to reverse the behavioural patterns indicated by individuals along the radicalization trajectory. Future researches can also identify further causal factors and behavioural manifestations linked with radicalization.

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