

An Assessment of the Key Causes of Youth Radicalization
and the Impact of Violent Extremism in Jordan:
Perceptions of Jordanian and Syrian Youth

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1. Introduction

This assessment is part of a larger project entitled “Strengthening Resilience to Violent Extremism for Syrian Refugees Using the Arts” implemented by the National Center for Culture and Arts of the King Hussein Foundation. The Information and Research Center – King Hussein Foundation (IRCKHF) is conducting this assessment to identify the key causes of radicalization among Jordanian and Syrian youth in East Amman, Azraq camp and Zaatari camp. The assessment is based on a review of literature as well as qualitative and quantitative research with youth and key informants.

2. Background

2.1 Overview

Jordan has long been seen as a regional hub of stability and security in the Middle East.¹ However, its proximity to volatile regional conflicts, previously in Iraq, and now in Syria, as well as a long history of Jordanian jihadists, makes the country vulnerable to violent extremism.² Furthermore, pre-existing socioeconomic and political challenges contribute to the vulnerability of the country and serve as underlying conditions and potential drivers for radicalization.

It is estimated that since the start of the Syrian conflict in 2011, over 30,000 foreign fighters have joined extremist groups, such as ISIS and al-Nusra, in Syria and Iraq.³ The Middle East is the primary source of foreign fighters to these conflicts, with approximately 11,000 foreign fighters.⁴ Estimates suggest that between 2,000 and 4,000 Jordanians have fought with the Islamic State, which makes Jordan one of the world’s highest per capita contributors of foreign fighters.⁵

The large number of Syrian people seeking refuge in Jordan has also raised the question whether Syrian refugee concentrations – in camps and urban areas – may become incubators for violent extremist groups. Research suggests that the major Syrian refugee centers have not become hotbeds of radicalization, as it was initially feared,⁶ and there is no empirical evidence that relates refugees with radicalization.⁷ The presence of large numbers of refugee youth is not a threat in itself. Rather, the risk to radicalization grows when multiple factors are combined.⁸ The poor socio-economic situation of many Syrian refugees, their feelings of hopelessness and frustration, as well as the impact of war may make them susceptible to radicalization.⁹

This situation has prompted different organizations to look into the drivers that lead Jordanian and Syrian refugee youth to become radicalized and join violent extremist groups. While various researches have studied the different drivers of radicalization, much less is known regarding the impact that violent extremism has in the youth’s lives.

2.2 Drivers to radicalization

Factors leading youth in Jordan to become radicalized and join extremist groups are diverse and multifaceted. They include socioeconomic factors such as poverty, unemployment and lack of opportunities, but also political issues such as frustration with the poor governance and feelings of injustice and helplessness resulting from corruption and nepotism. Search for personal identity and purpose can also play an important role in pushing youth toward extremist

ideologies. Moreover, the presence of radical Islamist discourse and the exposure and proximity to Syria and to terrorist groups operating there complete this complex picture.

Research shows that while socioeconomic drivers may be insufficient on its own to encourage radicalization, they create an atmosphere of frustration and desperation that pushes people towards alternative options.¹⁰ These elements should not be analyzed in isolation but rather in a holistic way. Their overlaps and combinations create a picture of common frustrations faced by Jordanian and Syrian refugee youth in Jordan and indicate the reasons why many may be susceptible to radicalization and violent extremism.¹¹

2.2.1 Economic deprivation and social disenchantment

Youth unemployment rate in Jordan is over 36%, more than double the overall rate of 16%.¹² Young people are faced by lack of job opportunities, in addition to rising prices and creeping poverty.¹³ Furthermore, marriage, which continues to be socially aspired to, is increasingly out of reach for many, particularly those unemployed or those living in poverty.¹⁴ Violent extremist groups such as ISIS take advantage of such frustrations by promising salaries, homes, and marriage, alongside life purpose and social significance.¹⁵ The perceived material and social benefits of joining such groups can make young people vulnerable for recruitment.

It is worth noting that youth at risk of radicalization and extremism do not only come from impoverished or uneducated backgrounds.^{16,17} Educated middle-class Jordanian youth are also being attracted to extremist Islamist ideology.¹⁸ This indicates that, even though poverty and unemployment can play a major role, they are not the only drives to radicalization. The strength of ISIS recruitment messages and methods, combined with the weakness of the life an identity that youth leave behind, may also lead to the radicalization of Jordanian youth.

2.2.2 Lack of political voice and identity

Jordanian youth experience feelings of injustice and helplessness that directly linked with their deep political disconnect.¹⁹ Their frustration derives from the widespread corruption and use of *wasta* (connections) to enjoy favorable treatment.²⁰ They are faced with a reality in which employment and social status do not depend on merit but rather on personal connections and social influence.²¹ Adding to these feelings of frustration, Jordanian youth also experience political marginalization. The national decision process, dominated by the monarchy, its appointed government, and the intelligence apparatus, often does not include their voices or take into account their grievances.²² Research also emphasizes the weak attachment of Jordanian youth to their state and society, and the lack of a robust sense of Jordanian nationalism or national identity. These factors amplify the political disconnect of young Jordanians and make them susceptible to extremist ideologies, as they may seek an utopian “Caliphate” as a new alternative of the political and social order.²³

In the case of Syrian refugees, research suggests that political marginalization in their home country also serve as a push factor for Syrian young people to become radicalized in the search for political and social change.²⁴ Furthermore, the experience of injustice and humiliation, as well as the direct exposure to violence and trauma, may trigger a desire for revenge among young Syrian refugees.²⁵

2.2.3 *Religious and geopolitical narratives*

The ideologies of extremist groups such as ISIS and al-Nusra build on the idea that Muslims, Muslim lands, and Islam itself, are under attack.²⁶ There is a lack of a sophisticated understanding of religious scripture among youth, especially when it is related to *jihad* and martyrdom, as well as a lack of safe spaces where they can discuss or seek clarification religious precepts.²⁷ This makes young men and women susceptible to manipulation of narratives about religion by extremist organizations, taking advantage of the shallow understanding of concepts related to *jihad* (Trapped between).

Furthermore, violent extremist organizations also take advantage of the strong opposition towards Israel, the West, and their perceived influence over the country and to the detriment of Muslims felt by a segment of the Jordanian population.²⁸ These sentiments serve as a pathway to violent extremism, in which violence is justified to defend not only their family and country but also a broader pan-Arab or pan-Muslim identity.²⁹

2.2.4 *Desire for personal significance*

Factors such as unemployment and lack of opportunities, inability to marry and dysfunctional family dynamics can diminish personal significance and result in feelings of worthlessness.³⁰ Vulnerable individuals trying to find dignity and purpose in their lives, or trying to redeem themselves, may see extremist groups as an alternative for support and a way to escape their reality.³¹ Extremist groups offer a clear path towards what they see as rehabilitation and legitimacy, including finding meaning, purpose, significance, and dignity in life.³²

2.2.5 *Vulnerability of refugees to radicalization*

Syrian refugee youth may experience specific vulnerabilities to radicalization. In addition to the aforementioned drivers, such as socioeconomic deprivation and hopelessness, they may also face resentment from the host community, as well as disruption of their tribal, familial, and social networks and hierarchies.³³ Moreover, they are more likely to have been exposed to violence, injustice, and trauma, which may result in suffering from post-traumatic disorders. This, in turn, may make them more easily manipulated by extremist groups and susceptible to radicalization as a way to seek revenge and escape their situation through martyrdom.³⁴

To mitigate the risk of radicalization, it is necessary to create meaningful opportunities for refugee youth. Education can be an important tool to prevent radicalization and avoid that radical groups fill in the gap with their own ideology – although educated youth have also proven to be susceptible toward recruitment by violent groups.³⁵ Yet, providing job and education opportunities is only a partial answer. Psychological and security needs must also be addressed.³⁶ Refugees often face humiliation, abuse, and powerlessness in the country of refuge, a situation that can be exploited by militant groups to radicalize vulnerable individuals with narratives, often aimed at youth, of empowerment through violence.³⁷

2.3 Conclusions

Various socioeconomic and political factors can make young Jordanians and Syrian refugees living in Jordan susceptible to radicalization and violent extremism. Unemployment and lack of opportunities, grievance against social injustice, nepotism and corruption, exposure to extremist

discourses, as well as longing for personal significance all can play a role in pushing young men and women towards violent extremist organizations. Therefore, while security-oriented counterterrorism strategies based on anti-terror laws and punishment may discourage radicalization among youth, the underlying socioeconomic and political drivers of radicalization also need to be addressed in order to respond to violent extremist ideologies and groups.³⁸

3. Methodology

3.1 Design

The IRCKHF adopted mixed methods to identify the drivers of radicalization among Syrian and Jordanian youth and its impact on them. Research was conducted in East Amman, Azraq Camp and Zaatari Camp. This included the following:

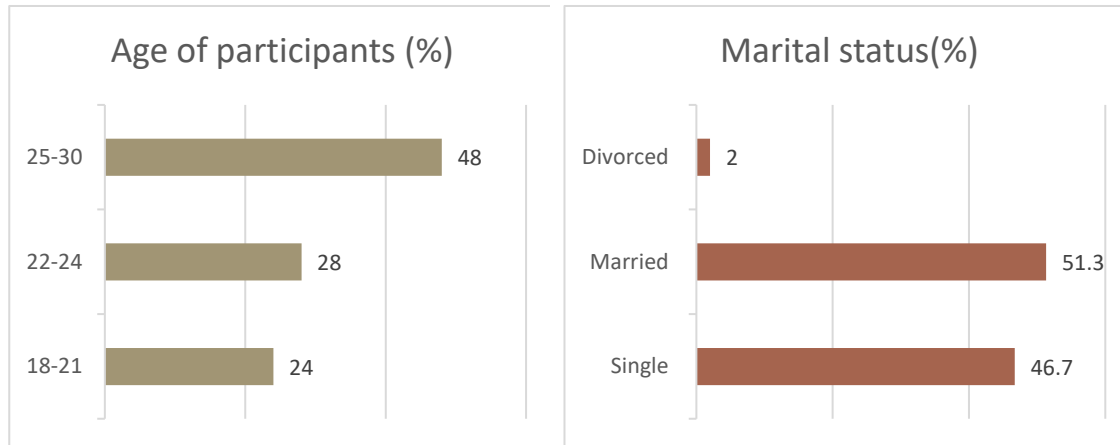
- 152 surveys with Jordanian and Syrian youth aged (18-30, 50% male and 50% female)
- 2 key informant interviews (school principal and CBO director)
- 1 FGD with male and female Jordanian youth (18-30) in Jabal Al Nasr
- 1 FGD with male and female Syrian youth (18-30) in Jabal Al Nasr

3.2 Ethical considerations

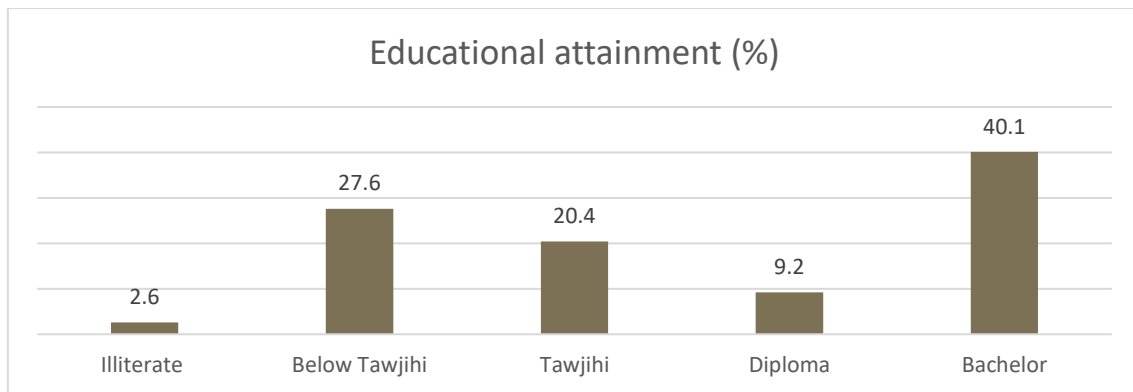
As with all IRCKHF assessments, the team assessed the risks and took the necessary precautions to ensure that no harm came to any of the participants. Informed consent was provided by all participants: in addition to understanding the objectives of the assessment, participants were given the option to remain anonymous; be selective about the personal information they provided; and to opt-out at any time. Written, informed consent was documented from every respondent.

3.3 Demographics and sample composition

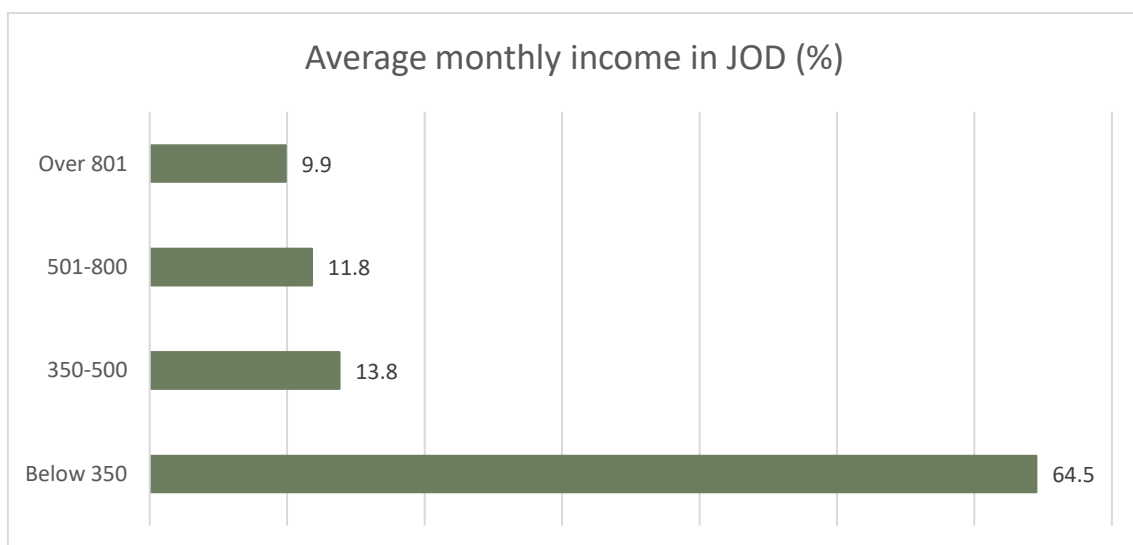
The quantitative survey sample was randomly selected. In Amman, this was done by a visit to a Community Based Organization (CBO) targeting youth in Jabal Al Nasr, all of whom are beneficiaries of the NCCA's sister organization, the Institute for Family Health – Noor Al Hussein Foundation (IFHNHF). In Azraq and Zaatari Camp 57% of the respondents were Syrian and 43% was Jordanian. Half of the sample was male and the other half female. Again, all are beneficiaries of the health services provided by IFHNHF. The majority of all respondents were between the ages of 22 and 30. 51.3% were married and 46.7% were single.



As for the educational attainment of respondents, 20.4% of respondents had a Tawjihi degree, and 40.1% had a Bachelor's degree.



As for the economic status of respondents, the majority indicated earning a monthly income below 350 JOD.



4. Findings

4.1 Definition of radicalization from the youth's perspective

In the focus groups discussions, the youth were asked to define radicalization. Jordanian youth defined radicalization as: violent behavior, intolerance, acts against tradition, promoting certain ideas, being against peace, and the opposite of moderation or in other words extremism. Syrian youth defined radicalization as: favoring one group over another, intolerance of different views, lawlessness, feeling uncomfortable with others or unaccepting them.

Through these definitions it is apparent that radicalization is understood by youth to mean extremism and deviation from the perceptions, values, and societal norms. It is also linked to negativity, isolation, disengagement, or embracing and defending socially unacceptable values and norms which could lead to individual or organized group violence or forcefully imposing opinions on others.

4.2 Manifestations of radicalization

Both Syrian and Jordanian youth mentioned that the manifestations of radicalization include racism and the lack of acceptance of others. Jordanian youth also mentioned seclusion, rejecting dialogue with the other, negative thinking, gender discrimination, social prejudice, and religious or ethnic discrimination. Syrian youth emphasized the racism and discrimination experienced by Syrians in Jordan.

"It's mostly spread in schools. The Syrian students started using the Jordanian dialect and say that they are Jordanians, so they won't be recognized." (Syrian female, 24)

"Most of the people do not accept Syrians, they tell us that we took their jobs and took everything from them." (Syrian female, 21)

"Racism is widespread in Jordan between Syrians, Palestinians, Jordanians, and Iraqis." (Syrian male, 19)

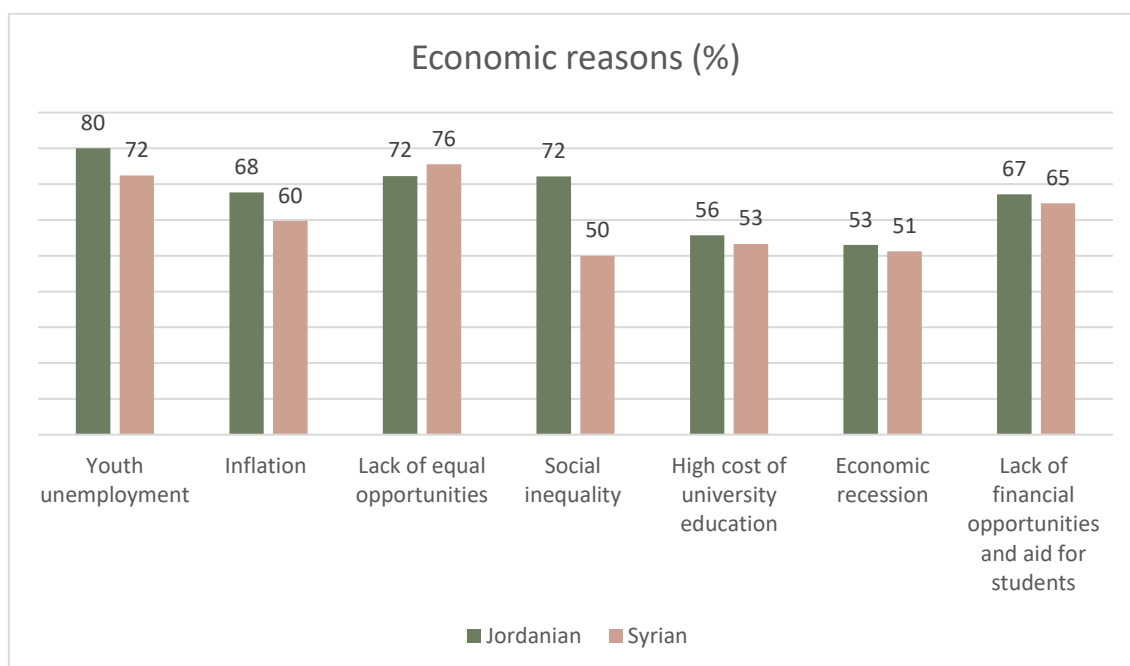
Therefore, we find that Syrian respondents focus on radicalization as a manifestation of the lack of social cohesion, as it promotes the behavior of not embracing others and the lack of dialogue among different society members. They linked this phenomenon to the multi-ethnic and multi-religious countries and societies, resulting from the lack of acceptance of others, dogmatism, and misunderstanding of religion.

4.3 Causes of Radicalization

Through quantitative research conducted to identify causes of radicalization and by analyzing the data of the random sample of youth, we find that radicalization is not caused by one factor but rather several various interrelated and interdependent causes, each has its own impact. Accordingly, we shall not focus on one dominant cause as this phenomenon is complex. The causes of radicalization include religious, political, social, economic, academic causes, or a combination of some or all them.

4.3.1 Economic reasons

The results of the survey show that youth unemployment and lack of equal opportunities are considered to be economic drivers to radicalization by the majority of the youth, 76% and 74% of the total sample respectively. Over 60% of the sample also agrees that the price increase and the lack of opportunities and financial assistance for students may be factors that lead to the radicalization of young people. The survey also showed that 69% of the youth do not think that most of the extremists are poor. Interestingly, whereas 72% of the Jordanian youth think that social inequality leads poor vulnerable youth to radicalization, only 50% of the Syrian youth agree with the statement.



Previous research has shown that unemployment has negative effects on both the individual and society alike. Youth who participated in the FGDs expressed that the high unemployment rates, especially among university graduates, provide the ground for further shifts in the mindset of the youth especially when the horizon is blocked for them, with the absence of a vision to solve this problem. These shifts in the mindset of the youth, especially those with poor academic performance facing a highly competitive labor market, have negatively pushed them to search for alternatives to fill their time and provide a source of income to meet their daily expenses.

“The livelihood and social stressors on the youth push them to accept any job offer even for low income.” (Syrian male, 24)

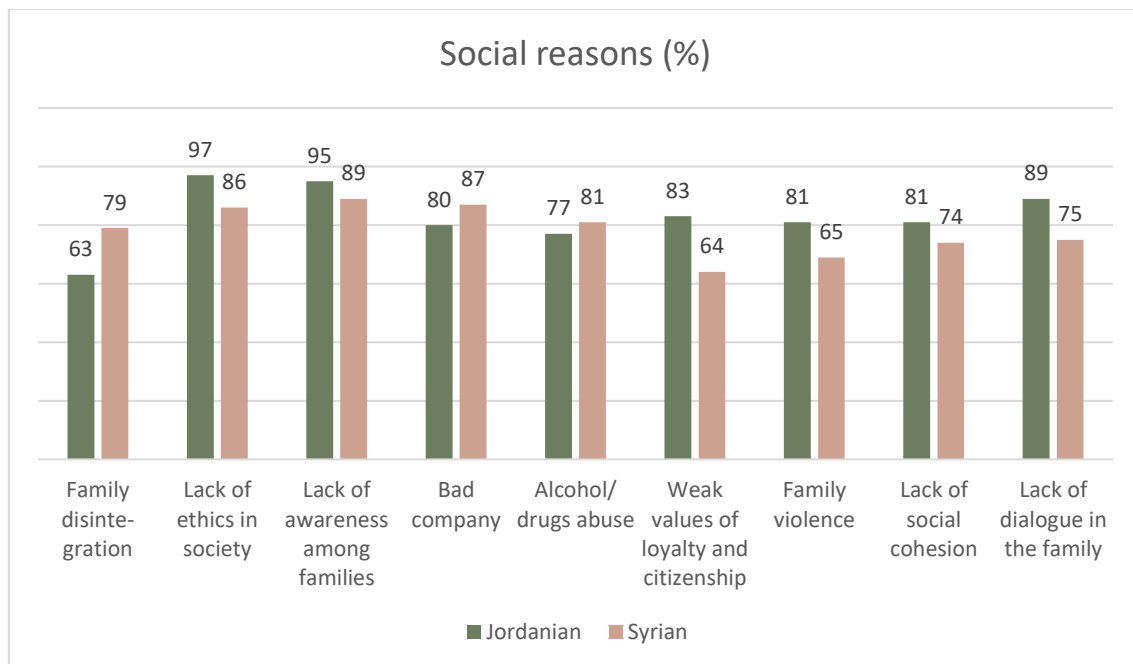
“In case people study and don’t find a job, they resort to radicalization. The poor might join certain groups to earn more money.” (Syrian male, 22)

“Yes, because the economic conditions are bad, which pushes people to robbery or drug dealing. The extremists target the poor; ISIS targeted the poor and changed their mindsets.” (Syrian male, 22)

4.3.2 Social reasons

Over 90% of the surveyed youth believe that the lack of ethics in society and the lack of awareness among families are social causes of radicalization. Other reasons include getting involved with 'bad' friends or groups, especially people with extremist ideas, as well as the lack of dialogue within the family, which was agreed by over 80% of the total sample.

There are small differences between the perceptions of Jordanian and Syrian respondents. The largest disparity is found in that 80% of the Jordanian youth considered the weak values of loyalty and citizenship as drivers to radicalization, but only 64% of the Syrian youth agreed with the statement. Also, while almost 80% of the Syrian respondents believed that family disintegration was a cause for radicalization, only 63% of the Jordanian youth agreed with this idea.



Research has shown that the family is a vital link in the socialization process. Family relations are not mutually beneficial relationships, but rather intimate relationships that build on the continuous interaction and connection between family members, and their reliance on each other. Family relations play an important role in the process of persuasion and being persuaded; hence the family remains the most important institution in the nurturing of generations, together with schools and the media.³⁹

The family may not be the reason for the radicalization of its children. However, when families do not pay attention to their children, do not spend enough time with them, nor try to meet their needs and solve their problems, especially during adolescence, they create conditions for their children's radicalization and violence. While families cannot control all the intellectual and ideological inputs experienced by their children in school, by friends or through media, they are a vital link due to their continues interaction with their children, and their ability to notice any changes in their behavior and discover any manifestations of the problems that the children may suffer from.⁴⁰

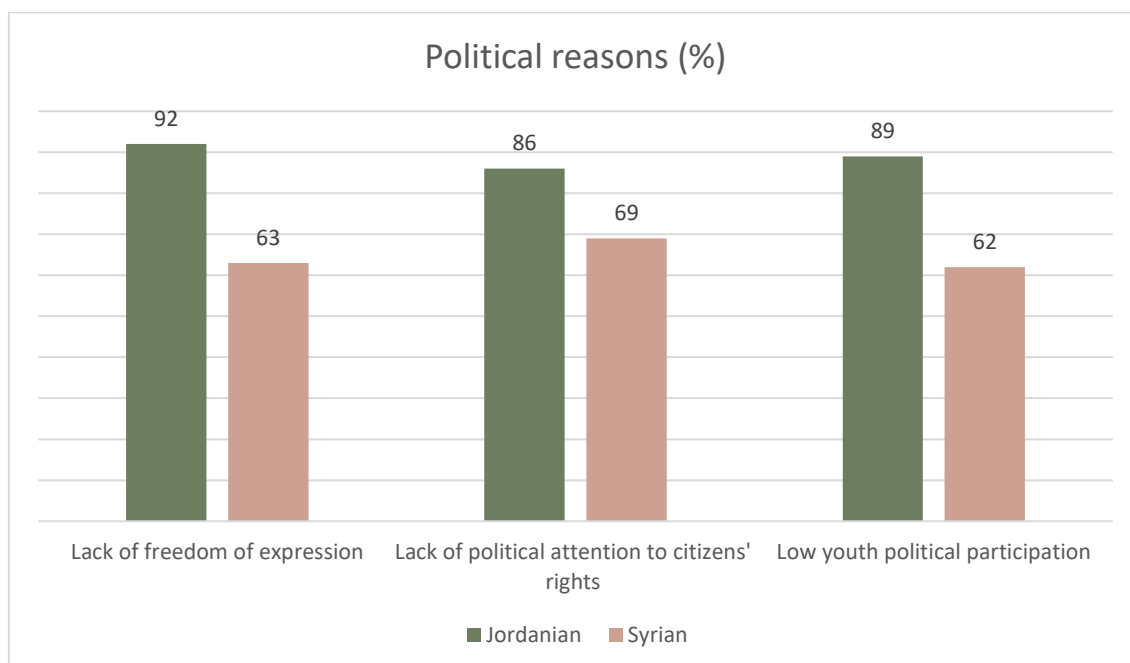
The youth who participated in the FGDs explained that despite openness that society is witnessing over the years, which may have weakened the authority of the family over their children, the family remains the cornerstone of the children's upbringing. Therefore, it is important to restore the role of the family in teaching the children the shared societal values and the religious teachings that focus on devotion, morals and respect. They highlighted the important role that a mother plays in preventing the radicalization of her children, since mothers are the closest to their children and would notice any behavior and intellectual shifts that children may be experiencing. The youth also stressed on the impact a broken family has on its children.

*"Family disintegration is one the reasons for the destruction of society."
(Jordanian male, 21)*

"Those who come from broken homes are most prone to radicalization. Family disintegration harms the children, and they eventually grow in the streets where they learn robbery, drug abuse, and radicalization." (Syrian male, 24)

4.3.3 Political reasons

The results of the survey show that a large majority of the Jordanian youth considers political reasons as drivers to radicalization, while the number of Syrian youth agreeing with the statements is considerably lower. The reasons include the lack of freedom of expression, the low political participation, and the lack of political attention to citizen's rights, all of which were agreed by around 90% of Jordanian youth, but only around 65% of the Syrian youth.



The lack of freedom of expression and weak youth political participation were also referred to during the interviews and focus group discussions. They result in social exclusion and a feeling of indifference among the youth regarding the political sphere, as they perceive that they cannot make a difference. This can lead to their radicalization, which may be seen as a way to express their opinions and beliefs.

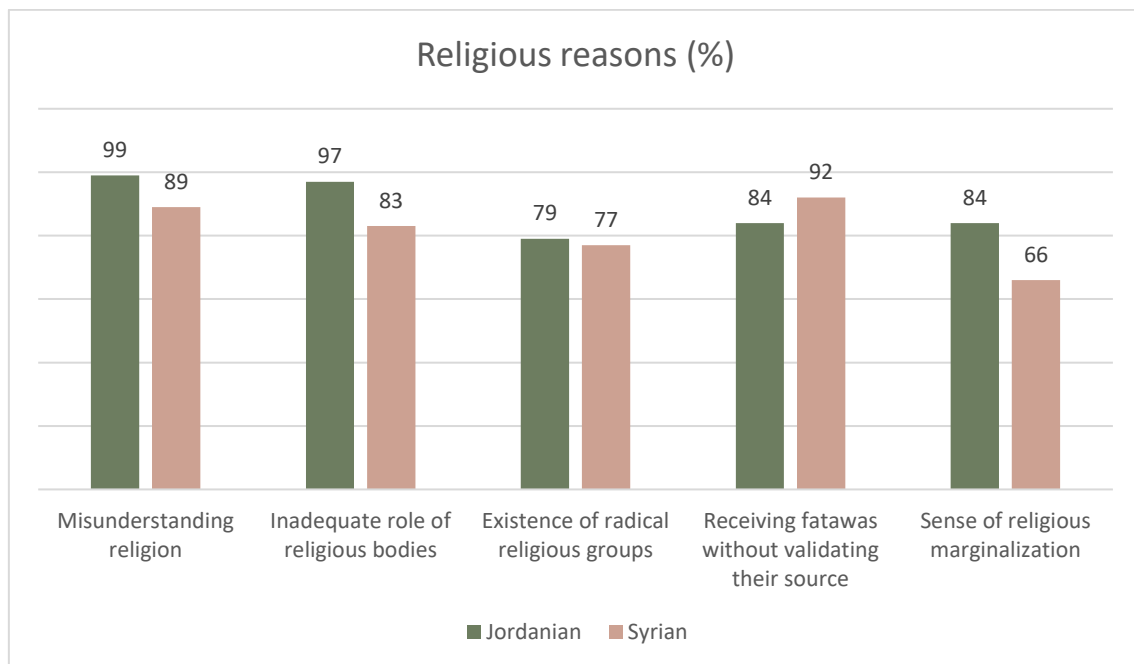
“If we had political freedom, you wouldn’t find racism, everyone would express their opinion and discuss it with others. We do not have freedom; we have the freedom to speak not to say what we want.” (Jordanian male, 21)

“The freedom of speech and political participation have to do with this, it led us to a war we cannot end.” (Syrian male, 22)

“In undemocratic societies, the youth resort to radicalization and join radical groups to express their opinion and seek equality. It’s not allowed to speak, participate, or raise your head. These things made the youth search for people to share their opinion and feel free.” (Director of a charity, female)

4.3.4 Religious reasons

The results of the survey show that a large majority of the sample agrees that religious reasons can be drivers to radicalization. In particular, around 90% of the total sample considers that the misunderstanding of religion, an inadequate role of the religious bodies, as well as receiving *fatawas* without validating their source are the main religious causes leading to radicalization of young people.



These reasons were also mentioned during group discussions. The youth stressed the importance of standing against using religion to pursue personal interests, renewing the tolerant and moderate religious discourse, and raising awareness about the fact that radicalization is not related to a certain religion. Furthermore, they emphasized the importance of engaging the religious bodies responsible for preaching and guidance to address and reduce extremist views.

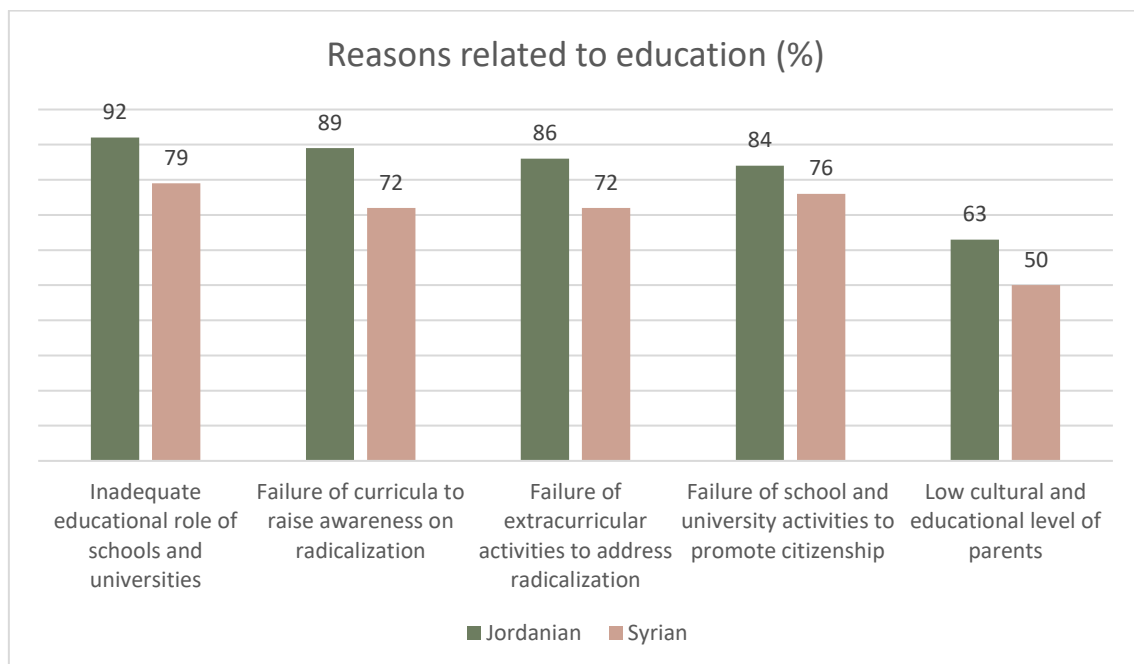
“Some people ask others to join wrong groups. Radicalization is not related to Islam. If one is not taught the right religious ethics, they’ll be radicals. They’ll use religion for personal and political interests.” (Jordanian male, 21)

“ISIS was a religious fanatic group that became radical. Misunderstanding religion and religious fanaticism lead to radicalization. Radicalization is not limited to Islam, some non-Muslims in Europe killed Muslims. My sister went to Syria wearing a face veil and some Christians there annoyed her and were radicals.” (Syrian male, 19)

“Islam never called for radicalization; our religion calls for moderation. Those who do not understand the religion speak in the name of it and spread radical ideology.” (School principal, female)

4.3.5 Reasons related to educational institutions

The results from the survey show that, in general, more Jordanian youth believe that issues related to the education system can be drivers to radicalization, although the percentages of Syrian youth are also relatively high. Over 80% of the total sample considers that an inadequate educational role of schools and universities can lead to the radicalization of young people. This affirmation is followed by the failure of the curricula and of extracurricular activities to raise awareness and address the problem of radicalization, as well as the failure of schools and universities to promote citizenship, with over 84% of Jordanian youth and over 72% of Syrian youth agreeing with these statements. Only slightly more than half of the sample consider that there is a relationship between a low cultural and educational level of parents with the radicalization of young people.



The relationship between academic achievements and the youth’s tendency to radicalization was discussed during the interviews. A director of a CBO affirmed that there is a strong relationship between them:

“Yes, there is a relationship between them. Those with low academic achievement are prone to radicalization and can be controlled and fooled easily.” (Director of a CBO, female)

A school principal mentioned that students with high academic achievement are also prone to radicalization, even though she believes education contributes to developing youths' personalities and their ability to analyze the reality and surrounding events.

"The more educated you are, the more open-minded you will be, and you'll understand the reality. However, the academic achievement is irrelevant to radicalization." (School principal, female)

4.4 The role of different stakeholders in combating radicalization

4.4.1 The Media

The youth believed that the media can play a role in combating radicalization by not producing content that promotes radical ideology. Rather, media outlets need to play an informative role, by defining this phenomenon accurately and presenting the views of various scholars and experts. The youth believed that it is particularly important to focus on highly specialized and experienced religious scholars and not any religious scholar with a degree. Giving the right religious scholars the opportunity to share information and raise awareness will help refute all radical ideas adopted by the extremists because religious and intellectual confrontation of radicalization is just as important as military confrontation of such ideology.

The youth emphasized that the media should be transparent in conveying facts, should tell success stories about social cohesion between Syrian and Jordanian youth, increase censorship on media content that incites radical ideology, and use artistic and theatrical methods to reduce this phenomenon – including bringing together a cast of different nationalities to make a TV show. Additionally, information can be shared on social media platforms to raise awareness, especially as such platforms are highly used by youth.

4.4.2 Educational Institutions

Research has shown that the prevention of radicalization rests with the various social institutions, including educational institutions, which must exert the preventive efforts devoted to preventing youth violence and radicalization. The importance of education and its role in drying up the sources of radicalization is an important factor for spreading normality and moderation among society members, and preventing aberrant ideology leading to crimes.

Youth who participated in the focus groups expressed that educational curricula must actively prevent radicalization by clarifying the ways in which youth can protect themselves and learn how to successfully recognize and reject radical ideology. They added that it is crucial to reconsider current curricula and develop new and modern educational methods to combat radical thinking. Educational institutions need to work together with families to create a value system for youth. The youth stressed the importance of awareness-raising efforts in schools to enhance the preventative role and providing a systematic process to enhance social cohesion, equality and non-discrimination between the youth.

"Integration of students through games. Teams, for instance, include an equal number of players of both sexes. We conducted an initiative in a school, and it worked out" (Syrian female, 19)

“Develop curricula to teach students to accept others, integrate students in one classroom, through advisory classes, stop stigmatizing Syrians, the teachers need to equally treat Jordanian and Syrian students, and the government should hire Syrian teachers (not to teach Syrian students only).” (Syrian male, 19)

5. Conclusions

Being the majority of the population, the resilience of youth in Jordan to radicalization and violent extremism, whether they youth are Syrian or Jordanian, is fundamental to the future of Jordanian society. What other research has shown, as has the fieldwork of this research, is that the fundamental social values and principles of human rights are the most significant factors that can prevent radicalization. The lack of these guiding principles and values make youth socially more vulnerable to radicalization.

The research showed that there are relatively high tendencies toward the impact of some social factors on youth prone to radicalization. These factors include bad influences, lack of moral values, and the slide of ethics, such as drug abuse due to the weak role of the family and school. Drugs and alcohol are used to entice Syrians youth by extremists. It was also found that the reasons for radical ideology are violating other's right to freedom of expression, lack of dialogue, and low political participation of youth including integration into political parties with transparent national programs for the youth to express their opinions.

Education of parents is not a significant factor contributing to resilience. However, education of youth is extremely significant for awareness and resilience which is in line with what previous research and literature have shown. Economic factors also have a high impact on youth being prone to radicalization. These include the inequality in providing opportunities for decent living and achieving aspirations of the youth, poverty, and unemployment.

Misconceptions and misunderstanding of religion are important contributors to youth prone to radicalization. For this reason, there is a need to highlight the role of credible religious authorities to reduce the exploitation of youth by unreliable religious bodies. Communication within the family can be used to make youth more resilient. However just as easily, lack of communication within the family makes them more vulnerable to radicalization.

Regarding media, the research showed that there is a lack of youth-oriented cultural and religious TV programs to protect them from embracing radical ideology. Furthermore, it showed that uncensored media, such as social media platforms is one of the main reasons for radicalization and violence.

Therefore, in order to prevent radicalization and violent extremism of both Jordanian and Syrian youth in Jordan, more effort is needed to not only teach but implement the principles of social justices in all aspects of life. This in turn will also promote social cohesion between Jordanian and Syrian youth. This can be done through education, families, and the local community. Furthermore, youth need a safe platform to express themselves without feeling threatened, and to have access to credible religious authorities who can correct misconceptions they may have.

6. Recommendations

- Provide labor market reform policies and providing an approach to increase available employment opportunities. It was proven that deprivation of educated Jordanians caused by unemployment is a critical factor in radicalization.
- Enhance the relationship between the family, educational institutions (schools and universities), and the society to address this phenomenon, and to create full coordination and cooperation between educational institutions to develop plans and targeted programs in schools and universities to create harmony and joint action. Furthermore, it is important to hold open dialogues and debates with the youth in educational institutions about national and cultural issues, and accord particular importance to extra-curricular activities, such as theatre and art to promote the concepts of tolerance and other's acceptance at a young age.
- Produce youth-oriented programs on media platforms as a preventive tool to reduce radicalization and delivering such messages through social media platforms, promoting positive use of social media, and promoting national allegiance through the media.
- Train workers of all levels in educational institutions to be able to address any ideas enticing youth to radicalization and sourcing experienced scientists and specialists in the fields of psychology and sociology.
- Promote active citizenship: one of the critical foundations for combating radicalization is spreading the concept of active citizenship, which includes knowing one's rights and duties and their behavior towards the community in which they live. In addition to promoting the concepts and foundations of social and cultural diversity, upholding informed freedom of thought, and promoting the culture of dialogue to increase capacity to create the values of tolerance and democracy.
- Establish open lines of communication between youth and qualified Muslim leaders by providing these leaders with specialized training to be able to communicate with the youth. The absence of an easily reached qualified religious body could push the youth towards seeking answers from unreliable sources.

END NOTES

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