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# The Social Psychology of Good and Evil

SECOND EDITION

Edited by  
ARTHUR G. MILLER



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## About the Editor

Arthur G. Miller, PhD, is Professor Emeritus of Psychology at Miami University. Dr. Miller's research and publications have focused on stereotyping and stigma, biases in attribution and social judgment, and people's reactions to diverse explanations of evil and violence. He is the author of *The Obedience Experiments: A Case Study of Controversy in Social Science* (1986) and edited a special issue of *Personality and Social Psychology Review*: "Harming Other People: Perspectives on Evil and Violence" (Volume 3, Number 3, 1999). More recently, Dr. Miller was an invited commentator on Jerry M. Burger's modification of Stanley Milgram's obedience paradigm, featured in a special issue of *American Psychologist* (Volume 64, Number 1, 2009), and on Diana Baumrind's reprise of her highly influential ethical critique of Milgram's studies in *Theoretical and Applied Ethics* (Volume 2, Number 2, 2013). He coedited, with Alex Haslam and Steve Reicher, a special issue of the *Journal of Social Issues*: "Milgram at 50: Exploring the Enduring Relevance of Psychology's Most Famous Studies" (Volume 70, Number 3, 2014).

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## CHAPTER 19

# Globalization and Terrorism

## *The Primacy of Collective Processes*

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There is widespread agreement that terrorism is evil, but little agreement as to why it has increased in the 21st century. Why did the most devastating terrorist attacks against the United States take place on September 11, 2001, and not September 11, 1970, or 1950? Why did violent fundamentalist groups such as the Taliban, al Qaeda, and Islamic State (IS) gain strength in the 21st century and not decades or centuries earlier? In this chapter we answer these questions by demonstrating the pivotal role of globalization in terrorism and radicalization (Moghaddam, 2008). We argue that 21st-century globalization is, in important ways, new and central to the macro, collective processes shaping terrorism. We use the April 15, 2013, Boston Marathon bombings as an illustrative case study to argue that macro collective processes and not the personality of individuals are the major factor leading to the rise of terrorism.

After 9/11, information about terrorist individuals and networks rapidly increased. However, there has been a lack of effective models to integrate and interpret this information. The staircase model of terrorism (Moghaddam, 2005) has been widely used to fill this gap, including in applied deradicalization programs such as TerRa, which has produced a

practical deradicalization toolkit ("TerRa: Terrorism and Radicalisation," n.d.). The staircase model provides a clear guide to policies. Counterterrorist actions can be adjusted to fit the level of the staircase the radicalized individual has reached. Rapid, short-term action is needed against individuals who have reached the highest levels of the staircase, whereas longer-term policies are needed for people on the lower levels of the staircase. Throughout the different levels, the context, which includes extremist narratives aggressively propagated across the globe, is the most powerful factor shaping behavior. In this sense, the model gives priority to collective processes over individual processes. Nevertheless, the characteristics of individuals do matter on the staircase, as we learn from the case of the Tsarnaev brothers, the perpetrators of the Boston bombings; some individuals are more likely than others to move up the staircase.

According to the staircase model of terrorism, each level on the staircase is characterized by particular psychological processes. Throughout the different levels, the fundamentally important feature of the situation is how people perceive the building and how they see spaces and doors on each floor. As individuals climb up the stairway, choices become fewer and fewer, obedience and conformity increase, until only the destruction of life is possible. The perception of fairness and identity aspirations are key psychological processes on the ground floor. Those who reach the first floor are seeking ways to get ahead and achieve social mobility. When mobility is blocked, some individuals climb to the second floor, where frustration is intensified and aggression is channeled toward particular targets. Some individuals keep climbing up, and on the third floor they experience a shift in moral thinking, adopting a morality according to which the ends justify the means. They come to see terrorist violence as justified. Categorical thinking is accentuated among those who reach the fourth floor, as is their own sense of legitimacy. Finally, some individuals such as the Tsarnaev brothers take action to sidestep inhibitory mechanisms that prevent killing in most humans, so that they can carry out acts of violence and destruction on the final floor. These processes need to be understood in the larger context of globalization.

### GLOBALIZATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Globalization involves increasing and large-scale economic, technological, social, political, and cultural integration around the world, enabling ideas and narratives to spread with a velocity previously unseen. A major motor for these changes is technological innovations, which are unpredictable and not confined in their effects by national boundaries. During the Arab Spring, social media spread the idea of revolution to overturn oppressive governments and restore national dignity across the Middle East and

North Africa. In the same way political activists communicate with each other through social media, terrorists exploit social media to propagate their narratives. Al Qaeda produces the English-language online magazine *Inspire*, while al Shabab in Somalia, IS, and the Pakistani Taliban all use various social media outlets to promote their message (Pradhan, 2014). The result is that radical, and once isolated, religious beliefs now have a global audience (Cronin, 2002/2003).

### Technology-Driven Change

Contemporary globalization is driven primarily by powerful technological and economic factors. Technological changes are unpredictable and influenced by individuals and private entities. The enormous impact of social platforms, portable devices, and other technological innovations has been unprecedented. These have increasingly connected the world: Approximately 3 billion people use the Internet and approximately 2.3 billion have mobile broadband subscriptions (International Telecommunication Union, 2014). Now nearly half of the Earth's population is just a mouse click away. Individuals may connect and interact with distant communities. Statistics from social networking sites reflect this aspect, as approximately 10–15% of people's Facebook friends live in another country (Ghemawat, 2012).

The unprecedented connectivity facilitates a terrorist organization's ability to develop a global community of like-minded, radicalized individuals. Online forums are frequently used to plan violent attacks and recruit members. Among the many examples of this strategy is Revolution Muslim, an organization that sought to end "enemies of Islam" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Attorney's Office, 2012, para. 4). The New York-based leader of the group used forums to connect and build relationships with fellow members (Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Attorney's Office, 2012). The effectiveness of their forums demonstrates how new social networking platforms enable terrorist organizations to readily recruit vulnerable individuals and nurture group ideology.

In addition, technology facilitates remote group administration and fundraising (Cronin, 2002/03). Electronic mailing lists allow organizations such as al Qaeda to streamline communication and disseminate information, while giving administrators the ability to organize their groups and activities. Meanwhile, websites such as PayPal and Kickstarter are used to transfer goods, and platforms similar to PayPal and Kickstarter are used to transfer illegal funds for their activities. Combine electronic money management platforms with the globalizing economy, and terrorist organizations are able to discreetly transfer money while gaining huge profits from business conducted outside their homeland. Hezbollah, a prime example, reaps huge financial rewards from narcotics trafficking in Latin America (Kraul & Rotella, 2008). Now that terrorist groups have a global financial support

network, the initiative of only one country to defeat them is very unlikely to succeed.

Extremists have further utilized social media networks to spread propaganda and share videos of executions, including that of American journalist James Foley (Anderson, 2014). Furthermore, they now use an even more effective "swarmcast" approach that utilizes Twitter. Due to Twitter's multiparty "flock" organization, it is nearly impossible for authorities to shut down extremist propaganda spread in this way. Ultimately, eliminating the top perpetrators will not halt the messages' spread, as they will only be replaced by other willing and able extremists. Ali Fisher from the Center on Public Diplomacy (CPD) describes this behavior as swarming, explaining that it is "akin to the way a swarm of bees or flock of birds constantly reorganizes in flight" (Fisher, 2014, para. 2). This format "marks a shift from the hierarchical and broadcast models of communication during conflict to a new dispersed and resilient form, the user curated 'swarmcast'" (Fisher, 2014, para. 2). Through swarmcast, organizations accomplish two main objectives: The first is to eulogize martyrs and extremist leaders, and the second is to reach a wide audience and inspire action.

Twitter swarmcasting efforts by terrorists successfully capture the attention of mass audiences through combining propaganda with widely popular subjects, such as the soccer World Cup. Perpetrators use hashtags to interject themselves into conversations around trending topics and utilize both English and Arabic in their posts. English allows them to reach a global audience while Arabic resonates with a religious audience that is helpful for recruitment (Fisher, 2014). Arguably, it is such social platforms that encourage individuals to travel across the globe to join extremist causes. Aqsa Mahmood, for example, was a 20-year-old Scottish woman who left her home in Glasgow to marry a Syrian IS fighter ("Privately Educated Woman," 2014). However, social media propagandizing is not as successful in recruiting as it strives to be. According to the CPD, 99.6% of users retweeting propaganda had previously engaged in one form or another (Fisher, 2014). Propaganda in and of itself is not enough to radicalize or mobilize.

### Economy-Driven Change

Globalization has changed economics in at least four key ways: more global brands, increased disparity of wealth between countries and socioeconomic classes, greater flow of goods and people, and an accessible global financial system. Globalization gives many Western and non-Western companies the ability to establish a global brand and dominance. Walmart, for example, reaches across the globe, opening as many as 20 stores in developing markets such as India (Sarkar, 2014). Similarly Sina Weibo, a Chinese alternative to Twitter, has been integrated into iPhones, an iconic American

product (Wee, 2012). However, the booming success of global companies often threatens local companies and proves to be economically damaging to local employers, communities, and trades. This type of economic damage has been seen to provide an opportunity for radical individuals to cast foreign companies as villains akin to invasive species in their narratives (Moghaddam, 2008).

Although globalization lifts billions out of poverty, it simultaneously increases wealth disparity (Piketty, 2014). As global demand raises the price of goods, the poor can no longer afford them. For example, Colombia's rural poor can no longer afford their traditional grain quinoa because of its demand explosion in developed countries (Blythman, 2013). The fluctuating prices and market shifts then create a chasm between those who benefit from globalization and those who do not.

As the chasm grows wider, it becomes more and more difficult for the lower class to breach the gap or live comfortable lives. Some scholars (Cronin, 2002/2003) call this chasm the root of terrorism as communities compare their lives with the popular narrative of the West's limitless wealth, increasing feelings of disparity. J. R. Nassar (as cited in Hazbun, 2005) says people adopt dreams of the West and of obtaining wealth, but when they do not succeed the dreams become nightmares. He refers to this process as the migration of nightmares: Frustrated radicalized individuals blame the West for their disappointments and can react by committing acts of terrorism (Hazbun, 2005). Thus the collective threat being perceived by traditionalists and fundamentalists opposed to the spreading of Western values (Moghaddam, 2008) seems to be a manifestation of tension between those who have and those who do not (Cronin, 2002/2003, p. 35).

### Security

A globalized economy rewards countries that make the migration of people and goods easier, creating an incentive for countries to become more interconnected. However, interconnectivity creates opportunities for terrorist attacks and infiltration into new territories. The United States, for example, scans only 4% of the many crates that gain entrance into the country (Bliss, 2012). The U.S. Department of Homeland Security warns that terrorists could try to sneak a dirty bomb into the United States by hiding it in a shipping container. The monetary rewards of international business have increased air travel around the world, thereby increasing opportunities for bombings. In February 2012, a Nigerian man tried to ignite a bomb that he had hid in his pants while on a flight. Fortunately, the device failed, and passengers were able to restrain him (Ariosto & Feyerick, 2012). However, the reality is that as more goods and people move around the world, so will terrorists.

Today there exists a growing do-it-yourself community that shares

tips through online forums and blogs. Unfortunately terrorists such as al Qaeda exploit this free information sharing to incite violence by publishing articles about bomb making and networking. In their magazine *Inspire*, al Qaeda published an article aptly titled "Make a Bomb in the Kitchen of Your Mom" (2010, p. 33). An American living in Harlem downloaded this article and was in the process of building a pipe bomb when the New York Police Department arrested him in 2011 (Parascandola, 2014). Ultimately, as access to information increases, the threat of homegrown terrorism, attacks from foreign terrorists, and cyberterrorism increase in tandem.

As globalization increases global connectivity, local connections are partially replaced by online connections through Facebook, chat rooms, and online video games. As a result, homegrown terrorists can establish significant and meaningful social relationships with radicals outside their home communities. The recruitment process is considered homegrown in the sense that the terrorists can radicalize without ever traveling. Therefore, as the local community is becoming less important and less of a barrier to radicalization, globalization is inadvertently contributing to the rise in homegrown terrorism (Moghaddam, 2008).

Finally, not only are people becoming more connected, but the technology that runs our lives is also becoming more connected. Anything that is connected to the Internet is vulnerable to hacking, and, as cars, watches, and other daily tools are connected to the Internet, cyberterrorists will have more targets (Goodin, 2014). As of now, it seems that technical incompetence is the greatest barrier for terrorists, such as in the case of the underwear bomber mentioned previously (Ariosto & Feyerick, 2012).

## Culture

Globalization is seen by many in the non-Western world as Americanization. Traditionalists and conservatives are wary of the spread of secular "Hollywood" values and the magnetic pull of American culture for youth in their societies. This perceived threat has mobilized ultraconservatives who suddenly feel that their narratives are under attack (Moghaddam, 2008). When culturally offensive art exhibits, such as those that spell the name of God in insects, are allowed under new ideals such as freedom of expression, the conservative narrative strengthens, because ultraconservatives propagate this as proof that secular freedoms will result in a morally degenerate society (Amara & Noueihed, 2012; Nagaty, 2013). Many Egyptians saw the overthrow of Mohammed Morsi as a direct attack on the conservative culture that he represented. This caused a rallying effect in which Ansar Bayt Al Maqdis, an Egyptian terrorist group, grew in strength (Cronin, 2002/2003). As globalization threatens traditional cultures, ultraconservatives are emboldened to fight against perceived threats, with America seen as the main source.

Backlash from traditionalists and fundamentalists has resulted in symbolic or identity-based violence. While globalization may reduce instrumental violence, the change has increased identity-asserting violence (Cronin, 2002/2003). Islamic extremists used the September 11th attacks to reassert their identity. The World Trade Center symbolized American capitalism, which had wooed the young with promises of glitz and glamor, making it the ideal target. Therefore, its destruction symbolized the terrorists' attack on and rejection of the entire system.

New technologies also provide small groups with opportunities to share their ideas. These include extremists both within the United States and in the rest of the world, in conflict zones such as Syria and North-western Pakistan. Likewise, the Internet gives small underground cells the opportunity to recruit more broadly. Terrorist organizations such as the IS share numerous English-language videos around the world via YouTube and Twitter (Khan, 2014). With technology and information sharing at a global scale, all groups, including terrorists, can spread their culture around the world.

Terrorists have been described as the "arch-globalizers" (Marsden, 2004); they exploit the openness provided by globalization to spread their narratives and connect radicalized individuals previously unreachable. This process of extremist narratives becoming globalized is directly and indirectly supported by certain dictatorial regimes (Moghaddam, 2013). Globalization has a particularly dangerous effect on two groups of people: those who have already radicalized and those who are ripe for radicalization. The staircase to terrorism, discussed in the following section, illustrates how the effects of globalization can move individuals to instigate extreme violence.

## A CASE STUDY IN RADICALIZATION: THE TSARNAEV BROTHERS

Radicalization is the process in which people become frustrated by the discrepancy between their actual life conditions and their aspirations. The frustration can lead to an adoption of increasingly extreme ideologies as a solution to bridging this gap. Such individuals perceive serious threats to their identities and adopt extreme political, social, or religious beliefs as part of their coping strategies (Seul, 1999). Although in recent decades radicalization has often been associated with Islamic extremists, the process can happen in any community regardless of political, social, or religious beliefs.

In the United States, Islamic terrorist attacks account for only a small number of politically inspired killings despite their disproportionate amount of media coverage. A study by the University of North Carolina

found that 190,000 Americans have been murdered since September 11, 2001, and that only 37 of those murders have been linked to Muslim terrorists (as cited by Obeidallah, 2015). The National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism analyzed data collected by the Global Terrorism Database to identify the groups responsible for the most terrorist attacks in the United States between 1970 and 2011. They found that only 1% of terrorist acts committed by major groups were Islamic extremists (LaFree, Dugan, & Miller, 2014). Rather than fixating on radical Islam, it is more useful to survey a diverse set of radicalization cases actualizing into violence. The radicalization process of the Boston bombers, for example, was guided by radical Islam. However, in the case of Wade Page, white supremacist ideology drove him to kill six and wound three in Oak Creek, Wisconsin, on August 2012 (Iyer, 2014). In 2014, David Malcolm Strickland killed 19-year-old Mollie Olgin because of her sexual orientation (Wong, 2014). Bernhard Lauffer threatened to kill members of the Council on American–Islamic Relations, a leading Muslim civil rights organization (Algar, 2014). Each of these incidents was driven by a different ideological belief, located in a different region, and perpetrated by persons of varying gender, age, and race—yet they all radicalized.

### The Staircase to Terrorism

The staircase to terrorism is a metaphor that organizes psychological findings on radicalization to direct future policy and research. Imagine a staircase at the center of a building. Everyone begins on the ground floor, and most people never move up to higher floors. Some individuals do move up the staircase, committing differing degrees of illegal activity, and few reach the final floor, where they carry out terrorist acts. Particular psychological processes characterize action and thought on each floor. As individuals climb the staircase, they come to see fewer and fewer available opportunities, until there are no other options than to climb to the final floor. Although it is possible for individuals to descend the staircase, each ascending step makes reintegration into society more difficult. If an individual does deradicalize, the path does not necessarily involve retracing the same steps down the staircase (Moghaddam, 2009).

A consistent theme on all floors is that of identity and, particularly, perceived threats to identity. Social identity theory posits that individuals are driven by the need to attain a positive and distinct identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social identity is based on memberships in groups, such as religious or racial groups. Individuals' perceptions of how fairly they themselves and their groups are treated determines what actions they will take. If individuals believe, due to race or class, for example, that it is impossible for them to achieve adequate identities, they are more likely to resort to deviant behavior (Tyler & Huo, 2002)

### The Ground Floor

On the ground floor individuals seek opportunities to improve their social status and achieve what they see to be fair treatment for themselves and their groups. As more and more opportunities become unacceptable or closed to individuals, the ground floor becomes unlivable. Driven by discontentment, the individual is faced with two options: exit the current ground floor in favor of a new ground floor through changing contexts, or climb the staircase. On this floor and all floors perception is key, although it may not closely correspond to reality.

Leaving one's current ground floor for another can lead to completely new spaces, in a new country or lifestyle where the opportunities may appear brighter. These new ground floors may disappear or become an unacceptable option according to the individual's perception. For example, if the individual has a family, an international move may not be an option, or if the individual disapproves of military action, a military career would appear to be objectionable. When individuals perceive no more opportunities on the ground floor, they will begin to climb the staircase to terrorism.

The opportunities perceived are closely associated with perceptions of fairness and just treatment. If individuals perceive that their treatment on the ground floor is unjust, they will recognize fewer opportunities. They will believe that, although those opportunities may be an option for others, due to their gender, race, or religion, the opportunity is not an option for them. When people believe their world to be just and fair, they will believe it is possible to improve themselves, reach their aspirations, and acquire a unique and good identity. As a consequence of perceived injustice, feelings of shame and frustration grow to a point that compels these persons to take their first step onto the staircase.

Perceptions of unfairness can be exacerbated by relative deprivation—the process by which an individual compares him- or herself to peers and perceives him- or herself to be unfairly deprived of equality (Runciman, 1966; Collins, 1996). This perceived deprivation can equally affect the educated and noneducated, the well off and the impoverished, as globalization has increased individuals' abilities to compare their situations (Atran, 2003).

Our case study on radicalization focuses on an immigrant family who moved from Chechnya to the United States in 2002 (Jacobs, Filipov, & Wen, 2013). The mother, father, two daughters, and two sons settled in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The husband worked as a mechanic and the wife as a beautician. The couple had high hopes for the future of their children, particularly their two sons. They dreamed of an Olympic career for their eldest son, the New England Golden Gloves heavyweight champion, and immense academic success for their younger son, called the boy with the heart of gold (Jacobs, Filipov, & Wen, 2013; Reitman, 2013).

However, on April 15, 2013, the United States witnessed a horrific act of terror that killed three people and injured more than 260 others. The attack, now known as the Boston Marathon bombing, was planned and executed by Tamerlan and Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, the two young sons in the immigrant family who moved from Chechnya seeking prosperity. The brothers spent the majority of their lives in the United States seemingly assimilating into the culture and trying to find success in America. As survivors and bystanders alike attempted to understand, President Obama asked the question that seemed to haunt everyone: "Why did young men who grew up and studied here, as part of our communities and our country, resort to such violence?" (White House, 2013, para. 6). We address this question by interpreting the case of the Tsarnaev brothers through the lens of the staircase model.

#### THE GROUND FLOOR: TSARNAEV

Like everyone else, the Tsarnaev family began on the ground floor. Anzor Tsarnaev, the brothers' father, came from a family of seven, fighting to overcome the crippling poverty of their professional scavenger father (Jacobs et al., 2013). Impoverished as they were, with very few options available to them, four of the seven went on to become lawyers. As Anzor's siblings became more successful, greater opportunities became available to him. And yet, just as his siblings provided him with opportunities, they also provided a means for Anzor to feel jealous or deprived relative to them. The new perception, or expectation of ascendancy, built through his siblings' successes effectively lessened the amount of acceptable opportunities. Anzor was no longer willing to live the life of his father or to work as a mechanic in Kyrgyzstan, making him dissatisfied with his lifestyle.

As Chechens in Kyrgyzstan, the family faced oppression. The stifled opportunities, especially those within the middle class, was part of the reason why Anzor moved his family out of Kyrgyzstan and back to Chechnya (Jacobs et al., 2013). With this move, the Tsarnaev family entered into a new ground floor where life went well, as Anzor described. Unfortunately, war drove the family back to Kyrgyzstan.

Back in Kyrgyzstan, a ground floor that Anzor had already left once due to the lack of opportunities, he became holder. Anzor would later tell his psychologist that while he was working a gang kidnapped and tortured him (Jacobs et al., 2013). Friends and his wife, Zubeidat, however, would explain that Anzor had become involved in illegal activities and that it had been a rival smuggling group that had taken him (Jacobs et al., 2013). If Anzor's story is true, then he remained on the ground floor during this time, avoiding deviant activity. If, however, Zubeidat's story is true, then Anzor took his first step onto the staircase by looking for illegal opportunities not condoned by Kyrgyzstan society. Whatever the reason for Anzor's

troubles, the prevalence of Chechen oppression made it no longer safe for the Tsarnaev family to stay in Kyrgyzstan, and they accomplished their long desired move to the United States by seeking asylum in 2002 (Jacobs et al., 2013).

When the Tsarnaev family arrived in America in April 2002, they approached their new life with enthusiasm. The children enrolled in public school, and the parents sought employment. The family found itself on a new ground floor, where most of the opportunities to develop an identity came through the couple's children, mainly the eldest son, Tamerlan. Both parents devoted their lives to their children. Zubeidat, who claimed to have training as a lawyer, began work as a home health care provider (Jacobs et al., 2013). Anzor capitalized upon his skills as a mechanic while spending hours of his free time training his oldest son as a boxer.

At first the family was dazzled by new opportunities and Anzor's increased income. Anzor's profession apparently provided Tamerlan with a sleek white Mercedes and the ability to appear well off (Jacobs et al., 2013). The family was still comparing their life in America to that in Kyrgyzstan, making them feel privileged. However, this did not last. They became surrounded by successful Chechen immigrants (Reitman, 2013).

Life in the adopted land creates tensions for immigrants; they are torn between the desire to advance in the adopted society and the need to maintain their heritage and cultural identities. The Tsarnaev family provides an example of the victims of this tension and its detrimental effects. The family attempted to adapt in the West while maintaining their Muslim identities and values. Their preservation of their Muslim identities demonstrates how "conversion is integral to the policy of assimilation and the melting-pot ideology that has historically dominated in the United States" (Moghaddam, 2008, p. 59). When individuals adopt the ways of the West or another outgroup, they are inevitably weakening their ingroup heritage.

Of all the Tsarnaevs, the youngest son, Dzhokhar, having moved to America at the early age of 8, had the smoothest transition. He spoke English without an accent, drifted easily between social groups, and enjoyed a heterogeneous group of friends that spurred him academically (Reitman, 2013). At this point in his life, Dzhokhar had three avenues through which he could acquire an adequate identity: as a successful student, as a member of the Tsarnaev family, and as a friend to his Cambridge peers (Reitman, 2013; Wen, 2013). Dzhokhar was loved by both teachers and peers alike. He was even voted captain of the school's wrestling team. His grades, membership in the National Honor Society, ability to speak three languages, and unique background brought him a possible opportunity to attend a solid American university. At the same time, his brother Tamerlan grew more successful as a boxer, with the possibility of the Olympics looming closer (Jacobs et al., 2013). The Tsarnaev family stood a real chance to achieve the financial and social prestige they desired. However, even though



Dzhokhar's life seemed filled with increasing opportunities, his family's opportunities ultimately started to disappear (Reitman, 2013; Wen, 2013).

### *The First Floor*

Individuals who move to the first floor do not see themselves as terrorists. They climb up because they perceive no more opportunities to improve their situation on the ground floor (Moghaddam, 2005). They seek alternative opportunities to improve their social status, options unavailable on the ground floor. They become willing to try unauthorized ways of "getting ahead." This deviant behavior does not have to be immoral or dangerous, but only unacceptable to the local society. If they fail in their attempts at social mobility, individuals start becoming isolated from society and begin to shift their belief systems.

### THE FIRST FLOOR: TSARNAEV

When the Tsarnaev family first arrived, their identity was as the new family and victims of violent oppression with great potential. Friends took them in, sheltered them, and helped the couple find new careers. As time progressed, that identity dissipated, and they were no longer special. Now, they were just like any other immigrant family, struggling to get by. Increasing feelings of deprivation brought on strong feelings of frustration. Neighbors reported incidents in which Anzor lashed out at them, grabbing at their shovels and shouting. Their family apartment, which was so small the whole family could not fit around the kitchen table, only grew smaller as the children grew older. Marijuana became a popular pastime for the Tsarnaev children, as they became more American and less Chechen (Wen, 2013). Anzor's salary no longer seemed so large. In other words, as they began to settle down and experience life in the United States, the promise of a "fresh start in America" seemed to sour.

The souring that the Tsarnaev family experienced was associated with their inability to get ahead and improve their living conditions as they expected in America. When expectations of prosperity are unmet, individuals often experience immense dissatisfaction as they compare their expectations with their reality (Moghaddam, 2005, 2008). They were ultimately unable to adjust to life in the United States, as each member experienced personal failures within the culture that they did not successfully adapt to.

Between 2002 and 2008, the Tsarnaev family grew increasingly disenchanting with their new life. Anzor and Zubeidat began embracing tradition more and more as their time in the United States went on. In 2007, the couple arranged a marriage for their youngest daughter, 17 at the time, to a Chechen man of 20. She gave birth a month after the marriage. The eldest sister was married off soon after. It is possible that the

couple's renewed devotion to a tradition they had both fled from in their youth was an attempt to control their children and bring order to their life. Renewed devotion also allowed them to reorient their identity. Unfortunately, the arranged marriages failed within a year; Ailina's husband had tried to strangle her (Jacobs et al., 2013). The failed marriages reflected badly on their identity as a traditional Chechen family. Anzor's mercurial temper grew worse as his health deteriorated to the point that he could no longer work full time; Zubeidat, who was working at a beauty parlor at the time, became the major breadwinner.

The Tsarnaev family is a reminder of how failure to achieve social mobility in the United States can foster feelings of relative deprivation and resentment among immigrants. The resentment often motivates them to cling tighter to what is left of their former identities. In such cases, individuals feel left behind and alienated by globalization and the progressive West. They turn to their cultural roots for comfort. According to Jacobs et al. (2013, para. 2), "as the stress of life in [the Tsarnaevs'] adopted country began to take its toll, the family turned to religion with mounting fervor." Rather than continuing to adapt to life in America, they began to define themselves in terms of their Chechen roots and Muslim faith. In an interview after the bombing, Zubeidat recalls telling Tamerlan, "We are Muslim, and we are not practicing our religion, and how can we call ourselves Muslims?" (Bodden, 2014, p. 61). Similar to many members of traditional society who decide to define their identity in terms of ethnic or historical group memberships, the Tsarnaev family ultimately saw the West as an unwelcoming and corrupt force trying to destroy their cultural heritage and identity.

In the case of the eldest brother, Tamerlan's rise to terrorism seems to have begun with his personal failure in America and the consequent devastation of his American identity. Unable to make friends and learn English before plunging into public high school, Tamerlan always struggled to fit in. "I don't have a single American friend," he once admitted, "I don't understand them" (Bodden, 2014, p. 54). When he graduated from high school in 2006, he was denied admission into the University of Massachusetts and was forced to attend community college, from which he would later drop out. His failure in the academic world left Tamerlan with one option: boxing. On the bright side, the awards and respect he began winning as a boxer in 2004 continued to grow. As a result Tamerlan's sense of self in his new community came from his boxing career and his dreams of becoming a U.S. Olympian. Even his family believed that his athletic success would be "their passport to respectability and their ticket to success" (Jacobs et al., 2013).

Dzhokhar seemed to have been more of a follower. Unlike his brother, he did not have a strong sense of self. Arguably the most well-adapted member of the Tsarnaev family, Dzhokhar was initially hardworking. However, he did not manage to develop the discipline required to continue to build

on his initial successes at school. Nor was he able to escape the tensions in his family. He read the Koran when told to but avoided home as often as possible and would confess his disapproval to friends. Dzhokhar's identity as a functioning and loved member of both his family and his social circle became separated; friends never visited his home, and his family never attended school events. Dzhokhar was forced to choose between lifestyles. Part of Dzhokhar's need to maintain his sense of membership within his own family at the expense of his success in America may have been a result of negligence and uninterest on the part of his parents.

Dzhokhar did have initial success at Cambridge Rindge and Latin High School. He was one of 45 students granted a \$2,500 college scholarship; he was also in the National Honor Society and was the captain and Most Valuable Player of the wrestling team. However, he received little attention from his family. Peter Payack, Dzhokhar's wrestling coach, admitted that he never saw the parents and was not even aware that Dzhokhar had an older brother (Wen, 2013). Dzhokhar never had his family rooting for him on the sidelines. Instead, the wrestling team became Dzhokhar's support system, providing him with the structure to keep him on the right track. The only praise that Dzhokhar received from his family was in regard to his education: "His parents had deemed him the brains of the family, destined to be the first to earn a US college diploma and become a high-earning professional" (Wen, 2013). The scholarly Dzhokhar seemed to represent an assimilation success story: an immigrant on the path toward prosperity in America. However, as his grades started to slip from a B-plus to a C-minus average, he was rejected by his dream schools. When he got to college, his grades suffered dramatically, and he seemed to be on a downward trajectory (Wen, 2013). As his academic dreams were lost, he began looking for opportunities for a new identity, and, led by his older brother, he started climbing the staircase.

### *The Second Floor*

The second floor is a heavily emotion-laden platform, attracting individuals who are dissatisfied with the solutions they had found on the first floor and who continue to experience frustration. These individuals are influenced to turn their dissatisfaction into aggression against particular outgroups. The second floor is influenced by conspiracy theorists, racists, and other individuals harboring extreme prejudices, all pointing to targets for displaced aggression. This floor is particularly important in how it shapes the individual's belief system. Individuals who already blame "the Americans" for problems will seek a strong narrative that confirms this explanation, opening themselves to radical propaganda. Through the adoption of ideologies that justify displaced aggression against particular targets such as America, individuals begin to construct a new identity.

### THE SECOND FLOOR: TSARNAEV

The frustrations of the Tsarnaev family escalated around 2009. Tamerlan could not find a job, and his only hope for success was through boxing. He spent his time in the gym and in front of the computer. The daughters, Bella and Alina, were both divorced. The atmosphere at home was difficult because of the father's hostility. Ultimately, after filing for divorce, both parents ended up moving back to Dagestan, Kyrgyzstan. "I've been here for 10 years in this country and I have nothing to show for it. Nothing," stated Anzor Tsarnaev. "I have less than when I came here" (Jacobs et al., 2013). Thus the American Dream had not worked for them. The Tsarnaevs experienced failure, disappointment, and resentment as they compared their experiences with the expectations they had brought with them from Chechnya. They became disillusioned with the United States as a shared sense of inadequacy and dissatisfaction permeated the family.

The frustrations experienced by the family manifested themselves in different ways. Tamerlan began talking about conspiracy theories and developed a proclivity for casting public aspersions against American foreign policy. Tamerlan, Zubeidat, and Dzhokhar all espoused, at separate times, the opinion that the 9/11 attacks had been an inside job meant to turn the world against Islam. And Tamerlan was arrested that year for slapping his girlfriend.

Tamerlan's frustrations were soon amplified by problems in his boxing career. In 2010, after achieving the title of New England Golden Gloves heavyweight champion of the year and capturing the Rocky Marciano Trophy, a new rule prohibiting noncitizens from participating in the regional Golden Gloves championship created a glass ceiling for Tamerlan's boxing career. This shattered his world. Boxing was the one aspect of his self-concept that linked him to his adopted country. He felt like a failure. According to Ronald Schouten, a psychiatrist specializing in terrorism, "People who fail sometimes latch onto a cause that makes their anger legitimate" (quoted in Bodden, 2014, p. 61). Without boxing, he was simply an unemployed college dropout with no sense of self or purpose. Consequently, Tamerlan latched onto his faith in search of purpose. He began poring over the Koran, Islamic texts, and extremist websites. By 2011, Tamerlan's chauvinism and anti-American political views had become so extreme that the FBI launched a 3-month investigation, which only served to exculpate him (Jacobs et al., 2013).

Dzhokhar ascended to the second floor during his freshman year of college. According to self-categorization theory, individuals will often inhibit certain aspects of their personal identity in order to join a group and achieve an adequate social identity (Moghaddam, 2008). At the University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth, in his attempts to find his niche, Dzhokhar sacrificed his identity as the scholar because he was more interested in his

drug-dealing business and his social life. By the end of his freshman year at college, he was known for selling the best weed and earned about \$1,000 a week (Wen, 2013). He grew increasingly reckless. He was notorious for driving irresponsibly, picking fights, and talking himself out of trouble. He also seemed to be struggling in striking a balance between his Western identity and his heritage. Terrorism expert Brian Fishman identifies this struggle as an issue of “divided loyalties,” as individuals attempt to determine whether they are American first or Muslim first (Bodden, 2014, p. 61). When Dzhokhar began failing in school and his identity as a scholar slipped further away, he began identifying more closely with his ancestry and viewing himself and his family as oppressed Chechen Muslims. Like his brother, Dzhokhar eventually seemed desperate to distinguish himself and establish a strong Muslim identity. A professor at the University of Massachusetts recalled that when Dzhokhar wished to do a research paper on Chechnya, the professor was struck by how little Dzhokhar actually knew about his glorified homeland (Reitman, 2013).

Dzhokhar’s radicalization can be tracked through trends on his Twitter account, where he had a tendency to post very negative comments, mainly about women. There are dangers in assuming too much from a person’s online media posts, especially those of a teenager (Preston & Roston, 2013). However, looking at Dzhokhar’s Twitter account as a whole, the main underlying theme is identity and internal conflict about what direction to take. He tweeted on May 1, 2012, about the turmoil he felt (Jahar, 2012b): “its so loud inside my head, too many thoughts #longnight.” He often tweeted one statement and then directly contradicted the tweet later. On March 14, 2012, he tweeted (Jahar, 2012a), “drugs are a crutch for people who cant handle reality.” This tweet is a direct contradiction to his lifestyle and samples of his other tweets. He tweeted a prodrug opinion on November 17, 2012 (Jahar, 2012h): “This night deserves Hennessy a bad bitch and an o of weed the holy trinity.”

His contradictions went beyond the topic of drug use; Dzhokhar was unsure how to treat women and people of other ethnicities. He described women in a demeaning way in a tweet full of machismo on May 8, 2012 (Jahar, 2012c): “the juice needs to be well worth the squeeze otherwise i rather not waste my time.” However, he backtracked on this opinion later when he apologized for his treatment of women and his judgments. He tweeted on December 24, 2012 (Jahar, 2012i), “My last tweets felt too wrong, I don’t like to objectify women or judge anyone for their actions.”

On racism and ethnicity, he showed a similar struggle, not understanding his actions and words fully. He tweeted about his own racist actions on May 30, 2012 (Jahar, 2012d), “it’s no coincidence that i almost crashed into an asian dude. . . .” Later, however, he described himself as completely removed from racist actions, making a point to declare his innocence to the world. He tweeted on October 22, 2012 (Jahar, 2012g), “Foreign to racism, never been a part of it.”

These tweets reveal a young man with a confused identity and mismatching opinions. His confused identity is key, as it drove him up the staircase in search of a positive and distinct identity. The desperate search made him vulnerable to extremist recruitment. Furthermore, as the basis for his identity—family, social, academic—became more and more disconnected, he became isolated. Isolation again heightened his vulnerability. As Dzhokhar ascended the staircase, his idea of a positive identity became defined by action in support of Islamic extremism.

### *The Third Floor*

The most important change that takes place on the third floor is a shift in moral values. Having come to see the world as unfair and having identified a source for this unfairness on lower floors, individuals transition to “ends justifies means” thinking. They come to believe that they stand for justice and truth, whereas those who oppose them are evil. In such a world, where evil forces are powerful, it is justified to use whatever means are available to fight for justice and truth. This shift in moral thinking is accompanied with a sense that the world has changed; the individual has entered a new situation.

#### THE THIRD FLOOR: TSARNAEV

Because his parents were divorced and everyone else was working, Tamerlan had ample time. The inflammatory language of the many blogs and articles he read expressed the types of anti-Western attitudes and beliefs that he needed to validate his bitterness and provide him with a new cause to work toward. Stout (2002) explains that terrorism “is not senseless violence but rather the fruit of resentment and lack of empowerment that leads to acts against the civilian population” (p. 10). Tamerlan spent hours surfing the Internet exploring extremist media outlets associated with Islamist militants in the Caucasus. Feelings of resentment and bitterness led to his pursuit of terrorism and membership in extremist groups. Tamerlan’s faith and radicalization now provided him with a new distinct and positive identity. His new identity redirected his energies. He no longer dreamed of representing the United States in the Olympics; he dreamed of destroying it. He had found a new sense of self and sought the validation that would accompany his membership in an extremist group.

Likewise, the positive student-based identity Dzhokhar had started to develop in high school faded. Dzhokhar abandoned his ambitions to do well in school, and his identity changed (Wen, 2013, para. 1):

Starting in the winter of 2013, Jahar almost certainly knew his hopes of ever getting a college degree—and bringing honor to his family—were bleak, if not impossible. He had so prized his independence from his fractious clan, but had proved entirely unable to manage on his own.

Dzhokhar had always been the most autonomous member of his family and was the academic destined for success. No unfair regulation had robbed him of his opportunity to flourish. Rather, Dzhokhar had simply failed—he was the agent of his own demise. Similar to his brother, Dzhokhar ultimately clung to the only part of his identity that seemed within reach: his faith. He began spending more time at home with his brother, downloading radical Muslim publications focused on *jihad* and the enemies of Islam. Eventually, like Tamerlan, Dzhokhar manufactured and assumed an identity of Muslim extremism. The identity would help him to cope with the disappointment accompanying his failure while allowing him to direct the blame toward the United States.

Dzhokhar's moralization can be tracked through his Twitter account. His tendency toward self-deprecation is particularly interesting and exemplifies tensions he experienced. He regularly called himself lazy. On August 7, 2012, he tweeted (Jahar, 2012c), "Missed my first day of work today #trap I am a terrible employee." And he would publicly reprimand himself for sexist comments. However, as time passed, he accepted and justified his failings. Whereas once he reproached drug users, he began to brag about his own usage; it was the same for sexism, religion, and his academic failures.

#### *The Fourth Floor*

The major cognitive shifts that take place on the fourth floor involve more rigid categorical thinking, differentiating further between ingroups and outgroups, condemning the outgroup as evil and deserving of destruction. The world is now seen in more simplistic terms, through a prism that explains everything categorically. This worldview leads to further isolation, as individuals seek to locate themselves with the ingroup and exclude the evil outgroup.

#### THE FOURTH FLOOR: TSARNAEV

In January of 2012, Tamerlan traveled to Dagestan, Kyrgyzstan. Upon arrival, he became involved with the Union of the Just, which campaigns against human rights violations that victimize Muslims. The Union of the Just is characterized by a fundamentalist interpretation of Islam, believing in the establishment of an Islamic caliphate governed by Sharia religious law spanning the Caucasus. Tamerlan also allegedly made contact with a recruiter for the Islamist underground named Makhmud Mansur Nidal and prayed with members of the Islamic insurgency. The visit reflected his desire to further solidify his new radical Muslim identity by joining an active radical group. Those who join such groups accept a highly polarized worldview and narrow set of rules in exchange for simple answers and

a comprehensive framework of social and moral norms and values. Furthermore, the ideological framing of us-versus-them creates a strong bond among members while alienating the West. For Tamerlan, membership in one of these groups would validate both his senses of self and of purpose while further distancing himself from America.

Despite his efforts to fit into these extremist groups, Tamerlan was still viewed as an outsider. Mukhammad Magomedov, deputy leader of the Union of the Just, admitted, "What gave him away was his appearance" (Jacobs et al., 2013). According to Jacobs et al. (2013), "he wore a long shirt of the type favored by Pakistanis. . . . He combed his hair with olive oil and darkened his eyes with kohl shadow, practices followed by devout Sunnis in some cultures, but not in Dagestan." This description demonstrates his failure to fit into the group to which he so desperately wished to belong. Ironically, his foreign habits ultimately inhibited his ability to blend in among the Muslims in Dagestan. He spoke in English-inflected Russian, charted animatedly with strangers, and gave money to beggars on the street, all of which were uncharacteristic of the local culture. His failure to be accepted among the Muslims "back home" in Dagestan may have damaged his sense of self further. His new radical Muslim identity seemed illegitimate in the eyes of local radical Muslims.

The rejection closed this new ground floor and may have catalyzed the radicalization process. Upon his return, Tamerlan had grown a full beard and abandoned his flashy American clothing for traditional, dark garb. He spoke out publicly at least twice at local mosques, reprimanding the speakers for not being religious or aggressive enough; he was asked to leave by the community elders. Finally, he began downloading information from jihadist websites, such as articles from al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula's magazine *Inspire* on how to construct explosives (Jacobs et al., 2013).

The transition to terrorism is accomplished by cognitively redefining the morality of killing. In the case of the Tsarnaev brothers, the moral shift that justified killing Americans was accompanied by increasing anti-American beliefs and allegations against Americans that they were spearheading a war against Muslims. The Tsarnaev brothers adopted an "us-versus-them" narrative that allowed them to hide their feelings of failure and inferiority beneath layers of misplaced anger, hate, and envy. This abandonment of nuance enabled the Tsarnaevs to dehumanize innocent Americans and transform them into merely "agents of cultural destruction" who deserved to suffer. In this way, they maintained a just worldview depicting their victims as evil.

Tamerlan's social media posts indicate that he now saw himself as having a special role in fighting the United States, which was waging an "all out war against Islam" (Jacobs et al., 2013). He called for Muslims to band together and fight against America. One of his YouTube posts features an armed figure, presumably a terrorist, speaking in Russian. The figure

states, "There will always be a group of people who will stick to the truth, fight for that truth . . . and those who won't support them will not win" (Jacobs et al., 2013). For Tamerlan, he was one of the special people "fighting for the truth," and America represented corruption in its purest form.

As time passed, Dzhokhar's tweets also became increasingly aggressive; he appeared less and less confused about his identity, and he became increasingly interested in taking action. For example, on April 7, 2013, he tweeted (Jahar, 2013): "If you have the knowledge and the inspiration all that's left is to take action." His account trends demonstrate an emotional preparation that took him further and further from the boy who once posted, on August 8, 2012 (Jahar, 2012f), "i wish i could apologize to the kids i bullied at a young age #twasonsomfuckery i'm talking like first/second grade though. I've changed!"

According to the graffiti left on the boat that the authorities finally found Dzhokhar hiding in on Friday, April 19, 2013, he was convinced that the United States government was killing innocent Muslim civilians. He wrote, "I can't stand to see such evil go unpunished. . . . Fuck America" (Reitman, 2013, para. 8). Dzhokhar also wrote a poem on the side of the boat that said, "We Muslims are one body, you hurt one you hurt us all" (Wen, 2013). Both brothers saw themselves as part of a global struggle against the persecution and oppression of Muslims in which the United States was the main perpetrator.

### The Fifth Floor

Human beings are influenced by what Lorenz (1966) terms *inhibitory mechanism* to limit physical harm against other humans. Most people feel distress when they physically harm another human being. Soldiers go through extensive military training in order to prepare for killing the enemy (Grossman, 1999). Modern weapons enable humans to sidestep inhibitory mechanisms, because they kill from a distance and there is no human-to-human interaction. For example, drone operators will not see the human targets of a drone attack they have launched sometimes thousands of miles away. Terrorists sidestep inhibitory mechanisms by dehumanizing the targeted others and condemning them as evil.

### THE FIFTH FLOOR: TSARNAEV

Ultimately, Tamerlan's decision to bomb the marathon may have been an attempt to prove his allegiance to Islam and his legitimacy as a radical Muslim dedicated to fighting for the truth. The United States simply functioned as the scapegoat to elevate and affirm his identity as a devoted extremist. Justified by his own personal vendetta against America and the anti-Western ideology characteristic of radical Islam, Tamerlan bombed the Boston Marathon and became immortalized as a terrorist.

For Dzhokhar, his radicalization ended with one last public statement in a note he left in the Watertown boat where he was in hiding after the bombings ("Text from Dzhokhar Tsarnaev's Note," 2013, para. 4):

God has a plan for each person. Mine was to hide in this boat and shed some light on our actions. The US Government is killing our innocent civilians but most of you already know that. As a [UI] I can't stand to see such evil go unpunished. We Muslims are one body, you hurt one you hurt us all. Well at least that's how muhammad (pbuh) wanted it to be [for]ever. The ummah is beginning to rise. [UI] has awoken the mujahideen. Know you are fighting men who look into the barrel of your gun and see heaven, now how can you compete with that. We are promised victory and we will surely get it. Now I don't like killing innocent people it is forbidden in Islam but due to said [UI] it is allowed. All credit goes [UI]. Stop killing our innocent people and we will stop.

The Tsarnaev brothers redefined their act of terror as a practice of selfless benevolence through self-sacrificing motivation. Terrorists are often motivated by a need to remedy political or social injustice or to retaliate against a world they view as irredeemably corrupt and salvageable only through total destruction. In this way, both brothers justified their actions by defining the actions in terms of a divine mission: There was a need to bring justice to a world plagued by the evil and corruption of the United States. In one of his Twitter posts Dzhokhar writes, "It's kind of like we're living in this time where good is evil and evil is good" (Wen, 2013, para. 9). Tamerlan and Dzhokhar both claimed to be motivated by a strong sense of duty to preserve the truth. In another one of his Twitter posts Dzhokhar wrote, "There are people that know the truth but stay silent . . . and there are people that speak the truth but we don't hear them cuz they're the minority" (Russell, Abelson, Wen, Rezendes, & Filipov, 2013). Echoing the same sentiments as many of his brother's posts, Dzhokhar's statement conveys the narrative of oppression and corruption that the brothers ultimately used to justify their retaliation.

### CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The act of the two great brothers, Tamerlan and Dzhokhar, is but the true image reflected by the bloody deeds of [American] hands, reflected by the oppressive policies of your downtrodding regimes.

—LETTER FROM THE EDITOR (2013)

Globalization is associated with enormous macrolevel changes around the world, including large-scale movements of cultures, values, and people. These processes have resulted in secular Western values spreading around the world, creating threats in the eyes of traditionalists and fundamentalists

(Moghaddam, 2008). Muslim fundamentalists have reacted with particular energy and violence, using Internet jihad to launch their extremist ideologies around the world. Internet jihad touches dissatisfied youth in many regions of the world, including the United States. The Tsarnaev brothers were two examples of Muslims in the United States who became ensnared in the web of Internet jihad and subsequently climbed up the staircase to terrorism. Their experiences and actions can best be explained by giving primacy to collective processes rather than personality characteristics and other idiographic factors. Undoubtedly the personalities of the Tsarnaev family members did play a role, but the larger context was more important.

The Tsarnaev brothers are far from unique. The radicalization they experienced and the violence they perpetrated is repeated by others. On January 7, 2015, Said and Cherif Kouachi, two brothers motivated by radical Islam, attacked the offices of the French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in Paris, France, killing 11 people and seriously injuring many others. The Kouachi brothers were born in France to immigrants from Algeria. Their life story is similar to that of the Tsarnaev brothers in that it involved a lack of social mobility in an affluent Western society and identification with a larger Islamic community perceived to be under attack. The two sets of brothers climbed up the staircase to terrorism experiencing similar psychological processes on each floor.

In another era, the Tsarnaev and Kouachi brothers might have joined street gangs and become local thugs. But in the 21st century era of globalization and Internet jihad, their aggressive, destructive energies became channeled through radical Islamic ideology. In another era, they might have fought battles against rival street gangs. But in this era they directed their energies against innocent American and French civilians, justifying their actions by asserting that they were “defending Islam.” This pattern of would-be or actual street gang member transforming into “Islamic terrorist” is often repeated, as in the case of the 22-year-old Danish-born attacker who gunned down a Danish film director and a Jewish night guard in Copenhagen on February 14, 2015. According to the staircase model, long-term policies are needed to prevent such individuals from starting up the staircase. However, fast and short-term policies must be in place to eliminate threats from those who reach the highest floors. We have need of more practical long-term deradicalization policies, although some progress is being made (“TerRa: Terrorism and Radicalisation,” n.d.).

## NOTES

1. At this point, it is also important to note Tamerlan's mental status. He mentioned hearing voices and feared he had been brainwashed by the government into acting in ways he objected to. Unfortunately, Tamerlan never sought psychiatric

care, so the claims are unsubstantiated. As the claims cannot be verified, and as the object of this chapter is to demonstrate the radicalization process rather than to answer the question of why the brothers radicalized, we ask the reader to put aside questions into Tamerlan's mental health (Jacobs et al., 2013).

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## PART V

THE POSSIBILITIES  
FOR KINDNESS