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MUSLIM IMMIGRATION VERSUS RADICALISATION AND TERRORISM - BASED ON THE CASE STUDY OF THE UK

Master Thesis

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I declare that I have compiled the paper independently.

All works and important standpoints and data by other authors has been properly referenced and the same paper has not been previously presented for grading.

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ABSTRACT

Terrifying terrorist attacks have been too frequent within past years. Public opinion on the current situation is that immigration (especially Muslim immigrants) and terrorism are related. This thesis argues that British Muslims are radicalising while living in the West. It is based on the case study of the United Kingdom. The author of this paper finds out that most of the attacks are not committed by Islamic people. However, the ones which are can be characterised by a high number of victims and damaged facilities. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that some British Muslims are radicalising while living in the UK and that is why there are more terrorist attacks and more innocent victims.

This academic paper also examines UK's integration strategy to find an answer to the question: Could part of the reason why some British Muslims are radicalising be in poor integration strategy? What could be the key problems integrating Muslim immigrants? The path to radicalisation has many factors such as poor integration strategy, UK's foreign policy and provocative behaviour by people and government. Moreover, medias' reflection on the beforementioned factors plays a crucial role in creating resentment and anger among Muslims.

There is no single solution which would stop people from radicalising as the United Kingdom have come to experience. To tackle terrorism in the United Kingdom collective action is needed.

Keywords: terrorism, immigration, radicalisation, discrimination, integration, the United Kingdom

INTRODUCTION

September 11th, 2001 plays a very important role in shaping Western people's attitude toward Muslims. This is the day when two airplanes crashed into the American World Trade Centre. On the same day, a third airplane flew into the Pentagon and the fourth airplane crashed in Pennsylvania. The fall of the Twin Towers was one of the biggest terrorist attacks that the world has seen. After that followed terrorist attacks in Madrid, London, Paris, and Berlin. Terrorism and Islamic radicalisation have caused more and more concerns. People living in city centres are afraid of acts of terror.

Terrifying terrorist attacks have been too frequent within past years. Whereas these recent attacks were horrifying and carried out on large-scale. For example on 31 October 2015 Metrojet flight 9268 was taken down when it flew to St. Petersburg, armed attacks and suicide bombings in 2015 in Paris, in 2016 there was a suicide bombing at Brussels airport and metro station, another suicide bombing occurred in Istanbul's Atatürk Airport in 2016, also in 2016 there was a massacre in Nice. Most of the terrorist attacks were carried out by Muslims. (Sandler 2016)

According to Europol Terrorism Situation and Trend report in 2015, there were 193 terrorist attacks in the European Union. This number also includes failed, foiled and completed attacks. From 193 terrorist attacks, there were 1077 people who were arrested. Of the arrested people 687 were arrested on suspicion of jihadist terrorism. This means that more than 63 per cent of arrested people were of the Islamic belief. In 2016 the percentage arrested on suspicion of jihadist terrorism was even higher. It was more than 71 per cent. In 2016 there were 142 failed, foiled and completed terrorist attacks. Police arrested 1002 people and out of these 1002, there were 718 people who were arrested on suspicion of jihadist terrorism. (European Union terrorism situation and trend report 2017)

Governments have to deal with the threat posed by Islamic terrorism. Frequent terrorist acts in the west have raised the question what factors lead to the radicalisation of Muslims. Does living in western countries lead to radicalisation? If so, what are the reasons for this and what could be done about it? The purpose of this paper is to analyse the Muslim integration of immigrant communities with a view of the factors that may promote radicalisation.

In the social science and humanities literature, there is no uniform usage of the term radicalisation and violent radicalisation. For some authors and experts, the term violent radicalisation is a path that naturally involves concrete violent act while for others it is solely acceptance of certain ideas which justify violence. According to the European Commission, the term violent radicalisation involves embracing ideas, opinions, and views which at the end could lead to acts of terrorism. (European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation 2008)

Recent terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom show that people with Islamic belief are more likely to take part in terrorist attacks. There are many factors that contribute to radicalisation, but a common finding is that many Muslim terrorists radicalised while living in the West. (Robinson et al 2017) Since the Islamic culture and belief is rather different from Western culture another question arises, are terrorism acts a response to an inability to integrate into western society? Would the levels of terrorist attacks be reduced if Muslims would be better integrated into the Western society and mind-set? If this is so, it is important to understand why and whether policies that seek to better integrate immigrant communities might be relevant to reduce the future threat of terrorism. Since this topic is vital and relevant in the United Kingdom this thesis seeks to answer before mentioned questions by means of a case study of the UK.

For the author, terrorism has been something which is far-far away from Western people. But recent years show that there are more attacks occurring in the West. The author of this paper would like to know more about why terrorist attacks occur and how the United Kingdom is planning to minimize the threat.

Methodology

The thesis consists of quantitative and qualitative research methodology. First, secondary data was collected from a different set of sources, such as the global terrorism database, the World Bank Group, European Union Terrorism situation, and trend report, Office of National statistics, ComRes, IPSOS, Chatham House, research papers and books. National newspapers

like the BBC and the Independent are included in the work since there is a constant flow of new information and academic research has not caught up with the latest events.

The qualitative analyses will give background information on what is radicalisation and why does it occur. It also includes Muslim immigration, the integration strategy in the UK and Britons' attitudes towards Islamic people with the main focus on radicalisation. The qualitative analysis will include real-life cases, where the author examines home-grown terrorists to see whether they have been exposed to UK's integration policies. The analysed data will provide an answer to the questions: if British Muslims are radicalising could the reason be in poor integration strategy and what could be the main problems integrating Muslim immigrants.

The quantitative analyses will be used to measure the correlation between immigration and terrorism. Independent variables are immigration, immigration flow and Muslim population in the UK and the dependent variable is an annual terror attack and Islamic terrorist attacks between the years 2012 until 2017. This analysed data will provide answers how big is the relationship between immigration and terrorism and does immigration (especially Muslim immigration) increases the likelihood of terrorism. The analysed data will provide an answer to the question are British Muslims radicalising and is that the reason why there are more terrorist attacks in the UK.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into three chapters. The focus of this thesis is on violent radicalisation. More specifically, this thesis will provide answers to the questions:

- Are British Muslims radicalising and is that the reason why there are more terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom?
- If British Muslims are radicalising could part of the reason be in poor integration strategy? What could be the key problems integrating Muslim immigrants?

The first chapter starts with a discussion of the theoretical framework. The theoretical part explains radicalisation because it is considered to be a cause of terrorism. Then it is followed by the discussion of different pathways to radicalisation to understand why it occurs.

The second chapter analyses the integration strategies as a part of avoiding radicalisation in the United Kingdom. The country has developed its integration strategy year by year – there are different policies, legislation, support and benefits for migrants. The UK has contributed a considerable amount of resources to minimize radicalisation and consequently to decrease terrorist attacks. However, there are people who think that its integration strategy is poor or not fully developed. Today's biggest challenges are that there are many communities who are divided along race, socioeconomic lines and faith. Then it is followed by the analysis of two UK's home-grown terrorists to see whether they have been exposed to these policies. At the end of this chapter, the author gives recommendations on how to better integrate Muslim immigrants and minimise terrorism.

The third chapter examines the developments of Muslim immigration and terrorist attacks in the UK between the years 2012 until 2017. The author found out that between the years 2012 – 2017 only 1,57 per cent from all the terrorist attacks were carried out by an Islamist terrorist. However, 61,11 per cent of people who were injured by terrorist attacks were by an Islamic terrorist. In addition, 72,41 per cent of facilities were attacked by an Islamist terrorist. The third chapter includes surveys and results.

The conclusion ties all aspects of this thesis together and offers the answers to the main approaches of this paper. This section also summarises possible solutions for the United Kingdom to deal with the radicalisation. At the end of the final part, the author will give recommendations for the further study as there are many aspects of radicalisation.

The initial assumption is that Muslims radicalise while living in the West. The author found out through quantitative analysis that there is a very weak relationship between the overall immigration and terrorism and no relations between terrorism and immigration inflow. The analysis also shows that in fact, most of the terrorist attackers are not Muslims, but their acts tend to be more vicious. Their attacks have numerous innocent victims and they will damage also facilities. So, it is reasonable to believe that some of the British Muslims are radicalising while living in the UK. One of the biggest problems that contribute to British Muslims radicalisation is Britons attitudes towards Muslim immigrants. There are several other factors such as the UK's foreign policy and medias' reflection on it. In addition, there are anti-Muslim extremists and people who have Islamophobia. They do not accept Islamic people and they are not afraid to show their resentments against Muslims.

1. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

This chapter examines what radicalisation is and why it occurs. The focus of this thesis is on violent radicalisation. Before focusing on examining radicalisation, especially Islamic radicalisation, it is important to analyse terrorism - what is terrorism and why does it occur, because radicalisation is considered to be a cause of terrorism.

1.1 Terrorism

The need for defining terrorism is relevant nowadays. It is especially important to find a definition to differentiate whether the violent act was a criminal act or was it a terrorist act. Understanding what is terrorism and why it occurs is necessary because then countries all over the world can focus on solving the problem.

This theoretical part begins with discussing the meaning of terrorism and analysing some of the definitions used to describe the word terrorism. Afterward, this thesis will analyse different reasons why terrorism occurs. It is then followed by analysing the difference between terrorism and organized crime to get to know which crime is a hate crime and which is terrorist attack.

1.1.1 What is terrorism?

Terrorism is an act of domestic or international violence, which is mostly committed against civilians aiming to create fear and through that achieve behaviour change and political objectives. (Doosje 2016)

The word terrorism comes from Latin word *terrere* and that means to frighten. According to Halibozek (2008), the word terrorism refers to a calculated use of violence or threat against the civilian population. He also points out that terrorism can be described differently, depending on if its political or cultural terrorism act. However, there is always one common

element – to target civilian people. Most terrorists never identify themselves as terrorist. Instead, they say that they are liberators, armies or freedom fighters. (Moghadam et al. 2006)

As mentioned before, there are different ways to describe terrorism. Next two paragraphs will examine how the United Nations Security Council and The United Kingdom under the Terrorism Act 2000 describe terrorism.

The United Kingdom describes terrorism under the Terrorism Act 2000 as following:

- 1. "In this Act "terrorism" means the use or threat of action where:
 - a. the use or threat is designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of the public, and
 - b. the use or threat is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause.

2. Actions:

- a. involves serious violence against a person,
- b. involves serious damage to property,
- c. endangers a person's life, other than that of the person committing the action,
- d. creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public or a section of the public, or
- e. is designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system.
- 3. The use or threat of action involves the use of firearms or explosives
- 4. In this Act a reference to action taken for the purposes of terrorism includes a reference to action taken for the benefit of a proscribed organisation. ..." (Terrorism Act 2000 2018)¹

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¹ The United Nations Security Council describes terrorism as:

[&]quot;... criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act, and all other acts which constitute offences within the scope of and as defined in the international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism, are under no circumstances justifiable by considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other similar nature..." (2004, resolution 1566)

1.1.2 Why terrorism occurs and what is the aim of terrorists?

There are several indicators for terrorism. Sam Mullins (2009) argues that sometimes it is hard to find out which crime is a hate crime and which one is a terrorist attack. There are three dimensions according to Mullins (2009) how crime and terrorism can be compared - methods, motives, and profiles. According to Mullins (2009), the difference between crime and terrorism is that a Western description of terrorism is mostly justified by politically and religiously motivated violent actions by organizations or sub-state groups.

In terms of actions, criminals and terrorist have considerable common ground, but they do have an important difference in their actions and this is motivation. Criminals are mostly motivated by financial gain. Terrorists carry out the same crimes for financing themselves, but their reason is only in the short-term and this is part of a means-ends approach rather than being an end in itself. Terrorists have long-term ideological goals and violence is a way of reaching them. This serves as a reminder that most terrorist may be part of a criminal enterprise, but their ultimate goal is to destroy. (Mullins 2009)

Demographic background of criminal or terrorist plays an important role in shaping their actions in the future. As mentioned before, there is no single profile for terrorist or criminal, but there are certain variables. The majority of criminals or terrorists are mostly young males. (Mullins 2009) In 2017 the average age of a person arrested for terrorism was 30 and more than 80 per cent of those arrested were male. (European Union 2018) There are combined factors that can minimize the likelihood of terrorism. These factors are a higher educational achievement, socioeconomic status, and successful marriage. When a person has higher education and economic status, this will probably rule out the financial motivation to start a criminal activity. When the person has a successful marriage, it is more unlikely for them to socialise with the wrong crowd (with recruiters). (Mullins 2009)

The reason why terrorist target civilian people are that, while doing that they will appear in news headlines, they cause public fear and shock. The main goal is to change political or religious thinking. (Halibozek 2008)

Terrorists aim is to make people afraid because they want to make political statements. Of course, this doesn't mean that all the cases are the same. Sometimes terrorist groups act

violently because they have to finance themselves or the group. There are also terrorist groups who are not politically motivated. For example fundamentalist terrorism, whose aim is to target culture and the way people live in this culture. (Halibozek 2008)

In conclusion, the word terrorism is used to describe domestic or international violent crimes against civilian people as well as private property to create fear and due to that achieve political objectives. Terrorists are using unusual methods to make oneself clear. There are several reasons why seemingly normal people commit such horrifying attacks. First and foremost terrorists want to be heard by politicians. The main goal is to change political or religious thinking. Secondly, terrorists want to change the behaviour of a target audience (media and society). Thirdly, they want to cause public fear and shock to feel more superior.

1.2 Radicalisation

The question, why individuals turn to violence has always been a central concern for the world. There is a link between violence and frustration. People want to belong somewhere, there is a need for membership in social groups, and there is a need for control, certainty, and meaning. (Jasko et al. 2017) Concerning what radicalisation is and why it occurs, there is no single answer but it is possible to say that it is a process of change. This chapter will examine what is radicalisation and different factors to get to know the pathways to radicalisation.

1.2.1. Process of radicalisation

In social science and humanities literature, there is no uniform usage of the term radicalisation and violent radicalisation. For some authors and experts, the term violent radicalisation is a path that naturally involves concrete violent act while for others it is solely acceptance of certain ideas which justify violence. In 2005 the European Commission provided a definition of the term violent radicalisation. Violent radicalisation involves embracing ideas, opinions, and views which at the end could lead to acts of terrorism. (European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation 2008)

Bhui, et al (2012) state that radicalisation is the social and psychological process of adopting extreme religious and political beliefs.

Mcgilloway et al. (2015) argue that the term radicalisation can generally be described as a process where there is a person who is acting passively will change his or her behaviour to become more revolutionary or extremist and will be closely involved in terrorism.

Doosje, Loseman, and van den Bos (2013) studied Dutch Muslim youth and they found out that there are four components of radicalisation - perceived illegitimacy of authorities, perceived in-group superiority, perceived distance to other people and perceived societal disconnectedness.

- First is to perceive the authorities as illegitimate. This means that when the person is supporting a radical belief system, he or she is starting to perceive mistreatment or starts to feel discriminated by authorities. It creates a situation where he or she could perceive wider authorities as illegitimate. As a result, it will lead to mistrust of the authorities. A radical Islamist will obey the laws and rules of Allah only and does not have to respect the authorities who for them are unbelievers.
- The second component is the perceived superiority of the in-group. This means that people need to belong to the group to make them more powerful. People, who are believers of Allah, believe that they are better and more superior than others outside of that religion.
- Thirdly, there is perceived distance to other members of same society. Often Muslims feel inequality in the societies where they live. As a result, they feel the need to distance themselves from other members of society. And that is why they adopt a radical belief system. They feel like Islamic people have to prove much more to climb the social ladder.
- Fourthly, there is perceived social disconnectedness. People who have adopted a radical belief system will often feel alienated and disconnected from society. Alienation is considered as a cause of suicide, but in some cases, it could also lead to adopting an extreme ideology. People who have radicalized feel the boost in confidence and hope, whereas they also feel as if they have a new purpose in life.

Multiple studies have shown that when people are rejected or left out by others, they show aggression against those others and even towards third parties. Even the recent research on terrorist attacks compared to the overall population shows that most terrorists are separated from others, divorced and socially isolated. Similarly to individuals, there is also evidence

that when social identities, such as a country or religion are threatened, people respond with aggression. (Jasko et al. 2017)

Radicalisation processes occur when the person is a teenager or little later when he or she is a young adult. This is the time when the young adults are impressionable and when they are looking for an identity. Maturation is a part of becoming involved in invisible and distinct counter-cultures. Bhui et al (2012) argue that there are several phases to radicalisation. A first is pre-radicalisation, and then comes self-identification, third is indoctrination and the last one is Jihadization. (Bhui et al. 2012)

The process of radicalisation is complex and has a factor that does not always lead to violence (Transnational Terrorism, Security & the Rule of Law 2008). The process of radicalisation may take many different directions. Radicals can act in non-violent ways, which means the act does not end with terrorist intent. Not every radical is becoming a terrorist and not every Muslim goes through a radicalisation process, but every terrorist has gone through a radicalisation process. This means that the radicalisation process ending with the terrorist act is the worst possible outcome.

Studies done in the past and present show that there are factors or conditions which frequently lead to radicalisation. They include relative deprivation, Western occupations, and support for oppressive regime, poor socio-economic and political integration, identity politics, feelings of humiliation and other psychological mechanisms. All these factors contribute to radicalisation but do not explain the drastic change in people behaviour and attitudes. There is no single explanation for why a person will become radical. Since the causes of radicalisation are diverse, this implies that radicalisation is the outcome of a complex interaction. (Transnational Terrorism, Security & the Rule of Law 2008)

Transnational Terrorism, Security & the Rule of Law (2008) stated that there are three types of factors for radicalisation – external factors, social factors, and individual factors. External factors include political causes, economic causes, and cultural causes. Social factors are social identification, network dynamics, and relative deprivation. Individual factors include psychological characteristics, personal experiences, and rationality. Transnational Terrorism, Security & the Rule of Law also say that when there is only one criterion met, the possibility

to end with terrorism act is minimal. It is the combination of factors which result in radicalisation and might end with a terrorist act.

There are three main determinants of radicalisation. First, it is personal uncertainty, secondly, there is a perceived injustice and the third determinant is perceived intergroup threat. (Doosje et al. 2013)

- Personal uncertainty is defined as an instability in self-views, world-views or the interrelations between the two. When people are uncertain about themselves they will have mixed feelings. These feelings make them question everything, especially about their identity. These people who are uncertain about their future are more vulnerable and susceptible to extreme ideas and extreme groups. Extremist groups will provide new norms, values and behavioural rules to uncertain people. In other words, uncertainty makes people cling to their culture and to their cultural worldviews. This enables situation when recruiters are able to approach those unstable people to recruit them. The reason the recruitment is often successful is that radicalisation gives the meaning for life for them, which was not there before.
- Perceived injustice is related to the radical belief system. People feel that they are disconnected from society and authorities do not act in accordance with accepted standard and rules. Muslims feel that they do their best but the society just does not understand them. There are a lot of Muslims who are living in Europe but most of them have difficulties to find a job, the majority of them are bullied and discriminated at work and at school.
- The third determinant, perceived group threat might take many forms. There is a realistic threat, symbolic threat, and intergroup threat. Symbolic threat indicates that there is a threat to the Islamic culture. Realistic threat refers to the group's economic status. Intergroup anxiety refers to the threat when the person has to interact with other people from another group. In order to eliminate perceived threat to the group, people are more likely to take part in violent actions. This is also argued to the extent that when Islamic people feel that their group is being threatened, they are more likely to support a radical belief system. (Doosje et al. 2013)

According to Quintan Wiktorowicz (2004), there are four major causes for the likelihood that someone will join a radical Islamic Group. These four key factors are firstly cognitive opening which means that an individual is able or willing to receive new worldviews and ideas. Secondly, there is religious seeking meaning that the individual is trying to seek meaning through religion. Thirdly, there is frame alignment which means that there is the radical group who offers a public representation to the seeker and attracts individual interests. And the fourth is socialization, meaning that the individual experiences religious lessons and activities which through the third person will facilitate indoctrination, identity-construction, and value changes. Wiktorowicz Q. (2004) also points out that the first three steps are prior conditions which at the end will lead to the forth, socialization. This also means that when the individual is not open to new ideas or rejects the movement message then the individual will not join the radical Islamic group and he or she will not participate in terrorist acts.

Tomas Precht (2007, 18) brings out factors that trigger radicalisation. He divides these factors into three categories - background factors, trigger factors, and opportunity factors.

Background factors are aspects of a person's life that makes him or her more vulnerable to radicalisation. Here Precht points out that the most common background factors are young Muslims' identity crisis while living in the West. Young Muslims feel like they are not heard nor understood in school. Precht also mentions that another common background factor is a relative lack of Muslim public debate on Islamist terrorism in the West. (Precht 2007)

Trigger factors have three main components, such as Western foreign policy and provocative behaviour, the presence of a charismatic leader or spiritual advisor and, worship of Jihad. Due to Western foreign policies and isolated provocative events, people with Islamic belief are feeling bad and they feel as if they are being challenged by Western countries and people. Moreover, media plays a crucial role in creating anger and resentment among younger generations of Muslims. For example, media shows how the Western government is trying to help countries such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Pakistan, while at the same time the Western government sends the military to Iraq, Afghanistan, and Chechnya to fight. Over the past ten years, Saudi Arabia has bought weapons by 14,8 billion dollars. Most of the firearms were bought from the USA by 8998 billion dollars and from the UK by 3390 billion dollars. Out of all sold weapons in 2017 Saudi Arabia bought 13,2 per cent of them, India bought 10,8 per cent and Egypt 7,6 per cent. (See the appendix 1 and 2) Muslims feel that Western

governments are being deceptive since they are willing to help countries that are economically beneficial for them at the same time fight against the countries that are in the war and do not offer economic assets. Islamic people feel that they need to protect their country of origin and its reputation. Therefore they feel the need to fight against Western foreign policies by arranging terrorist attacks. (Precht, 2007)

Opportunity factors are considered to be places and situations, where like-minded people meet. Years ago the place for meeting new people was the Mosque however nowadays it is not an essential place for recruiters. The reason being that young Muslims do not turn to local Mosque for answers and guidance. These days teenagers use the Internet to get their information. It is an easy and cheap way to use the Internet and most importantly it has a global reach. People all over the world can see the same videos and propagandas. Since the Internet is perceived an anonymous, it gives the recruiters more opportunities to recruit a new member. Like-minded people can also meet in leisure facilities (cafes, bars, schools, bookstores, and sporting activity places). These places will give recruiters and potential new group members an opportunity to meet. Since those are the places that appeal the younger people. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter teenagers and young adults are more impressionable. Adolescents are interested in new ideas and opportunities for themselves. Young boys and girls are more vulnerable than the older generation and that is why public places are very good spots to recruit group members. (Precht 2007)

In conclusion, radicalisation is a term that is used to describe a normal person who will change his or her behaviour to become more radical or extremist and at the end will be involved in terrorism. There is no single explanation for why a person will become radical. Radicalisation is a complicated process and has several factors. Radicalisation is an outcome of personal uncertainty, unfavourable economic and political situation, the persons' educational achievement, religious self-search, perceived illegitimacy of authorities, perceived in-group superiority, perceived distance to other members of same society and perceived societal disconnectedness. It is important to point out that the research on radicalisation shows that when a person has a problem with just one unfavourable condition, the radicalisation processes mostly does not start. But when it does and if there is combination of those factors, it has domestic and international consequences and that is why it is important to analyse the actions of radical people to minimize the risk of another potential terrorist attack Combinations of factors are necessary to describe the process of radicalisation.

2. THE UNITED KINGDOM INTEGRATION STRATEGIES AS A PART OF AVOIDING RADICALISATION

Many of these studies that deal with radicalisation seem to have in common the sense of being isolated and feeling alienated from the surrounding society. This leads to another question: How is the UK trying to help integrate immigrant communities into society and what are their integration policies?

According to the Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government (2018), good integration involves communities where people with different backgrounds live, work, learn and socialise with each other. They have the same rights, opportunities, and responsibilities.

Integration is considered to be a two-way street – meaning that everybody has a part in it. All migrants should learn to speak in English and understand Britain's values to be able to become part of the UK's communities. And Britain's should support migrants to do so. Locals should avoid harsh judgments and should welcome migrants to their community by allowing them to express their feelings, ideas, and thoughts and accepting their cultural differences. (Ministry of Housing et al. 2018)

2.1 The policy and legislation

There are different ways to help immigrants to settle down in the host country and to prevent the terrorist attack. First there are political, economic and cultural aspects and secondly, there are supports and benefits.

Migrants who will come to the UK and seek to live permanently in the UK must pass the "Life in the UK test". The life in the UK test is a multiple choice test which has 24 questions and is computer based. It is designed to test applicant's knowledge of living in the UK. If the migrant wants to get the citizenship (the Green Paper) he or she has to pass the test with a score of 75% or more. (Life in the UK test 2018)

The idea is that first, the government will provide sufficient information to migrants to help them understand life in the UK – social norms and the consequences when somebody will break the law. This will prepare migrants for their responsibilities and opportunities of living in modern Britain. And it will give a very good overview of what to expect from living in the UK. (Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government 2018)

Countries in the European Union have different integration strategies - multicultural policy and assimilation. France is known as a country that employs assimilation. That means the country's strategy is to integrate immigrants to their country expecting immigrants to adapt its host countries norms and values. While the United Kingdom has adopted a multiculturalism policy. That means the host country allows immigrants to keep their cultural identities and practices. The main goal is to promote tolerance and integration among different ethnic groups. (Beutel 2007)

To prevent radicalisation in the UK, the Labour government's Department for Children, Schools and Families developed a toolkit – "Learning Together to be Safe". This is a strategy for the schools. The aim is to reduce radicalisation and decrease joining extremist groups by children and young people. The focus of this toolkit was to fight against radicalisation within the system and including individuals as well. It was done through minimising attainment gaps between groups of people, helping and encouraging pupils to be more active and to have their own opinion, anti-bullying approaches and making sure that school and family have a link between them. (Taylor, Soni 2017)

The UK's Home Office has a strategy to prevent radicalisation. The objective is to help avoid the bath of terrorism. In order to do achieve that goal, there is an international effort needed. It is important to work with a wide range of sectors, such as education, religion, charities and, criminal justice. (Government of the United Kingdom 2011) The UK's Home Office supports people who are already involved in terrorism by rehabilitation and disengagement. Through the Internet and different communities, the Home Office tackles the causes of radicalisation and will provide help to vulnerable people. (Home Office 2018)

In 2016 the IPPR Commission on Economic Justice launched a new strategy to help the British economy, minimize inequality between locals and immigrants, and to better integrate

immigrants. The new strategy has five priorities (The IPPR Commission on Economic Justice 2017):

- Addressing geographical imbalances Currently, the immigration strategy lacks geographical balance. This means that when the highly skilled immigrant will come to Britain then he or she will mostly go to the city where there are already enough highly skilled workers. But the new strategy will focus on decreasing geographical imbalance by ensuring that the highly skilled workers to no cluster in the same areas.
- Boosting innovation It is important to have qualified immigrants in order to be innovative and to ensure economic growth. As long as there are qualified immigrants in the country the innovation will continue. The new strategy should show the UK as a place where highly skilled people would like to come to.
- Halting the stagnation of real wages The new immigration system should be
 designed to be able to increase people's salary and productivity. New settlement
 between government and businesses should allow recruiting new labour from overseas
 but at the same time would invest in the domestic workforce.
- Tackling the trade deficit Currently, the UK faces substantial trade deficit. The new immigration policy should serve wider trade interest to facilitate growth in trade and investment.
- Reducing inequality Right now the UK considering migrant groups is one of the most unequal countries in Western Europe. Especially non-EU migrants face lower employment rates. The new strategy should support integration into the labour market to cut down inequalities and as a result, it would encourage migrants to settle in economically and socially. (The IPPR Commission on Economic Justice 2017)

2.2 Benefits and support

The United Kingdom will give a lot of benefits to immigrants, especially to asylum seekers. First of all, when the asylum applicants are taken into the country they will receive financial support to buy food and clothing. When the immigrant is a mother (pregnant or she has more

than 3 kids), she will get extra money to buy healthy food. Immigrants also will be able to get housing if needed. All the children will be able to go to a state school for free and all the children will get free school meals. The National Health Service will provide asylum seekers with free healthcare such as prescriptions for medicine, dental care and eyesight test for free. (Government of the United Kingdom 2018)

In order for immigrants to be able to work and socialise, they need to speak the host country's language. That is why the United Kingdom will provide Government-funded English classes to foreigners. (Foster, Mackley 2017)

When the migrants are already in the United Kingdom they need support and help to start their new life in a different country with a different religion and belief. In the UK there are several organisations that will provide help to refugees and to immigrants. For example, there is Refugee Council (2018) who plays an important role in integrating immigrants. They are helping communities to meet their needs and will help peoples' voices to be heard. The Refugee Council will cooperate with different communities and people to share best practices to help improve refugee communities.

Volunteering is believed to be a very effective way to integrate immigrants into society. (Greenspan et al 2018) Through volunteering, most of the migrants (as well Britons) will meet new people, get the opportunity to find new friends, and gain work experience which is useful later while applying for a job. In the UK there are different organisations that are providing opportunities to do volunteer work. One of them is Humanity & Inclusion (HI). The homepage of HI will show current volunteering opportunities and everybody is welcome to join them. (Humanity & Inclusion UK 2018)

The UK has contributed a considerable amount of resources to minimize radicalisation and consequently to decrease terrorist attacks. There are a lot of different support systems and practices, but there are still authors (Saggar and Somerville 2012) who think that the UK integration strategy is poor or not fully developed.

2.3 Challenges

It is not easy to tackle radicalisation and terrorism along with it. The United Kingdom has developed its integration strategy year by year. The United Kingdom gives a lot of benefits to immigrants. The country will provide housing, financial support and free healthcare to immigrants. It feels like benefits to immigrants and financial support is covered and that does not need further developing but it still feels like there is something missing.

Shamit Saggar and Will Somerville (2012) point out that the UK immigration integration program has not fully developed. Every time there is a political debate around immigration integration it causes instability because locals do not know what kind of mindset they should be having about immigrants. (Saggar, Somerville 2012)

Migration to and from the UK has been more diverse and temporary. (Saggar, Somerville 2012) Integration strategy will be developed through time and it is improved or changed according to the research done previously. But when the migration is not permanent the immigration strategy should be updated constantly in order to newcomers to integrate to the society.

According to the Independent news (2017), there is a three-year waiting list for migrants who would need to learn English in the UK. This is a challenge for the country and for the immigrants. Foreigners cannot work if they don't speak English but they cannot start learning English if there is a waiting list.

2.4 European and British people's attitudes towards Islam

One of the biggest challenges in integrating immigrants is locals' attitudes towards migrants. This chapter will study Britons attitudes towards Islam. Since there is a constant flow of new information and academic research has not caught up with the latest happenings it is going to be media based analyses, EU reports, and UK surveys' statistics.

In November 2017, Donald Trump made a decision to ban immigrants from visiting the USA for 90 days. This policy was against travellers from six mainly Muslim countries – Iran, Chad, Somalia, Libya, Yemen, and Syria. (BBC News 2017)

Driven by Donald Trump's decision the Chatham House Europe Programme conducted research between December 2016 and January 2017 on Muslim immigration. They asked people from 10 different European countries what do they think about Muslim immigration. Altogether 10195 people answered the question.

The question the Chatham House Europe Programme asked was whether migrants from Muslim countries should be banned from entering their homeland. Then respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the statement. Altogether 55 per cent agreed that all further migration (mostly from Muslim countries) should be banned from entering their country. 25 per cent did not agree nor disagreed and only 20 per cent of the respondent disagreed with the statement. In the United Kingdom, the result was: 47 per cent agreed, 23 per cent disagreed and 30 per cent neither agreed nor disagreed. (Chatham House 2017)

Communicate Research (ComRes 2016) questioned more than two thousand British people. They were asked different questions to agree or disagree with the following statement. First, people were asked is Islam a negative force in the UK. 43 per cent of answers agreed with the statement. Secondly, 72 per cent of the respondents agreed with the claim that most people in the UK have a negative view of Islam. Thirdly, 31 per cent of the people agreed with the statement that Islam promotes violent acts. Respondents were also asked how much they know or understand about traditions and beliefs of Islam. Only 32 per cent of the respondent claimed that they know much about Islamic culture.

Another research centre IPSOS (2017) analysed global views on immigration and refugees crisis. They found out that 72 per cent of respondents worry that migrants will say they want to live in the country as refugees but actually they will enter the UK in order to carry out terrorists' attacks.

This section established that Britons are afraid of Islamic culture and people. But it also showed that people do not know much about Islamic culture. Here can be two possibilities whether Islamic culture is violent and that is why Britons are afraid of Muslims or people just assume that Islamic culture is violent and that is why they are afraid of Muslims.

2.5 Analysis of UK's home-grown terrorists on the example of two individuals

It is essential to look at some of the data about Islamic attackers who grow up in the United Kingdom to see whether they have been exposed to these policies. Since newspapers will give most of the available data for that research, it is going to be media-based analysis.

First, there is the Westminster terrorist identified as Khalid Masood. On March 23, 2017, Masood conducted a deadly attack outside Parliament. He rented a car, which he used to drive over pedestrians, killing two people, on Westminster Bridge. Later on, he smashed the car against the Parliament building gate and continued his attack by stabbing and killing a police officer. Khalid Masood altogether killed five people before he was shot to death. (Stratfor Analysis. March 2017)

Khalid Masood was born in Erith, Kent on December 25th, 1964. Masood went to secondary school in Lewisham. When his family moved, young Masood had to change school. He tried to get into the local grammar school, but he was denied (unknown reasons), so he attended Huntley's Secondary School. At the age of 16, he did a business studies course at Tonbridge College. Then he studied economics in Brighton. He was known to be an average student, gaining a 2:1. Even though he had the economics degree he struggled to get a job in the financial service industry. (The Telegraph 2018)

People who know Khalid Masood described him as following:

- Extremely popular, sporty and bright.
- He was a very good footballer at school, he was one of the best players.
- He had a big personality and everybody liked him.
- Khalid was very good at chemistry. (The Telegraph 2017)

Most of the people who described and knew Khalid Masood told that after school they lost touch with each other. (The Telegraph 2017)

Neighbours described Khalid Masood as following:

- He was a polite, pleasant and really nice man.
- He was always wearing a suit. (The Telegraph 2017)

After finishing school at the age 19, Masood received his first criminal conviction. And over the next 20-years, he went on to receive a string of convictions. It is thought that he may have been radicalised because of racism in his village and while being in the prison he started to plan a terrorist attack. (The Telegraph 2017)

According to the Telegraph news (2017), Masood was married twice. When the first marriage ended because of domestic abuse he had a girlfriend who broke up with Masood because he showed violence against her. Masood was charged for attacking his girlfriend. Then Khalid met a woman who is known to be Muslim. They married and during that time Masood converted to Islam. (The Telegraph 2018)

Secondly, there is Manchester attacker identified as Salman Abedi. On May 22nd, 2017 Abedi killed 22 and injured (physically and psychologically) more than 800 people with the homemade device at an Adriana Grande concert in the Manchester Arena. (BBC News 2018)

Salman Abedi was born in Manchester in 1994 on New Year's Eve into a Libyan family. He attended Burnage Academy for Boys in Manchester and later on he went to Salford University to study business management. (BBC News 2017a) In 2014 Abedi dropped out from Salford University because after two years he stopped going to school. He was also known as a guy who during his education did not participate in any clubs or societies. (The Telegraph 2017a)

People who know Salman Abedi described him as following:

- A good footballer
- He was cheerful
- He was known to be very gullible
- He seemed to be an intelligent person
- Short tempered (BBC News 2017a)
- He used to be always friendly (The Telegraph 2017a)
- While in the university he had not been in any trouble (The Telegraph 2017a)

Neighbours said the following about Salman Abedi (The Telegraph 2017a):

• A man who was little known in the neighbourhood

- Often seen in Islamic clothing
- Very religious
- He was seen and heard in the street singing Islamic songs very loudly
- The house where Salman Abedi lived had a huge flag hanging (speculated to be Libyan or Iraqi)

Salman Abedi was Muslim by birth and he continued to support Islam. Khalid Masood converted to Islam when he was older. Seemingly both Masood and Abedi were normal people. They both had a home to go, good education, and local people surrounding them.

2.6 Recommendations for Muslim integration

The analysis of the United Kingdom integration strategy as a part of avoiding radicalisation showed that integrating immigrants is important. The UK is trying to help as much as possible but there are still challenges to overcome. One of the biggest challenges is locals' attitudes towards migrants. Next, the author will give some suggestions to help integrate immigrants.

Authors' suggestion is to organize more events and meetings where locals and immigrants are included to promote community cohesion. For example, there should be more social gatherings to meet new people and to talk about daily life. Of course, these kinds of meetings are not a top priority for people and probably that is why these meetings are within smaller groups. The idea here is to provide something to locals and to immigrants that they would feel they are welcome to these kinds of events.

The UK should create opportunities for immigrants and for locals to do more voluntary work. This is the environment where immigrants can meet locals to get new acquaintances and friends. Opportunity to do voluntary work for immigrants would mean that as mentions they would meet new locals and through locals, they have better chances to get a job.

For children who are in kindergarten or in schools, there should be an organized meeting (where local children and Muslim pupils will meet). For example, after the school day, there is organised educational movie night (it has to be fun also, then these kinds of social gatherings can occur occasionally), where children are gathered together, first, they watch the

movie and later they express their opinion about the move. Of course, the atmosphere has to tolerant (meaning: accepting all ideas). It does not have to be a movie night, it also can be game night. For example, children come together to they play educational games about different cultures and later on children will tell what culture they have and what is good about that. This would help different cultures to understand their behaviour and their actions better.

Thirdly, the country could help Muslims find a job at the same place where Britons work to help along with integration. Here the author means that the government should help Muslims to get work, but the workplace should be where at least half of the staff are locals. The idea is that different cultures should work together. And of course, they should have the same salary preventing attitudes towards immigrants.

The author feels like media is sometimes exaggerating with its stories (especially when the story is about Muslim immigrants). There should be more positive stories and success stories about Muslims and immigrants. Here it is meant that there are too many bad news about immigrants', especially Muslim immigrants. The news headlines are attracting people to read but it does not always have to be bad news.

The United Kingdom has different integration strategies to involve immigrants to society. Some strategies are very good for migrants (for example, the UK allows immigrants to keep their cultural identities and practices to make them more welcome, they will be given different social and financial benefits for asylum seekers) and some strategies need to be reviewed and improved (for example, social integration of immigrants). In the end, the key to success is to be consistent.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF TERRORIST ATTACKS IN THE UK OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS

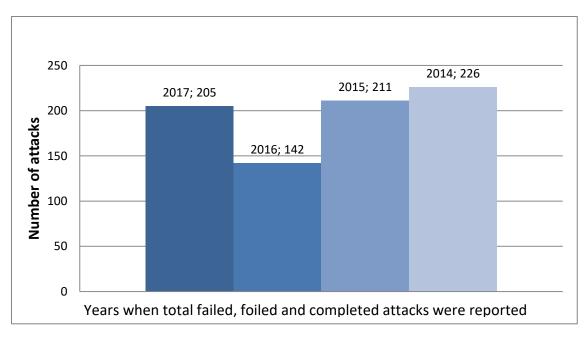
The United Kingdom is having problems with home-grown terrorism. They are generally second-generation immigrants who have lived in the country and who have received a mainstream secular education. The concern about home-grown terrorism is growing and is more relevant to higher income countries. (Bhui et al. 2012)

Every year more and more Muslims come to the U.K, to Europe and beyond. Annual population survey data for England and Wales show that in 2015 the United Kingdom overall population was 57 158 625. The Muslim population or people who reported themselves as Muslims was 3 098 819. This means that in 2015 in the United Kingdom there were more than 5% Muslims. In 2016 the total population was 57 589 619 and the total population of Muslims was 3 209 038. Within one year the population of people who reported themselves as Muslims grows by more than 3%. (Office for National Statistics. 2017)

On July 7, 2005, the first home-grown suicide bombing in London took place. The attack was committed by second-generation young men, a Caribbean, Kashmiri, and Pakistani Muslim. These men were from the north of England. (Abbas 2011) After that followed attacks in 2007, 2013, 2015 and 2016. The year 2017 was extremely hard for the United Kingdom. In 2017 there were four horrifying terrorist attacks in England, attack in Westminster Bridge and Palace, in Manchester Arena, in London Bridge, and in Finsbury Park Mosque. Media-based analyse shows that not all but most of the attacker were Muslims and most of the attackers have lived or even grown-up in the United Kingdom.

3.1 Overall terrorist attacks in the European Union

Table 1. The numbers of terrorist attacks (failed, foiled and completed) were reported in the European Union between the years 2014 - 2017

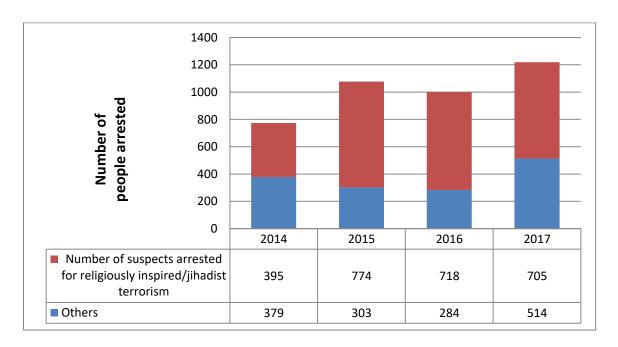


Source: Author's calculations based on data from European Union terrorism situation and trend report, 2017 and 2018

Table 1 shows how many attacks were reported by the EU Member States from 2014 until 2017, including failed, foiled and completed attacks. From 2014 attacks started to drop until 2016. The number of attacks slightly decreased in 2015 compared to 2014. In 2014 there were 226 attacks reported, in 2015 there were 211 attacks and by the year 2016, there were 69 attacks lesser. But in 2017 aggressions rose almost 30 per cent. Out of 205 attacks which were reported by the EU Member States, 107 attacks were reported by the United Kingdom in 2017. In 2016 more than half, 76 per cent of the reported attacks were by the UK. In 2015 again almost half of (103) attacks were reported by the United Kingdom.

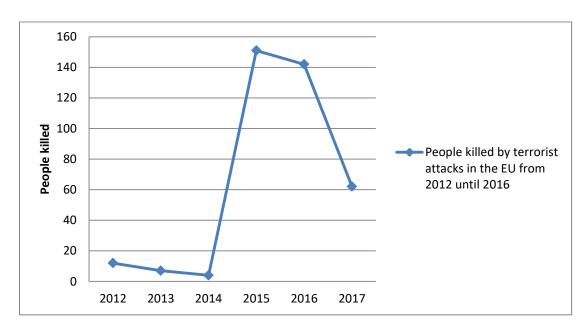
According to TE-SAT (2018), there has been an increase in the frequency of jihadist attacks. Jihadist terrorist attacks are catastrophic and they are causing numerous deaths. Table 2 shows how many people were arrested for terrorism – related offences. Columns are divided between the suspicions of religiously inspired terrorism in the European Union and others who are not jihadist terrorists from 2014 until 2017. Looking at table 2 it can be seen that every year most terrorism – related arrests are religiously inspired. In 2014 there were 774 total arrests and 395 were imprisoned because of jihadist inspired terrorism. In 2015 there were 1077 suspects captured. The number of jihadist incarceration rose almost two times. Out of those 1077 arrested people, 774 were suspected to be jihadists. Again in 2016 and 2017, most incarcerations were related to jihadist terrorism.

Table 2. Individuals arrested for terrorism related offences in the European Union between the years 2014 - 2017



Source: Author's calculations based on data from European Union terrorism situation and trend report, 2017 and 2018

Table 3. People killed by terrorist attacks in the European Union between the years 2012 until 2017



Source: Author's calculations based on data from European Union terrorism situation and trend report, 2016, 2015, 2014, 2013 and 2012

Table 3 shows how many people were killed by terrorist attacks in the European Union from 2012 until 2017. Citizens killed by terrorist attacks from 2012 to 2014 shows a decrease. After that, it rose rapidly. 151 people died because of terrorist aggression in 2015. Even though table 1 showed that the numbers of terrorist attacks are decreasing, there is no correlation between the number of terrorist attacks (planned and executed) and people killed by terrorist attacks. For example, in 2017 there were 205 failed, foiled and completed attacks and 62 people died. Compared to the year 2014, when there were 226 attacks and 4 people died. In 2015 and in 2016 terrorist attacks were planned and executed with the larger scale.

It has been established that there is a risk of terrorists' attacks in the European Union. In 2014 until 2017 most people who were arrested for terrorism attacks were religiously/jihadist-inspired. Overall, more than half of terrorist attacks (including failed, foiled and completed attacks) in the European Union were arranged in the UK. Since this thesis is a case study of the UK the next section of this paper will analyse immigration in the United Kingdom from 2012 until 2017 – Does immigration (especially Muslim immigration) increase the likelihood of terrorist attacks?

3.2 Immigration in to the United Kingdom – Does immigration (especially Muslim immigration) increase the likelihood of terrorism?

There are several debates over whether immigration (especially Muslim immigration) increases domestic and transnational terrorism. In this question the opinions are divided. There are people, for example, Paolo Gentiloni (ANSA 2015) and Donald Trump (BBC News 2017) who have expressed the opinion that immigration flow is dangerous for their country and will increase terrorism. And on the other side, there are scholars who have reached the conclusion that in fact, more immigrants will decrease terrorist attacks. (Heyman, Mickolus 1980; Bove, Böhmelt 2015)

This academic paper will next examine the overall population and immigration, Muslim population, immigration inflow, and terrorists' attacks in the United Kingdom between the years 2012 until 2017. Then it is followed by a quantitative analysis which will measure the relationship between terrorist attacks versus immigration and terrorist attacks versus Muslim immigration in the UK. (inflow on immigration versus terrorist attacks – inflow versus

Islamic terrorist attacks). To find an answer to the question does immigration increases the likelihood of terrorism or does Muslim immigration increases the likelihood of terrorism?

There are different reasons why this quantitative analysis is based on a short time period (2012-2017). In order to analyse the real situation in the United Kingdom, it is essential to look at the data as close to today as possible.

First of all, terrorism was not that big of a problem for the Western countries about 30 years ago. But the world has changed. That means the opportunities for people have changed. For example, nowadays it is possible to move freely across the countries. People can study and work abroad. This means that there are more immigrants entering the country. It is generally thought that mixing together different cultures will make everybody more tolerant towards each other. But currently, scientists and even students in schools and universities are examining immigration as a social issue.

Secondly, the growth of Internet usage has raised enormously. Nowadays there is an opportunity to use the Internet everywhere at all times. People can use wireless networks on their phones, tablets and on their computers. Through Internet people are communicating with each other and with different people with different cultures. On the Internet, you can express your opinion freely.

Thirdly, the advanced technology is available to everyone. And with the new devices, the recruiters (for example Al-Qaida, ISIS etc.) can use apps to easily manipulate and recruit new members.

Then there is of course media that plays an important role in shaping people attitude towards Islamic culture. Today there are so many different media channels who are competing with each other and that make everyday news headlines merciless. For example, media blames immigrants (especially Muslims) for increasing terrorists' attacks even before the police announcement.

Last but not least, is that political situation is changing – what was prevalent 10 years ago, is not relevant today. Every year there are political and economic changes that affect people all over the world (including local citizens and immigrants as well). For example, in the United

Kingdom, General Elections mostly take place after every 5 years. The new Parliament will make new changes to the country (some changes are more appealing to the citizens, but do not please immigrants and vice versa). This kind of situation makes people nervous and anxious, which at the end might lead to terrorism.

3.2.1 Population in the United Kingdom

Table 4. Overall population and immigration in the United Kingdom

Year	Population	Immigration in the UK	Immigration inflow	Muslim population in the UK	Muslim population in the UK %	Number of terror attacks
2012	63700300	498000	536000	2865000	4,50	55
2013	64128226	526000	493000	3012900	4,70	137
2014	64613160	632000	632000	3128700	4,84	103
2015	65128861	631000	644000	3148400	4,83	114
2016	65595565	589000	638000	3292300	5,02	105
2017	66022273	572000	585000	3299808	5,00	122

Sources: Author's calculations based on data from the World Bank Group 2018, Office for National Statistics 2017 and 2018, and The Statistics Portal 2018

From table 4 it can be seen that the whole population in the UK is rising year by year. In 2012 there were 63, 7 million people and by the year 2017, there were 2,3 million people more living in the United Kingdom. This table also shows that the number of immigrants in the UK fluctuates. The immigration rose from 2012 until 2014. In 2015 compared to the year 2014, there has been a slight decrease. Next year, in 2016 numbers continued to drop until 2017. While looking at the Muslim population in the UK it can be seen that it is only increasing. In 2012 the Muslim population was 2865000. Within 5 years the number of Muslims grows 13 per cent (434808).

3.2.2 Terrorist attacks in the UK between the years 2012 – 2017

Global Terrorism Database (GTD) gives a very good overview of the current data on terrorists' attacks for the author to examine the real situation in the United Kingdom between the years 2012 until 2017.

Table 5. Terrorist attacks in the UK between the years 2012 - 2017

								Number of
			Number of	Number of terror	Number of people	Number of people	Number of	facilities
	Successful	unsuccessful	terror	attacks by	injured by terror	injured by Islamist	facilities	attacks by
Year	attacks	attacks	attacks	Muslims	attacks	terrorists	attacked	Islamist
2012	4	51	55	0	2	0	2	0
2013	11	126	137	1	64	0	4	1
2014	4	99	103	0	4	0	0	0
2015	19	95	114	2	23	4	1	0
2016	25	80	105	2	20	2	9	1
2017	39	83	122	5	301	247	42	40

Sources: Author's calculations based on data from GTD (2018)

See the detailed table in the appendix 3

Table 5 shows how many successful terrorist attacks there were in the United Kingdom from 2012 until 2017, who were perpetrators, how many people were injured and how many facilities were targeted. GTD (2018) reported that there were altogether 636 terrorist attacks (successful and unsuccessful) between the years 2012 to 2017. In this paper, those successful attacks are considered to be injured or killed people and destroyed or damaged facilities. Out of 636 attacks, there were 102 successful and 534 unsuccessful terrorist attracts. 10 out of 102 finalized acts were committed by Islamist people. That means 92 attacks were arranged by other perpetrators. None of the unsuccessful attacks were committed by Muslims. In sum, 58 facilities were destroyed and 414 people injured. Out of 58 demolished facilities, more than half (42 facilities) of it was destroyed by Islamic people. 253 citizens were wounded, hurt or killed by Islamic people. This analysis shows that Muslims are committing larger scale attacks with the intention to have as many victims as possible.

Table 6. Terrorist attacks in the UK between the years 2012 – 2017

Between the	Number	Number of	Number of	Number of	Number	Number of
years 2012 -	of terror	terror attack	people	people	of	facilities
2017	attacks	by Muslims	injured by	injured by	facilities	attacked by
			terror	Islamist	attacked	Islamist
			attacks	terrorists		terrorists
	636	10	414	253	58	42
% carried out	1,	57 %	61,1	1 %	72,	41 %
by Muslims						

Sources: Author's calculations based on data from GTD (2018)

Addition to the table 5

Table 6 shows how many people and facilities were attacked, and how many terrorist attacks altogether there were between the years 2012 until 2017. And it also shows how big the percentage between the attacks is. Only 1,57 per cent from all the terrorist attacks were carried out by an Islamist terrorist. Secondly, table 6 shows that Islamist terrorist with their 10 attacks between the years 2012 – 2017 injured 61,11 per cent of people. Thirdly, almost 2/3 (72,41 per cent) of facilities were attacked by an Islamist terrorist.

With the available data, the previous section has established that the United Kingdom is having troubles with terrorism. It also shows that in fact, most attackers are not Muslims, but when they are, the acts tend to be more vicious. Their attacks have numerous innocent victims and they will demolish also facilities.

3.3 Quantitative analysis

In this paper, independent variables are immigration, immigration flow and Muslim population in the UK and the dependent variable is an annual terror attack and Islamic terrorist attacks between the years 2012 until 2017.

3.3.1 Immigration versus terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom

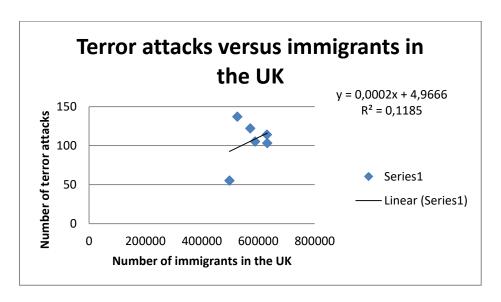


Figure 1. Terror attacks versus immigrants in the UK between the years 2012 - 2017 Sources: Author's calculations based on data from GTD, Office for National Statistics 2018

The author analysed the relationship between terrorist attacks versus immigrant in the UK and found out that R2 = 0,1185. And that means the Pearson correlation coefficient is 0,3442. Looking at figure 1 it can be seen that it has a positive correlation. Although there is a relationship between terror attacks and immigration in the UK, this relationship is weak. 0,3442 is closer to 0 (0 = no correlation between variables) than to +1. That means there is a little possibility that immigration increases the likelihood of terrorist attacks.

3.3.2 Muslim immigration versus terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom

Now it is important to analyse the correlation coefficient between the Muslim population and Terror acts in the United Kingdom between the years 2012 until 2017 to see does Muslims are more likely to take part in terrorist attacks.

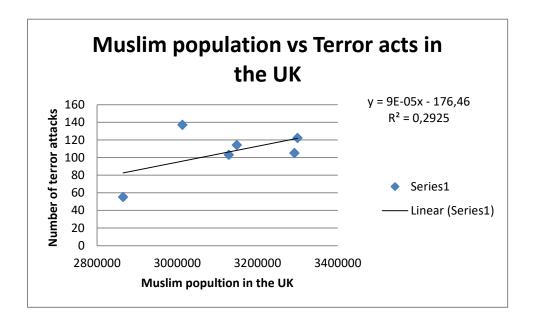


Figure 2. Muslim population versus terror attacks in the UK between the years 2012 - 2017 Sources: Author's calculations based on data from GTD (2018), Office for National Statistics 2018

Figure 2 shows that R2 equals 0,2925. That means R=0,5408. This analysis will show a moderate positive correlation between terror attacks and Muslim population. 0,5408 is closer to +1 (+1 = strong correlation between variables) than to 0. There is a moderate statistical significance. That means there is a possibility that the increase of Islamist immigrants in the UK will lead to more terrorist attacks in the country.

3.3.3 Immigration flow versus terrorist attacks

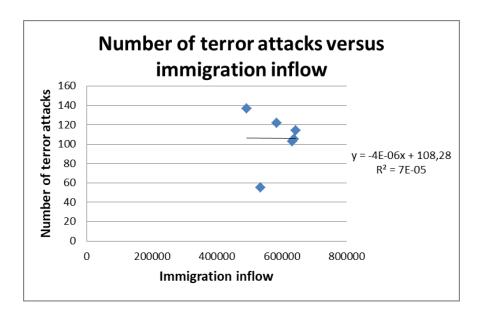


Figure 3. Number of terror attacks versus immigration inflow between the years 2012 - 2017 Sources: Author's calculations based on data from GTD (2018) and The Statistics Portal 2018

From figure 3 it can be seen that there is almost no correlation between the relationship of immigration inflow and terror attack. R equals to -0,0087 and the value of R2 is 0,0001. It is a negative correlation – the nearer the value is to zero, the weaker the relationship. There is no statistical significance at all.

3.3.4 Number on Islamic terrorist attacks versus Immigration inflow

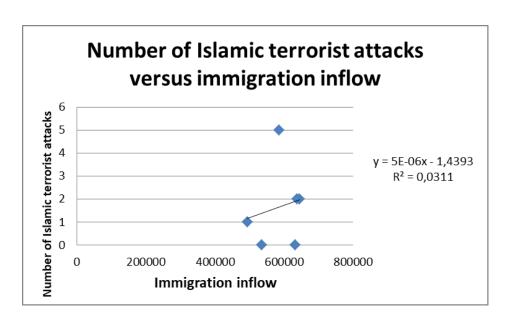


Figure 4. Number of Islamic terrorist attacks versus immigration inflow between the years 2012 - 2017

Sources: Author's calculations based on data from GTD (2018) and The Statistics Portal 2018

From figure 4 it can be seen that R2 equals 0,0311, that means R equals to 0,1763. Although it is a positive correlation there is no statistical significance, the relationship between immigration inflow and Islamic terrorist attacks is very weak.

So far we have established that according to correlation calculation there is almost no relationship between immigration inflow and terrorist attacks, and between immigration inflows versus Islamic terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom. Based on this thesis analysis it can be said that immigration does not increase terrorism. Secondly, the author of this paper analysed Muslims immigration versus terrorist attacks and found out that there is a moderate possibility that Muslim population will engage in violent and horrible actions.

3.4 What contributes to radicalisation in the UK?

This chapter will examine the factors that contribute to radicalisation to find the answer why Muslims out of all immigrants that come to the UK and commit such horrifying acts.

Tahir Abbas argues in his book (2007) that not all of the radical activities but most of the Islamic political radical activities are carried out by South Asian Muslims. He also points out that there are three key factors why Muslims experience marginalisation which at the end will lead them closer to terrorism. First is that British people strongly dislike foreigners. The issue is mostly expressed by white-English groups. Secondly, Muslims are discriminated by the British people and they are experiencing direct racism just because of their skin colour. Thirdly, Muslims living in the United Kingdom has become a target of hostility. They are targeted based on ethno-religious and cultural differences, nowadays it is also called Islamophobia. Muslims in the United Kingdom are frequently discriminated by British people and this affects their sense of identity. (Robinson, L. et al. 2017) Muslims want to belong somewhere and they want recognition. Due to the discrimination and aggression against Muslims, they are directed to the people who are seeking radicalised Islamists. These groups will give Muslims identity and opportunity to belong to the group. (Abbas 2007)

According to the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee (2016), there is no clear template for the factors which at the end might lead to radicalisation but there are several contributory factors. David Anderson says that there are two possible contributory factors which might lead to radicalisation – grievances, and ideals. There are different sources for grievance, but it does include poor family relations, bullying at school or within social groups and also the UK's foreign policy. The last one mentioned, the UK foreign policy seems to relate matters involving Islamic countries.

The United Kingdom's foreign policy and provocative behaviour play an important role in shaping immigrants attitudes towards British people. Combination of UK's foreign policy and media's reflection on it allows for the author of this paper to believe that this is one of the biggest problems for Islamic migrants to experience marginalisation and at the end could lead to radicalisation.

For example, media shows how the Western government (including United Kingdom's government) is trying to help countries such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Pakistan, while at the same time they send the military to Iraq, Afghanistan, and Chechnya to fight. The UK is the second largest country who sold weapons to Saudi Arabia in 2017. (See the appendix 1 and 2) This situation will lead Muslims to feel that the UK being deceptive since they are willing to help countries that are economically beneficial for them at the same time fight against the countries that are in the war and do not offer economic assets. Islamic people feel that they need to protect their country of origin and its reputation. Therefore they feel the need to fight against Western foreign policies and by arranging terrorist attacks.

One of the biggest problems what contributes to British Muslims radicalisation is Britons attitudes towards Muslim immigrants. There are some people who think that Islamic culture is violent and have negative force in the UK. There are people who feel that further migration from Muslim countries should be banned from entering their country. The author found that there are two groups of people who are against Muslims and Islamic people overall – anti-Muslim extremists (they are hostile towards Muslims) and people who are having Islamophobia. Looking at the appendix 3 it can be seen that between the years 2012 – 2017 there were altogether 5 terrorist attacks organised by anti-Muslim extremists. They showed aggression because they are against Muslims. This analysis shows that yes, there are people who are hostile towards Islamic people and they are not afraid to show it.

In conclusion, there are several factors which might lead British Muslims to radicalisation:

- there are anti-Muslim extremists who are showing their resentment through terrorists' attacks
- people who are having Islamophobia they do not accept Muslim immigrants
- UK's foreign policy
- Medias' reflection on UK's foreign policy that could trigger the radicalisation process for Muslims immigrants
- Britons negative attitudes towards British Muslims.

CONCLUSION

This thesis examined the reasons behind Islamic terrorists' attacks and the possibility that Muslims are radicalising while living in the West. In order to find proof to the claim, the paper presented a quantitative analysis of correlation coefficient on immigration versus terrorist acts and Muslims population versus terrorist attacks. It also included a detailed analysis of terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom between the years 2012 until 2017.

Frequent terrorist acts in the West have raised several questions that this thesis attempted to answer:

- Are British Muslims radicalising and is that the reason why there are more terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom?
- If British Muslims are radicalising could part of the reason be in poor integration strategy? What could be the key problems integrating Muslim immigrants?

This thesis proved that there is no single answer for why people radicalise. Radicalisation is a complicated process and to describe radicalisation combination of factors are needed. Radicalisation can be described as an outcome of the unfavourable economic and political situation, personal uncertainty, religious self-search, perceived illegitimacy of authorities, perceived in-group superiority, perceived distance to other members of same society and perceived societal disconnectedness, the persons' educational achievement. It is important to point out that the research on radicalisation shows that when a person has a problem with just one unfavourable condition, the radicalisation process mostly does not start.

Are British Muslims radicalising and is that the reason why there are more terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom?

Research on immigration and terrorism showed that most of the attacks were not committed by Islamic people. However, the ones which were can be characterised by a high number of victims and damaged facilities. This, in turn, gives information that the main terrorist threat taking into consideration the number of victims is arising from Islamic extremism. Therefore, it can be said that some British Muslims are radicalising and that is why there are more terrorist attacks and more innocent victims.

If British Muslims are radicalising could part of the reason be in poor integration strategy? What could be the key problems integrating Muslim immigrants?

There are several aspects to integrate Muslim immigrants. First, there are policies and benefits for immigrants. For example, the United Kingdom has a multicultural policy which allows Muslims to keep their cultural identity and practices. Secondly, the UK gives a lot of different benefits to Muslim immigrants. For instance, Muslims get financial support to buy food and clothing, they get free healthcare from the National Health Service and Muslims are able to get housing if needed. Looking at all the benefits that Muslims will get when they enter the UK, it seems that this part is covered and does not need further developing.

Many studies that deal with radicalisation seem to have in common the sense of being isolated and feeling alienated from the surrounding society. Islamic people perceive social disconnectedness. They are discriminated because of their skin colour and religion. Western society shows aggression against Muslims. So this leads to the conclusion that one of the biggest problem is Britons attitudes towards Muslim immigrants. There are some people who think that Islamic culture is violent and have negative force in the UK. Moreover, some people feel that further migration from Muslim countries should be banned from entering their country. There are two groups of people who are against Muslims and Islamic people overall – anti-Muslim extremists and people who are having Islamophobia. Anti-Muslim extremists will show their resentment towards Muslims by their own terrorist attacks and people who have Islamophobia are afraid of Muslims.

The path to radicalisation has many factors such as poor integration strategy, UK's foreign policy and provocative behaviour by people and government. Moreover, medias' reflection on the beforementioned factors plays a crucial role in creating resentment and anger among Muslims. For example, media shows how the UK's government is trying to help countries such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Pakistan, while at the same time the government sends the military to Iraq, Afghanistan, and Chechnya to fight. This situation lets Islamic people feel that the UK will help countries that are economically beneficial for them and at the same time fights against countries that are in the war. Therefore Muslims feel the need to fight against UK's foreign policies by arranging terrorist attacks.

Media plays an important role in shaping Britons attitudes towards Muslims. Author of this paper feels like media is exaggerating with their stories (especially about Muslims) to get more readers. For example, sometimes media blames Muslims for increasing terrorist attacks even before the police announcement.

Possible solutions

Sometimes it is hard to say which approach is the most effective. To combat terrorism is not easy, as the United Kingdom have come to experience. To tackle against terrorism in the United Kingdom collective action is needed. That means the government has already done enough but now it is important to include local people. There should be more events and meetings where immigrants and locals are included to promote community cohesion. For example, there should be more social gatherings or voluntary work practices to meet new people and to talk about daily life.

As mention before, the author feels like media is sometimes exaggerating with its stories (especially when the story is about Muslim immigrants). Another possible solution to minimize terrorist attacks is that the media should cover more positive stories and success stories about Muslims and immigrants. Here it is meant that the news headlines are attracting people to read but it does not always have to be a bad news.

There are different approaches that Western countries have taken on to integrate immigrants and with it minimise terror attacks by foreigners. But there is still more work to do to connect immigrants and local people.

Possible areas of further study

There are many possible areas for the further research. Firstly, the more precise study is needed to be done to analyse different political, economic and cultural situation between three different time periods. That means there are three variables. For example, first there is time period 2000 - 2005, secondly, 2006 - 2011 and thirdly, 2012 - 2017. And finally, the author should examine differences between these time periods – how was the situation in the first period and what was the situation with terrorism and Islam back then. Later on, the author should study the second period of five years and then the third. Probably this analysis would give a much better understanding of the real reasons why there are more and more terrorists'

attacks in the world. A specified period of five years is because after every five years there is a government election.

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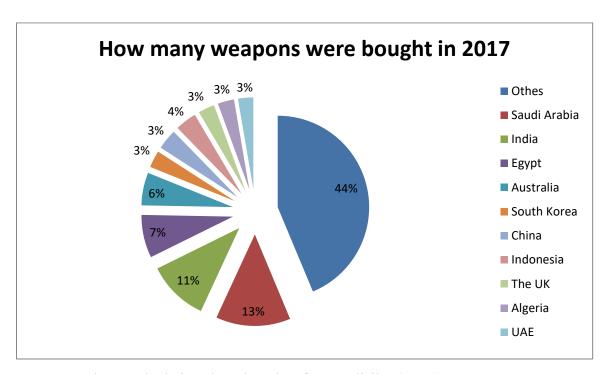
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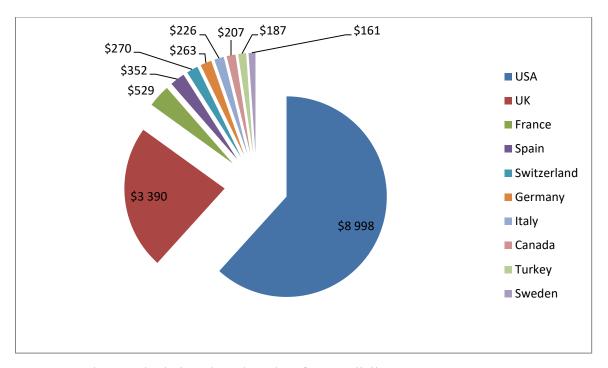
APPENDICES

Appendix 1: How many weapons were bought in 2017.



Source: Author's calculations based on data from Välisilm (2018)

Appendix 2: Countries selling weapons to Saudi Arabia (billion dollar)



Source: Author's calculations based on data from Välisilm (2018)

Appendix 3: Successful terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom from 2012 until 2017

DATE	PERPETRATOR GROUP	FATALITIES	INJURED	TARGET TYPE
30.12.2017	Unknown	0	2	Private Citizens & Property
26.12.2017	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
23.12.2017	Dissident Republicans	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
7.12.2017	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
29.11.2017	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
12.11.2017	Dissident Republicans	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
12.11.2017	Unknown	0	5	Private Citizens & Property
8.11.2017	Unknown	0	2	Private Citizens & Property
28.10.2017	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
24.09.2017	Anti-Muslim extremists	0	1	Religious Figures/Institutions
20.09.2017	Anti-Muslim extremists	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
17.09.2017	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
	Islamic State of Iraq and the			
15.09.2017	Levant (ISIL) (suspected)	0	29	Transportation
25.08.2017	Unknown	0	3	Police
10.08.2017	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
8.08.2017	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property

22.07.2017	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
22.07.2017		0	1	· · ·
3.07.2017	The New Irish Republican Army	0	1	, ,
25.06.2017	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
21.06.2017	Anti-Muslim extremists	0	2	Private Citizens & Property
19.06.2017	Anti-Muslim extremists	1	12	Private Citizens & Property
10.06.2017	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
10.06.2017	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
10.06.2017	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
7.06.2017	Muslim extremists	0	1	
				Private Citizens & Property, Private
3.06.2017	Jihadi-inspired extremists	11	48	Citizens & Property
				Private Citizens &
22.05.2047	Islamic State of Iraq and the	22	110	Property, Business, Private Citizens
	Levant (ISIL)	23	119	
14.05.2017		0	1	
27.03.2017	Oglaigh na hEireann	0	1	1 /
	Dissident Republicans Muslim extremists	6	50	, ,
	South East Antrim Brigade	1	0	_
16.02.2017		0	1	· · ·
15.02.2017	•	0	1	, ,
22.01.2017	•	0	1	· · ·
17.01.2017	'	0	1	
12.01.2017		0	2	· ·
6.01.2017		0	1	, ,
	Oglaigh na hEireann (suspected)	0	1	· · ·
	Anti-Muslim extremists	0	1	· ,
13.11.2016	Loyalists (suspected)	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
20.10.2016	The New Irish Republican Army	1	0	Private Citizens & Property
16.10.2016	Oglaigh na hEireann	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
13.10.2016	Unknown	0	2	Private Citizens & Property
20.07.2016	Muslim extremists	0	1	Military
12.07.2016		0	1	Private Citizens & Property
29.06.2016	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
27.06.2016	Unknown	0	1	Business
16.06.2016		1	1	
11.06.2016		0	1	Private Citizens & Property
15.05.2016	Unknown	0	1	
9.05.2016	Dissident Republicans	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
9.05.2016	Dissident Republicans	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
9.05.2016	' '	1	0	Private Citizens & Property
30.04.2016	Dissident Republicans	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
18.04.2016		0	1	Private Citizens & Property
15.04.2016	The New Irish Republican Army	1	0	Private Citizens & Property
28.03.2016	•	0	2	Police
24.03.2016	Muslim extremists	1	1	Private Citizens & Property

4.03.2016	The New Irish Republican Army	1	0	Police
	Irish National Liberation Army			
25.02.2016	(INLA)	1	0	Private Citizens & Property
18.02.2016	Jihadi-inspired extremists	1	0	Religious Figures/Institutions
	Irish National Liberation Army			
	(INLA),The New Irish Republican			
7.01.2016	Army	1	0	Private Citizens & Property
30.11.2015	Unknown	0	2	Business
5.12.2015	Jihadi-inspired extremists	0	3	Transportation
17.11.2015	Muslim extremists	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
17.11.2015	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
15.11.2015	Unknown	0	2	Private Citizens & Property
13.11.2015	The New Irish Republican Army	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
12.11.2015	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
20.10.2015	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
26.09.2015	Unknown	0	1	Religious Figures/Institutions
31.03.2015	Dissident Republicans	0	1	
26.03.2015	•	0	1	, ,
-	Loyalists (suspected)	0	1	· · ·
17.03.2015		0	1	· · ·
15.03.2015	, , , ,	0	1	· · ·
25.02.2015	Oglaigh na hEireann	0	1	1 /
17.02.2015		0	1	· · ·
30.01.2015		0	1	, ,
	Dissident Republicans	0	1	
5.01.2015		1	1	, ,
	Dissident Republicans	0	1	· · ·
	Oglaigh na hEireann	0	1	, ,
28.09.2014		0	1	' '
-	Dissident Republicans	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
	Dissident Republicans	0	1	Business
5.11.2013	Oglaigh na hEireann	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
10.10.2013	5 5	1	0	· · ·
8.10.2013	The New Irish Republican Army	1	0	Private Citizens & Property
9.08.2013	·	0	56	
18.06.2013	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
8.06.2013	Unknown	0	2	Educational Institution
26.05.2013	Unknown	0	2	Police
22.05.2013	Muslim extremists	1	0	Military
		1		•
29.04.2013	White extremists	1	0	Private Citizens & Property
	Loyalist Volunteer Forces (LVF)			
	(suspected), Real Ulster			
24 02 2012	Freedom Fighters (UFF) -	^	4	Drivata Citizana & Dranarty
24.02.2013	` ' '	0	0	. ,
1.11.2012		1		
25.10.2012	The New Irish Republican Army	1	0	Private Citizens & Property

	Babbar Khalsa International			
30.09.2012	(BKI) (suspected)	0	1	Military
11.04.2012	Oglaigh na hEireann	0	1	Private Citizens & Property

Source: Author's calculations based on data from GTD (2018)