How to Counter Terrorism and Extremism in the Middle East: Jordan's Measurements and Strategies

Bader Seetan Al-Madi, The German Jordanian University, School of Applied Humanities and Languages, Amman- Jordan 11180, Email: bader.madi67@gmail.com

Radicalisation acts by Muslim extremists consist of a domestic threat to Jordan's security and safety. Hence, Jordanian political strategies intend to have control over any radical acts to maintain the country's security. Violent radicalisation has emerged as an essential theoretical and empirical topic aiming to find reliable measurements that counter extremisms. The present paper investigates the existing terrorists threat causes and levels in Jordan and the possible methods of countering this terrorism. More specifically, the study focuses on the Jordanian policies and tactics for preventing and reducing terrorism, radicalisation, encompassing security, diplomatic, and legal efforts. This study's key conclusion is that Jordan has succeeded in developing ground-breaking measures and techniques to resist and oppose terrorism and radicalisation. Therefore, Jordan is considered to be a key player in the unending battle against terrorism and extremism.

Key words: *Measurement, Terrorism, Violence, Radicalisations, Extremism.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is one of the terrible crimes against humanity due to the lack of respect for religion, sovereignty and boundaries. Violent extremism is becoming a phenomenon that is considered to be a significant threat to the worldwide security that no country or religion can claim to be immune to this ever-increasing threat. With the increase of radicalisation and extremism, the Arab region is mainly affected by this danger to the regions' safety and security. The growth of the military struggles in Iraq, Libya, Yemen and Syria, aside from the destroying situations in Palestine, has contributed to increased terrorism and extremism. Other less recognisable factors are the governmental deficit, inequality, poverty and

marginalisation of youth. However, terrorism actions are complex and emerged due to complex and interlinked factors that required an integrated approach to tackle the leading causes of it.

Throughout history, Jordan has experienced several kinds of terrorism attacks. Hence, their experience with terrorism helped provide an essential insight into the best ways to deal with the situations. It can be argued that, therefore, Jordan has succeeded in opposing terrorism. All acts of terrorism were condemned by Jordan using all the available tools to do so. These tools are exemplified by the military forces and non-military ones such as education, economy and diplomacy. The Jordanian government has also endorsed its commitments to the world community in fighting terrorism and extremism. It pays excellent efforts to prevent any terrorist activities regardless of their source and target. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) which represents Islamic states stated that there is a strong relation between terrorism and increased psychological distress and traumatic stress disorder. According to OIC, it might affect the health outcomes of the population in general and adolescents specifically. Hence, the concept of terrorism started to become an essential determinant of the public's mental health.

Research on extremism and radicalisation has been a growing field in social science in the last decades. Such growth can be accredited to destructive attacks that threaten the worldwide stability in the recent years (Borum, 2012; McCauley & Moskalenko, 2017). Regardless of the progressive advancement of the field, the problem of finding unified definitions of terms like "terrorism," "radicalisation" and "extremism" still exists, which in turn limits the potential of establishing an approach that explores them all (Sedgwick,2010; Schmid, 2013). Other researchers insisted on the importance of making distinctions between terrorism ideologies and actions since these are two different yet related concepts. Moskalenko & McCauley (2009) and Bertelsen (2018) maintained that radical thoughts do not necessarily lead to terrorist actions. Radicalisation, therefore, can be assumed to be a consequence reaction of accepting extremist ideology and action.

Krueger & Malečková (2003) conducted survey data from a wide range of Jordanians to identify factors contributing to the radicalisation trends. The paper also identifies Zarqa and Irbid as hotbeds of radicalisation. The study found that many of the young people who radicalised were well-educated and middle or upper class; and based on this data it concludes that economic concerns are not a significant factor in radicalisation. In Jordan, there is too high unemployment among young people entering the workforce, and the rate for secondary degree holders is nearly double the general rate. Therefore, the fear of lack of economic and employment opportunities could still contribute to recruit more individuals to such radical and extremist groups and to engage in their radical activities even the individuals themselves are relatively wealthy. The survey data showed that there is deficient support for any Islamist group among the general population, even in areas with higher radicalisation instances. It also

concluded that many young people being radicalised have much of their early contact with extremist groups through the internet. It represents a global trend, and the extremist groups' ability to adapt to their online environment faster than the rest of the world can shut them out.

Most of the previous research conducted on the field of radicalisation and terrorism was empirical. This is because the applied research is the only way to adequately investigate the valid measures to apprehend the phenomenon. For example, Borum (2012, 2014, 2015) conducted pieces of empirical research on the progressive development of terrorism measures. He maintained that terrorism and radicalisation research needs an experimental and empirical foundation established through inferential statistics. In his article, Borum (2012) investigated the problems in defining concepts like terrorism and radicalisation and tried to review some theories that might provide clear definitions of these concepts. The study also tried to explain some frameworks that might help in understanding terrorism-related behaviour. Likewise, Borum (2015) suggested some possible approaches that assess extremism and terrorism activities' risks on individuals. The study revealed a connection between radical beliefs and actions; yet, a distinction needs to be established.

Jordan faces a severe threat from homegrown radicalisation and returning foreign terrorist fighters and the possibility of refugees becoming radicalised due to unsatisfactory conditions and limited room for improvement within camps. The refugee population are being used to smuggle committed ISIS fighters into Jordan. Yom & Katrina (2017) explored radicalisation sources broadly among young Jordanians by ISIS since the group's declaration of a Caliphate. The study found that the Jordanian countering violent extremism programs are based on the government's broad social and political control over society to increase the cost of succumbing to ISIS's pull factors. Although this may have some limited effectiveness at preventing young Jordanians from operating on behalf of ISIS, it fails to address the local push factors which make an extremist ideology attractive. The authors argue that "young Jordanians are susceptible to radicalisation not just because Islamist radicalism seems so strong, but because the political alternative — everyday life as a Jordanian citizen—is so weak". The paper argues that further countering violent extremism programs must address this identity deficit to counter Islamic extremist groups' pull.

Speckhard (2017) identifies a wide variety of factors that contribute to violent radicalisation. Some are the unfortunate circumstance of Jordan's geographic position and neighbouring conflicts – for example, the nearby presence of Islamist groups and violent conflicts is a significant factor. Frustration with sectarian politics in the Middle East, a feeling of shared identity with the Sunni victims of the Syrian Civil War and the ongoing conflicts in Iraq are also influential. However, the study also presents economics, substandard education and political stagnation as factors that make jihadist groups more appealing. The report also uses data from in-country sources to identify centres of radicalisation. It includes cities like Rusaifa, Irbid, Ma'an and Salt as areas of particular danger. These regions are relatively urban

but secondary cities that lack the development and opportunities of larger cities like Amman. It also addresses the challenges of imprisonment, deradicalisation and reintegration of Jordanian foreign terrorist fighters. Although the country currently forbids any foreign terrorist fighters who fought with an Islamist group from returning, the report estimates that in (2017) there were about 500 already in Jordan and at least 1,000 more who might return in the future. Jordan will be forced to develop a strategy to counter these actors as they have the commitment, training and capacity to commit significant domestic terror acts.

1.1. Scope Concepts Definitions

The concepts of radicalism and extremism are commonly misused because of the political and psychological overlap between them. That is to say, although there are no consensus definitions of these terms, both are two forms of violence. Bötticher (2017) stated that extremism is more of a modern origin even though radicalism has been around at least the 18th century as long as the term's origin is considered. Preceding scholars have provided several definitions of radicalisation. McCauley & Moskalenko (2008), for example, have provided a descriptive as well as a functional definition of radicalisation. From a descriptive perspective, they maintained that radicalisation entails a change in the beliefs and behaviours that defend and justify the intergroup violence. However, from a functional perspective, radicalisation is defined as an improved preparation for the intergroup struggle to stress their engagement. On the other hand, Borum (2011) has defined radicalisation in the broader sense by stating that it refers to how individuals develop extremist ideologies and beliefs. Yet, Schmid (2013) hypothesised that radicalisation is an action of both individuals or groups where political actors rely on imposing their ideologies and beliefs by either violent or non-violent pressure instead of dialogue and agreement.

For the extremism concept and according to some scholars, it refers to the political ideologies and procedures by which the political actors and groups aim to achieve their aims. Neuman (2010) maintained that such methods show neglecting the life, liberty and the rights of others. Klein & Kruglanski (2013) continued that extremist beliefs reflect the conventions, whereas extremist behaviours reflect the reactions that diverge from the norms. Therefore, it can be stated that radicalisation is a developing process of extremist beliefs, behaviours and emotions. It is worth mentioning that people often confused the concepts of counter-radicalisation and de-radicalisation, although they are two distinct concepts. Whereas counter-radicalisation encompasses social, political and educational programs that aim at discouraging radicalised people from becoming terrorists, de-radicalisation refers more to the intervention programs (United Nations, 2008). It depends on altering the mental or cognitive framework of individuals who have radical thinking, aiming to discourage their participation in violence and "re-integrating" them into society (United Nations, 2008; Schmid, 2013). Despite the slight conceptual differences between radicalism and extremism, both still refer

to "socio-political forces that exist at the edges of liberal-democratic societies" (Bötticher, 2017: p. 75).

Likewise, terrorism is considered to be an act of well-planned violence that is politically motivated. Recently, in the 20th century, almost half of the terrorism activities have a religious affiliation that targets the citizens or non-combatants (Ayasrah, 2009). He continued that it is easier to identify a state as a terrorist, but it is harder to define it. Nevertheless, according to him the fact that terrorism is part of a legal rebellious world system cannot be denied. Wilkinson (1977) categorises terrorism into four types: criminal, psychic, war and political. Whereas criminal terrorism refers to utilising terror for material and financial gain, psychic terrorism refers to the superstitious and magical beliefs provoked by religious believes. However, war and political terrorism refer to the complete enemy destruction and systematic power used to attain political goals.

2. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This research aims to protect and fortify democracy and therefore, society becomes more resistant to violent extremism. Such an aim cannot be fulfilled overnight rather it requires continuous efforts to increase the awareness of democracy. Hence, it will contribute in preventing the existence of the environment of violent extremism. To do so, authorities, political actors and central agencies must have the tools and techniques to prevent violent extremism. To carry out this work, several crucial measurements should take place to avoid violent extremism. Therefore, the action plan comprises measures to enhance the knowledge of the concept of violent extremism, increase the awareness of democratic values, prevent individuals from joining violent extremist groups, and strengthen regional and international cooperation. Having this in mind, these measurements are not restricted to measures that are taken by political authorities and actors; instead, they also must have societal consensus.

3. JORDANIAN MEASYREMENTS TO ENCOUNTER THE VIOLENCE OF EXTREAMISM

The following subsections shed light on some of the crucial strategic measurements that Jordan's government has followed to encounter violence and terrorism. There are three areas of focus in this study: enhancing the knowledge about violent extremism and increasing the awareness of democratic values; preventing individuals from joining violent extremist groups; and strengthening regional and international cooperation. However, a key challenge is finding the accurate balance between the short-term strategic measurements and their counterpart long-term strategic measurements.

3.1. *Enhancing the Knowledge about Violence Extremism*

Increasing the individual's awareness of the concept of extremism and radicalisation is essential in countering and confronting the threat of violent extremism and terrorism. That is to say that "the more aware communities are of potential threats to their security, the more empowered they are to be resilient against it and the better prepared they can be to counter the threats themselves" (Global Counterterrorism Forum, 2009). It is more likely that the "ideological violence" occurs in intolerant societies where anti-democratic attitudes are predominant. Extremism is too limited in societies where all their citizens have equal rights and opportunities despite their ethnicity, identities or backgrounds (Björklund, 2012: p. 7). Accordingly, creating awareness of the violent extremist phenomenon is vital in preventing its spreading. Education, religious leaders, social media and parental guidance play a crucial role in enhancing awareness toward extremism and radicalisation. They come into direct contact with people in the risk zone of either being active within extreme activities or tempting to do so.

It is argued that education intervention is crucial in averting violent extremism, particularly among young people. That is to say, the education system should focus on constructing a cognitive capability to resist violent extremist thoughts. Aly, Taylor & Karnovsky (2014), for example, argued that most of the schools' efforts regarding the education of preventing any form of violent extremism revolved around promoting understanding and tolerance through civic values teaching. Therefore, the educational system should be designed to implement adolescent learners' cognitive resilience to oppose violent extremists' messages and ideologies. One type of education that contributes to preventing violent extremism is improving the quality of education, such as learning about human rights values. According to the United Nations (UN), quality education must prepare and encourage youth to engage in societies constructively (United Nations 2015).

Religious leaders have a powerful influence in most societies in general and in Muslim communities specifically. Muthuswamy (2016) argued that the religious and political influence of the religious leaders could be associated with "sharia's popularity" and, as a result, correlated with politically motivated violence. A well-known example of religious leaders' influence in increasing the awareness of countering violent extremism in Jordan is Amman Message (2004). The statement was issued by King Abdullah II of Jordan and senior Islamic scholars in Amman, Jordan. It aimed at describing the true nature of Islam to the modern world. The message is devoted to spreading peace, goodwill, moderation and love of the neighbours. Therefore, King Abdullah II sent three critical questions to 24 of the leading religious scholars that represent all the Islamic branches and schools worldwide. These questions were: Who is a Muslim? Is it permissible to declare someone an apostate (takfir)? Moreover, who has the right to undertake issuing fatwas (legal rulings)? These three points are regarded as a massive leap in the Islamic world because it combines the political and

religious consensus (ijma') of the Ummah (nation) of Islam nowadays and the traditional Islam.

Countering violent extremism is complex and includes a wide range of possible ways to deal with extremist violence. Avis (2016: p. 1) declared a strong tendency among researchers and stakeholders that countering violent extremism programs might be more effective than "purely militaristic approaches". One of the peaceful means and ways to encounter violent extremism is the internet and social media. It is argued that social media, including one-to-one communication such as WhatsApp, are useful in spreading and implementing awareness of counter violent extremism. Social media gains its importance in this respect because it targets youth and adolescents in particular who are vulnerable to extremism and radicalisation. For instance, Weimann (2012) declared that violent extremists tended to use the internet to spread propaganda and communicate with the recruiting members. Accordingly, Schmid (2013) and Parent & Ellis (2013) called for exposing extremists' and radicals' narrative's inadequacies to counter their ideologies.

Increasing the awareness of radicalisation and violent extremism is not restricted to youth and adolescents who are believed to be the candidate for such activities. Instead, parents who have some concerns about their children's connection with any radical or extremist party should be given the right guidance on dealing with the issue. Arranging parental guidance programs, meetings and seminars helps provide guidance materials on how to combat violent extremism and radicalisation. Broad cooperation is required among various sectors to ensure the success of the efforts. One of the well-known organisations in this regard is Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN). The RAN is a network established in (2011) by the European Commission to exchange and share experiences. It offers a series of publications that pinpoint insights, lessons, and recommendations from the meeting of working groups and the knowledge of expertise on how to deal with both radical groups or those who are vulnerable to radicalisation.

3.2. *Increasing the Awareness of Democratic Values*

In the broadest sense, violent extremism represents the refusal and the denial of the concept of democracy. It reflects one of the most severe human rights violations that leads to terrorism or any other prohibited acts. Therefore, raising democratic awareness among young individuals is crucial, including information on their rights and values. ProDemos' House for Democracy and the Rule of Law' is the first public body devoted to this purpose. Their main aim is to explain the democratic system and show the citizens what they can do to exercise politics. ProDemos also arranges political activities for the school level such as performing roleplays on some of the existing political topics. Besides, it organises a meeting with guest teachers for discussion about the students' rights. Setting up campaigns that help youth be

acquainted with their rights is also an advantageous way of increasing the individuals' political sense.

However, Jordan does not consider itself as an absolute democratic country, yet it practices democratic activities that may solidify this country's political structure. One of the democratic forms that help increase awareness and peaceful interactions among individuals in the Jordanian society is that of the election. It is worth noting that Jordan's voting patterns rely on social ties rather than political engagement, which left no apparent impact on the people's lives. It hinders creating any robust social and political environment, which in turn will help in raising awareness among the Jordanians. However, the majority of Jordanian people are not happy with the current electoral law, yet the voting system gives Jordanian women the right to participate in elections and run for office through a specific quota (fifteen seats out of one hundred thirty seats). Accordingly, giving the Jordanian women this national responsibility will be reflected in their societal duties and role of protecting citizens from any harm that could be occurred by different types of extreme activities. This type of democratic activity sparks the light among Jordanian society and gives them hope to develop the electoral law and political participation. The elections might develop a sense of attachment to the country, which will lead to preventing and eliminating any radical thinking among individuals since they feel that they are part of the decision-making process. People, in this case, would feel a sense of appreciation and responsibility towards their country.

Forming political parties and unions could be another form that may enhance the awareness of democratic values. As well as including young generation's institutions and organisations to find a harmonious atmosphere that will reflect on their thinking or imagination about their future needs and ambitions. Political parties in Jordan are not functioning in the way that will be a good alternative for youth to avoid joining radical ideology adopted by radical groups, which may harm Jordan society. Even though the occupational unions were an alternative for joining the political parties, the Jordanian government does not hesitate to restrict the political performance of these unions where people would find themselves away from any chance of participations in any political decision process. In this case, individuals of Jordanians society can be a target to radical thinking, especially with the absence of the enrolled institutions.

3.3. *Strengthening Regional and International Cooperation*

The Jordanian intelligence forces employ other regional and international intelligence agencies through exchange of information to block any terrorists' attacks against Jordan and their allies. Developing policies and strategies to prevent terrorists' activities depends heavily on the close and comprehensive national and international contacts. Jordan has also succeeded in being part of regional and national cooperation to oppose terrorism by giving aid to the regional countries. One of the well-known Jordanian operational troops for

counterterrorism is the Jordanian Special Operations Forces, which trained special military operations troops of friendly countries. Ayasrah (2009) insisted on the active engagements that Middle East countries take in defeating terrorism through their special operational forces. In April 2002, for example, Jordan sent a special force training unit to Yemen to assist U.S. military instructors training the Yemeni and financial backing support for the military to fight terrorist groups in that country.

Based on the mutual interest in countering terrorist threats, Jordan has engaged with different countries to interchange security information. Among these channels, the Jordanian General Intelligence Directorate (GID) has executed particular measures with their partners grounded by their shared interest in counterterrorism threats. GID has notable achievements in this regard, such as preventing al-Qaida's terrorist attack against Queen Alia International Airport in Amman in February 2006. Another example of such measurement by the Jordanian General Intelligence Forces when the GID arrested one of the al-Qaida's members who shot and killed a British tourist and injured others from different European countries.

There are also numerous bilateral and multilateral security collaboration force agreements. These agreements included new policies regarding financial support and aid for terrorist groups. Jordan started to apply specific procedures to follow and control money transactions to or from Jordan. Hence, all Jordan banks have been asked to comply with new security requirements such as freezing funds and financial transactions to conform to United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions. To avoid fraud, new kinds of passports and national identity cards were issued in concord with international standards. Jordan also sustains a high degree of cooperation with countries and specialised international entities, including Interpol.

The need for security cooperation is not a country's need anymore; instead, it is a global and international need. Thus, the United States of America and some western countries with cooperation with middle eastern countries, especially Jordan, need to rebuild and modernise its security cooperation for now and upcoming years. This kind of cooperation must adjust its security cooperation method to encounter and align with events that have happened or could happened in the future. Strengthening the security cooperation between Jordan and the international communities contributes to fighting terrorist groups and preventing youth radicalisation. After the war in Iraq in 2003, for example, the absence of a central government and the mistakes that were made by the USA in Iraq has created a security vacuum which has been filled by radical groups. Since Jordan and Iraq shared the same borders, these radical groups are a threat to Jordanian security.

Another example of the necessity of security cooperation between Jordan and both the regional and international community to prevent and stop radical and terrorist actions that have happened in Syria since 2011. Syrian government lost its grip over the Syria territories, which allows many terrorist groups to exploit the situation and operate their radical action.

Therefore, Jordan started to communicate with main actors worldwide to cooperate and support Jordan to prevent any real security risks against Jordan's stability. The Syrian crisis resulted into millions of refugees who left their homes looking for safety and security. Jordan, along with neighbouring countries like Lebanon and Turkey, has hosted millions of refugees who fled from Syria. Those refugees imposed a real threat and security problem to Jordanian society steadiness and stability if no real measurements have been taken. Therefore, Jordan State, with cooperation of the international community, started to institute policies to prevent the anger of refugees and to contain them from being a bridge for terrorists' groups inside Syria.

As a result, Jordan created a suitable environment for refugees who were allowed to live in the refugees' camps or among Jordanian society outside the camps. Besides, Syrian refugees were provided with basic needs such as health and education and get into the labour market. All these measurements taken by the Jordanian government contributed to creating the feeling of belonging and satisfaction among the Syrian refugees, which eliminated any impact of the radical groups that existed in Syria over those Syrian refugees in Jordan. As a continuation of the Jordanian State efforts, international actors such as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have also contributed to supporting such efforts. UNHCR has sustained its work since (2012) in providing safety, health, schooling and financial aid for refugees' essential needs regardless of their nationalities. Likewise, NGOs have also played a crucial role in stabilising the refugee's existence in Jordan, where they provided essential services. All these combined efforts between Jordan governments and those actors helped eliminate any direct or indirect radical effects on Syrian refugees.

4. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Since Jordan has been one of those countries targeted by terrorist groups and organisations and radical activities, this study aimed to explore some possible strategies and policies that have been taken by the State of Jordan to reduce such activities to achieve stability and safety for its people. This study, therefore, proposed some possible measurements that could contribute to spreading cultural awareness among laypeople. The first suggested measurement was to enhance the knowledge of violent extremism, which can be embodied in different forms. Educational awareness is a vital factor for countering ideologically motivated violence. More specifically, giving attention to the quality of educations will lead individuals to be more aware of their human rights and self-worth. Besides the educational awareness, the religious leaders' function emerges as one of the most supportive policies to prevent violence-promoting extremism. Hence, the Amman Message was a serious attempt to demonstrate the lack of the correlations between terrorism and religion, race, or any geographical areas. It is also worth mentioning parents' vital role in protecting youth from the harmful use of the internet and social media.

The study also concluded that democracy could provide immunity to the society against extremism and violence. Therefore, the election is one of these democratic activities that might spark hope for the Jordanian society. Such political activity might develop a sense of attachment to the country, which will lead to preventing and eliminating any radical thinking among individuals since they feel that they are part of the decision-making process. People, in this case, would feel a sense of appreciation and responsibility towards their country. Another important activity that might enhance democratic awareness of the individuals' democratic values is forming political parties and unions. It can be argued that including young generations in institutional organisations where they will find a suitable atmosphere will reflect their thinking or imagination about their future needs and ambitions. Jordan is also part of regional and national cooperation to oppose terrorism by giving aid to the regional countries. As part of countering terrorism and extremism activities, Jordanian special troop-contributing in training and sporting special military operations troops of friendly countries.

It is worth concluding by highlighting areas that the present paper could not address, thus indicating potential directions for further research. One of the most influential pull factors in Jordan is the bleak economic situation. According to the World Bank (2018), "on an annual basis, labour force participation rate averaged 39.2%, exposing significant marginalisation of females, youth and bachelor degree holders". According to the Jordanian Department of Statistics, the unemployment rate in (2019) was 19.2%, up from (2018), and there is little optimism that the number will improve soon. Young people who hold a bachelor's degree have a significantly higher unemployment rate than those who hold only a high school diploma, meaning that pursuing higher education in Jordan makes it more difficult to find employment commensurate to the student's level of expertise (Yom & Sammour, 2017).

A lack of government and its perceived lack of ability to influence political outcomes also contribute to the appeal of Islamist ideologies. Young Jordanians who feel helpless to improve their socio-economic situation are less committed to Jordanian society and values in general "that helplessness stems from the belief that mobility is fundamentally determined by forces beyond their merit or control like tribal connections, royal favour, inherited wealth, and other ascriptive factors" (Yom & Sammour, 2017: p. 28). To address this source of radicalisation should be a goal of any government, irrelevant of the threat of ISIS; eliminate government corruption and seek to create, as much as possible, an open and meritocratic society. One of the benefits of instituting Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) programs is that the recommendations to counter violent extremism are also aspects of good governance that will lower the risk of violent Islamism and benefit the whole society and improve the regime survivability.

When an individual appears to be influenced by an extremist ideology, the people best positioned to notice and recognise the charge are other members of the individual's community. The community is an essential component of CVE programs and need to be

included in the National Strategy. As a collectivist society, Jordanians have many connections and contacts within their communities, and this ought to be utilised to identify those who are particularly vulnerable. The government must involve community leaders like imams, tribal sheiks and teachers in the CVE strategy. This allows for targeted, personalised interventions that will be more effective at deradicalisation than general education programs, mostly to prevent the radicalisation process from the beginning, not to undo ideologies that have already been adopted.

REFERENCES

Aly, A. Taylor, E., and Karnovsky, S. (2014). Moral disengagement and building resilience to violent extremism: An education intervention. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, *37*: 369-385.

Avis, W. (2016). The role of online/social media in countering violent extremism in East Africa. *GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report*,1-15.

Ayasrah, A. (2009). Jordan Stands at the Front Line of Combating Terrorism. *USAWC Strategy Research Project.*

Bertelsen, P. (2018). Mentoring in anti-radicalisation. LGT: A systematic assessment, intervention and supervion tool in mentoring. In G. Overland, J. Salomonsen, A. Andersen, K. Engh Førde & K. Grødum (Eds.), Processes of violent extremisation. International and interdisciplinary perspectives (pp. 312–352). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars publishing.

Borum, R. (2011). Radicalisation into violent extremism I: a review of social science theories. *Journal Strategic Security, 4* (4):7–36.

Borum, R. (2012). Radicalisation into violent extremism I: A review of social science theories. *Journal of Strategic Security, 4*, 7–36.

Bötticher, A. (2017). Towards Academic Consensus Definitions of Radicalism and Extremism. *Perspective on Terrorism, 11* (4): 73-7.

Global Counterterrorism Forum. (2009). Retrieved from https:// www.thegctf.org/documents/10162/159885/13Aug09_EN_

Klein, M. K., and Kruglanski, W. A. (2013). Commitment and extremism: A goal systemic analysis. *Journal of Social Issues*, *69* (3):419–435.

Krueger, A. and Malečková, J. (2003). Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *17* (4): 119-144.

McCauley, C. and Moskalenko, S. (2008). Mechanisms of political radicalisation: Pathways toward terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence, 20* (3): 415–433.

McCauley, C. and Moskalenko, S. (2017). Understanding political radicalisation: The two-pyramids model. *American Psychologist, 72*, 205–216.

Moskalenko, S. and McCauley, C. (2009). Measuring political mobilization: The distinction between activism and radicalism. *Terrorism and Political Violence, 21*, 239–260.

Muthuswamy, M. S. (2016). The role of sharia and religious leaders in influencing violent radicalism. *Science, Religion and Culture*, *3*(1): 1-18.

Neuman, P. (2010). Prisons and terrorism radicalisation and de-radicalisation in 15 countries. *A policy report published by the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence (ICSR)*. Retrieved from: http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/1277699166PrisonsandTerrorismRadicalisationandDeradicalisationin15Countries.pdf

Parent, R. B. and Ellis, J. O. (2011). *Countering radicalisation of diaspora communities in Canada.* Vancouver: Metropolis British Columbia, Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Diversity.

Schmid, A. P. (2013). Radicalisation, de-radicalisation, counter-radicalisation: A conceptual discussion and literature review. The Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism (ICCT). Retrieved from: https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/ICCT-Schmid-Radicalisation-De-Radicalisation-Counter-Radicalisation-March-2013_2.pdf

Sedgwick, M. (2010). The concept of radicalisation as a source of confusion. *Terrorism and Political Violence, 22*, 479–494.

Speckhard, A. (2017). The Jihad in Jordan: Drivers of Radicalisation into Violent Extremism in Jordan. International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism. Retrieved from: https://www.icsve.org/the-jihad-in-jordan-drivers-of-radicalisation-into-violent extremism-in-jordan/

The Jordanian Department of Statistics. Retrieved at: http://dosweb.dos.gov.jo

Towards Understanding Radicalism & Violent Extremism in OIC Countries. Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Statistical, Economic and Social Research and Training Center for Islamic Countries (SESRIC). Retrieved from: https://www.sesric.org/publications-detail.php?id=416

UNHCR continues to support refugees in Jordan throughout (2019). Retrieved at: https://www.unhcr.org/jo/12449-unhcr-continues-to-support-refugees-in-Jordan throughout-2019.html

United Nations (2008). First report of the working group on radicalisation and extremism that lead to terrorism: Inventory of state programmes. Retrieved from: http://www.un.org/terrorism/pdfs/radicalisation

United Nations (2015). *Security Council resolution 2250*. New York, NY: United Nations.

Weimann, G. (2012). Lone wolves in cyberspace. *Journal of Terrorism Research* 3 (2):75-90.

Wilkinson, P. (1977). *Terrorism and the Liberal State*. London: MacMillan: 47-64.

Yom, S. and Katrina, S. (2017). Counterterrorism and Youth Radicalisation in Jordan: Social and Political Dimensions. *Countering Terrorism Center at West Point,10* (4) 1-7.

Yom, S. and Sammour, K. (2017). Counterterrorism and Youth Radicalisation in Jordan: Social and Political Dimensions. *Combating Terrorism Center at West Point,* 10 (4): 1-30.